

THE
General History
OF
ENGLAND,
BOTH
Ecclesiastical and Civil;
From the Earliest Accounts of Time,
To the Reign of His Present Majesty,
King William III.

Taken from the most ANCIENT RECORDS,
Manuscripts, and Printed Historians.

With MEMORIALS of the most EMINENT
PERSONS in CHURCH and STATE.

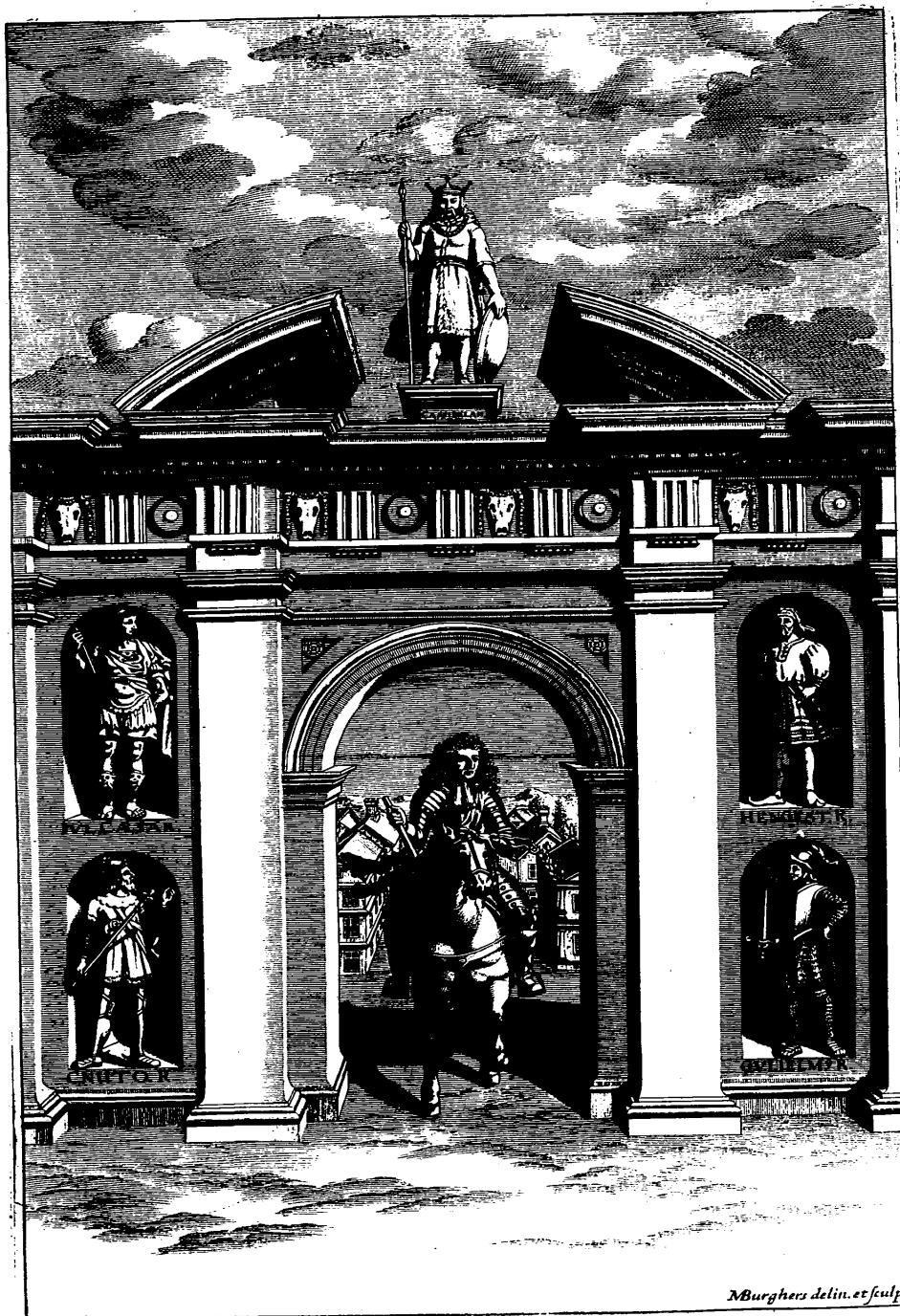
As also the Foundations of the most Noted
Monasteries, and both UNIVERSITIES.

VOL. I.

By JAMES TYRRELL, Esq;

L O N D O N :

Printed, and are to be Sold by W. Rogers, in Fleetstreet; J. Harris,
in Little Britain; R. Knaplock, in St. Paul's Church-Yard;
A. Bell, in Cornhill; and C. Cockerill, at the Corner of Warwick-
Lane, in Pater-Noster-Row. MDCXCVII.



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To the Right Honourable

T H O M A S

Earl of Pembroke and Montgomery;

*Baron Herbert of Caerdiff; Lord Roffe, Par,
Marmion, St. Quintin and Shurland;*

*Lord Privy-Seal; Lord Lientenant of the County
of Wilts, and South-Wales; and*

One of his Majesty's most Honourable Privy-Council.

MY LORD,



I having been usual to dedicate
Works of publick Use and Be-
nefit to great Persons, eminent for
Vertue, Learning and Nobility,
I think my self happy under the
Obligation of that Custom; since
it somewhat excuses, as well as encourages my Pre-
sumption, to lay this Performance at your Lord-
ship's Feet.

A

I

I am sure it could not be honoured with a more agreeable Name :

A Name so universally known, that all Men acknowledg your Lordship to be signally endued with those excellent Qualities, which render you not only a great Master in the most useful Parts of Learning, but likewise incline you to a generous Encouragement of all those who have any pretence to them. Which Favour, your Lordship having been pleased to confer on me, among several others of greater Merit, gives me the more Confidence to address this first Volume of our English History to your Lordship's Patronage : for as no Person hath been more conversant in things of this Nature than your self; so I know none more able to make a right Judgment of them.

And tho I will not affirm this to be an Exact History according to the strict Rules of Art, yet if I were conscious to my self, that it was wholly unworthy your Acceptance, I should derogate very much from that Respect which is so justly due to your Lordship's Character.

But if the not Writing any thing which I did not believe to be true, nor the concealing any thing useful to the World, that is so, might qualify me for an Historian, perhaps then I may have some pretence to that Title. However, your Lordship will here meet with a faithful Account of all the chief Actions and Revolutions, that have

have happened in this Kingdom down to the *Norman William*. As first, the Conquest the *Romans* made of that part of *Britain* we now call *England*; then their quitting it after a long Possession, in order to secure their Empire at Home from the Insults of so many barbarous Nations: after which followed the calling in of the *Saxons* to assist the *Britains*. And lastly, from the formers quarrelling with the latter, ensued their total Expulsion out of the best and most fertile parts of this Island.

As for the Invasions by the *Danes* under King *Cnut*, and by the *Normans* under King *William*, commonly called the *Conqueror*; though it must be granted, that these Princes were victorious by their Arms, yet was not this Nation subdued by either of them so entirely, as that its Submissions could properly be stiled Conquests, but rather Acquisitions gained by those Princes upon certain Compacts between them and the People of *England*; both Parties standing obliged in solemn Oaths, mutually to perform their parts of the Agreement, as will be clearly seen in the Sequel of this History.

Yet I doubt not but in these great Revolutions, your Lordship will take notice, that the People of this Kingdom were never overcome by Strangers, till their Luxury softning their warlike Tempers, and producing a careless Administration of their Affairs, had made them an easy Prey to their Invaders: This I observe not to reproach, but

but to warn our Nation, lest by the like Miscarriages they should incur the like Punishments.

I have now no more, but to beg your Lordship's Acceptance of this Dedication, as a Tribute justly yours, by reason of those great Obligations, for your so freely communicating to me some part of your uncommon Knowledge, whenever I have had the Happiness of your excellent Conversation;

An Honour, which engages me to own my self, with the utmost Respect,

My LORD,

Your Lordship's most humble and

most obedient Servant,

James Tyrrell.

THE
PREFACE
TO THE
READER.

THO it hath been a general Complaint of the most Learned and Judicious Men of this Nation, that we have extremely wanted an exact Body of English History in our own Language, for the Instruction and Benefit of our Nobility and Gentry, together with others who would be glad to understand by it the Original Constitutions and Laws of their own Country; yet since perhaps some ordinary Readers may be inclined to think this Work unnecessary, because it hath been already performed by so many different Hands; I shall therefore in the first Place say somewhat to obviate and remove this seeming Objection.

THOSE that are any thing conversant in our Historians, do know that the Writers in English, especially of this Period now publish'd, are not many. As for Caxton, Fabian, and others of less Note, (who are very short, and now read but by few) I shall pass them by, and only mention Grafton and Hollingshead, the former of whom lived in the Reign of Henry VIII. and the latter in that of Queen Elizabeth. And of these I need not say much: for tho they contain a great deal of Matter, very curious and fit to be known, especially relating to the Times wherein they lived, yet not only their dry and uncouth way of Writing, and dwelling so long on the exploded Fables of Geoffrey of Monmouth, but the stuffing of their Histories with divers mean and trivial Relations unworthy the Dignity of their Subject, have rendered their Labours tedious, and in a great measure unuseful to their Readers.

BUT as for Stow and Speed, who wrote in the time of King James the First, 'tis true the former of them is not so long and tiresome in Geoffrey's Stories, as those abovementioned; and it must be confessed that Mr. Speed was the first English Writer, who, slighting Geoffrey's Tales, immediately fell upon more solid Matter; giving us a large Account of the History of this Island during the Time of the Roman Emperors, and English Saxon Kings; and had he not, by making his Reader follow those Emperors in all their Foreign Wars and Expeditions, wherein Britain was no way concerned, he had rendered his Work less Irksome, and more Profitable than now it is.

BUT notwithstanding both these Writers had many choice Collections of Noble Manuscripts relating to our English History, and might have had the View of several others if they would have been at the Pains of seeking af-

ter them; yet it must be owned they did not make that Improvement of those Opportunities as might have been expected from such great Assistances; there being not much to be found material in either of them, but what was in the other Histories before published: though this must be allowed in their Commendation, that they are both of them (especially the former) commonly right in their Chronologies, and the latter has given us a choicest Collection of the Antient Coins of the Roman Emperors, as well as of the English Saxon Kings, and has both also more exact than any other Writer, in his Account of their Wives and Issue.

AND as for those who wrote in the Time of K. Charles the First, viz. Mr. Daniel, and Sir Richard Baker; the Relations they have afforded us of those Kings, are rather short Abstracts of their Reigns, than just Histories, it not being their Design to write at large of that Period we here treat of.

BUT since the Restoration of K. Charles the Second, there are several who have undertaken this Province, the first of whom was Mr. Milton; and it must be acknowledged, that he wrote this English Saxon History with Judgment, though not with that Diligence and Exactness as we may see he did his other Works of a different Nature; since either through want of Opportunity to consult Antient Manuscripts, (several of which have been published since he wrote) or else by not making use of those Authors he might have had, and by confining himself too much to the relating of Military Matters, and almost wholly neglecting Ecclesiastical Affairs, or looking into those things which he by way of Consequence called Cathedral Registers; as also by omitting the giving us any Account of the Antient Saxon Laws, and Original Constitutions of this Kingdom; he has thereby rendered that Work much more dry and imperfect than otherwise no doubt it would have been from such a Pen as his.

THE next that succeeded him in this Labour was Mr. Sammes, who had a fair Opportunity of improving his History, by amending Mr. Milton's Omissions; but instead of this, by indulging himself too much in the Relation of, and giving Credit to Geoffrey of Monmouth, and White (that called himself Basingstoke) their old Stories, and by making long and unnecessary Excursions on the Antiquity and Original of the Greeks, Romans and Saxons, as likewise of their Religion and Manners (things altogether foreign to this Subject) tho' he hath shewn a great deal of Reading, yet having been all the while very short in that which ought to have been the main Business of his History, he hath thereby spoiled a Noble Design.

'TIS true, the Learned Dr. Howell, in the second and third Volumes of his General History, hath given us a faithful Account of the Affairs of Britain, from the Coming in of the Romans, as far as the Norman Conquest; and hath also a very elaborate Discourse of their Civil Polity and Laws; and had that Work been done by it self, and not involved in such large Volumes, (but written in a more Chronological Method) and had he not laid the History of each Kingdom of the English Saxon Heptarchy separately and apart, which makes him often guilty of divers unnecessary Repetitions; that Work would have proved much more useful than now it is: which being observed by many others besides my self, hath caused a certain Clergy-man (as I hear) to undertake the Epitomizing of that whole Work, which would be very useful to those ordinary Readers who cannot well purchase these larger Volumes.

BUT since these Learned and Ingenious Authors have in some Point or other here mentioned been deficient in this Undertaking; I found it requisite (for

(for the making a full and compleat History of the Affairs contained in this Volume) rather wholly to erect a new Edifice, than to be at the Trouble of altering of theirs; and therefore have thought it necessary to draw this Work afresh from the same Originals from which they had taken theirs. To which I have also added several other material Passages, that either they wanted the Happiness of seeing, or else would not be at the Pains and Expence I have been at to peruse; not but that I must own my self much beholding to them for divers Choice Remarks and Observations; which, not to be thought guilty of Plagiarism, I have noted in the Margin by the Initial Letters of their Names; and have likewise sometimes taken their Translations of a few diverting Legends or Stories, to spare my self the Trouble of making them anew: and even these I have also compared with the Originals; and corrected the Stile, as well as the Sense, in divers Places.

BUT I cannot here omit taking notice (among other Writers) of the first Part of Dr. Brady's compleat History of England, which, tho' it comprehends the same Period of Time as this we now present you with; yet seeing he hath there rather chosen to give us an Account of the Political Government, and Laws of the German and English Saxons, than to write an Entire History of those Times; I beg his Pardon, if I do not take it as to that part for so compleat a History as he is pleased to intitle it: however, it must be confessed he hath taken much Pains, and shewn a great deal of reading in that Volume; and I could have wished I might have been able to say, he had been also as careful of the just Rights and Liberties of his Country, (which he has done all he can to depress) as he has been in asserting an Imaginary Right of Lineal Succession in our Kings long before the Conquest; and that before that time as well as after, the Commons had no Representatives in Parliament; both which Assertions we shall make bold to examine in our ensuing Introduction. And (tho' I have otherwise a great Value for his Learning, yet) I hope neither he himself, nor any one else who has a real Concern for the publick Good, will take it amiss if I differ from him, where the Truth of our History, as well as our Antient Laws and Constitutions will justify me, in contradicting some Assertions, which he has with so great an Assurance published to the World.

AND thus having acquainted you with the Defects of these Writers in their several Undertakings, and the Reasons why it was necessary to compile a new History; I shall now shew you what Method I have followed, and what Authors I have made use of, in the Performance of it.

AS for the first Book, it is no other than an Epitome of Geoffrey of Monmouth's pretended British History; and if it had not been more for the Diversion of the younger sort of Readers, and that the Work would have been thought by some others to be imperfect without it, I should have been much better satisfied in wholly omitting it; yet I hope it will neither prove tedious nor unuseful, since it may sometimes be of Advantage to know Legends as well as true History; or else which way can one tell how to pass a just Sentence on them?

NOR can we positively affirm, that every thing contained in that Book of his is absolutely false; for he, being a Person well vers'd in the History of his own Country, could not but give us all he knew concerning it, though interspersed with so many notorious Fables of his own, which he seemeth to have interwoven, the better to connect those broken Remains of old Times: But since no Man can easily at this distance distinguish Truth from Falshood,

Falshood, he ought to be dealt with as we do with those who would impose counterfeit Coin upon us ; in refusing the whole Sum, where the greatest part of it is so plainly discernable to be false.

HERE by the way I must ingenuously own a small Mistake I have committed in the first Book of this Volume ; where speaking somewhat in Defence of this Author, that he was not the first Inventor of the Story of Brutus, it being also found in Nennius who lived long before him, and from whom I then supposed Henry of Huntingdon to have borrowed it ; I now perceive upon better Information, that Geoffrey and H. Huntingdon were not only Contemporaries, but the latter in that part of his English History still in Manuscript, (viz. in the Second of his Epistle, dedicated to one Gwarin a British or Welsh Nobleman) confesses, that in his Journey to Rome, staying some time by the Way at the Abbey of Bec, he there found a large Book of this Geoffrey's, (whom he also calls Arthur) who had copiously and diligently wrote the British History ; though in the common printed Copies we find no more, than that travelling to the Place abovementioned, he had there met with a certain Volume, in which were divers things relating to the British History not before known, but yet without naming the Author.

THIS I thought good to advertise the Reader of, because those Sheets were wrought off before ever I was sensible of my Mistake.

AS for my second Book, I can only tell you it is a true and just Translation of the British History from all the Greek and Roman Authors I could meet with that have treated of it ; from whom also I have given you a Description of the Manners and Customs of the Antient Britains : and tho I grant this has been already attempted by one Daniel Rodgers, whose Papers are in the Cottonian Library, and is fully performed by Mr. Camden in his Introduction to his Britannia, and likewise by Mr. Speed before his History ; yet I have my self compared them with the Originals, and added some Remarks, which I thought were further necessary to be known.

I have begun this Part with Caesar's Relation, as I found it in his Commentaries concerning his two Expeditions into Britain ; and have ended with the last of the Greek and Roman Historians, viz. Zosimus, Orosius, and Aurelius Victor.

AND whereas others who have undertaken this Province, have used the Liberty of Epitomizing or enlarging those Passages they have cited from the Greek and Latin Authors ; I have thought fit faithfully to translate them, except in some of their long-winded Orations ; which, to avoid Prolixity, I thought it better to abridge, as not believing those Orations to have been deliver'd in those Circumstances in which they are now dress'd.

AND tho I do not pretend to have added much to what Mr. Camden and Mr. Milton have already collected from those Writers relating to the History of Britain ; yet I hope I have from several Verses of the Poet Claudian, as also by the Assistance of those great Masters in Antiquity, the Lord Primate Usher, the Reverend Dr. Stillingfleet, now Lord Bishop of Worcester, and Dr. Lloyd, now Lord Bishop of Coventry and Litchfield, not only illustrated, but settled divers things relating to that part of our Ecclesiastical, as well as Civil Affairs, not commonly taken notice of before.

IN the beginning of the third Book, I have from Mr. Sheringham's Treatise De Origine Gentis Anglorum, as also from other Authors, given you, in order to our English Saxon History, a more Exact Account of the Original of those Nations, which (when they came over into England) were comprehended

prehended under the General Name of Saxons, than hath been hitherto published in our own Language.

AFTER which I have given you a Relation of the Manner of their coming over hither, and the Ground and Occasion of their quarrelling with the Britains, from Gildas, Bede and Nennius.

BUT as for the Time of their erecting themselves into an Heptarchy, since it is not to be learnt from Bede, who is wholly silent of what the Saxons did here from their first entrance to the Propagation of Christianity, which he made it his Business chiefly to treat of ; I have taken it from the Saxon Annals, as well as other later Authors that have mentioned any thing of it ; though as to the whole Period of Time contained in this Book, it must be confessed it was when Letters were not in use amongst them, and therefore could only be convey'd down by Tradition, which makes us here be beholding to the Annals abovementioned, or to some Antient Memoirs, which tho now lost, were certainly seen by those Writers, who have gathered from them.

INDEED I was somewhat perplexed what Method to take in digesting the History of seven concurring Kingdoms ; since, which way so ever I engaged, I found it attended with some Inconveniences.

WILLIAM of Malmesbury, and several other Authors, as well in Latin as English, I know thought it best to give us this History digested under each respective Kingdom apart ; but then there is this Exception against that way of Writing, that without Chronological Tables, or frequent turning backward and forward, one cannot understand the Synchronisms of the several Kings Reigns, or the Time wherein they lived, so as to compare them with others their Contemporaries.

BESIDES which, there is also a necessity of an unnecessary Repetition of the same Wars or Transactions, as well under the History of the King that made, as of him who suffered that Invasion ; this appeareth in Speed, and Dr. Howel. 'Tis true, Mr. Speed thought of a good Method to help this, by supposing so many successive Monarchs to have been always in England, from the Time of Hengest to K. Egbert, under whose several Reigns he also reduces whatsoever Actions happened in the rest of all the other subordinate Kings then Regnant. This I confess had been a very good Expedient to avoid the Difficulties abovementioned, were it as just as it seems specious : but upon Examination it will be found, that tho Bede as well as the Saxon Annals, have given us a Series of all those Supream Kings, whom some of the Modern Writers are pleased to call Monarchs ; yet, as I have sufficiently shewn in this ensuing History, they could by no means deserve that Title ; since it may be clearly seen by any one who will peruse Mr. Speed, that there were sometimes Intervals of ten or twenty Years, before such a victorious Prince could make all the rest by the Terror of his Arms submit themselves to him ; which yet they never all did till the Reign of King Egbert, without preserving entire all their Royal Rights and Prerogatives over their own Subjects.

AND besides, this Power owing its Original wholly to Force, and not to a Lineal Succession or Election over the rest of those Princes upon whom it was usurped, was without any Just or Legal Right, and consequently lasted no longer than the Success, or at farthest the Life-time of such a Conquering Prince ; and then it was for a time Extinct, until some other of the Seven by the like success of his Arms, could set up for the same Power and Greatness.

SO that at length we found, that the best way of Writing this History was to follow the plain and natural Method of our Saxon Annals, not only as the most easy for our selves, but also for the Reader.

AND tho perhaps an Objection may be made against this Method, viz. That the crowding of so many different Actions done in several Places, and under several Kings, renders the Work perplexed and difficult to be remembered, which I grant is in part true; yet to obviate this, I have at the end of each of the ensuing Books (except the last) presented you with exact Chronological Tables, not only of the Names of all the Kings contained under each Period, but also in what Year of our Lord they began and ended their Reigns; so that the Reader by casting his Eye upon any one of them, may easily find what Kings lived and reigned together, and consequently in which of their Reigns any Action related in the History was performed. And now,

TO come to the fourth Book, Bede being the most antient Author that gives us an Account of what was done in this Period, and out of whom the Saxon Annals themselves have borrowed almost the greatest part of what they relate, concerning those early Times of Christianity; I have therefore wholly confined my self to him, without having recourse to these Annals, or any other, unless it be where I find they relate any Action of which he has been wholly silent. But in this Period, I cannot but mention Stephen Eddi, or Heddi, a Monk; who, as Bede tells, was one of the first Masters for Singing in the Northumbrian Churches; and having been invited by Wilfred Archbishop of York out of Kent for that purpose, had so great a Veneration for his Memory, that he wrote his Life in Latin, in a Style somewhat better than could be expected from that Age: this Treatise having continued in Manuscript in the Library of Sir Jo. Cotton, and also of that of Salisbury, has lately been published by the Learned Dr. Gale, in his last Volume of English Writers; and to which I must own my self beholding for many choice Passages relating to the Ecclesiastical, as well as Civil State in those Times: this Author flourish'd contemporary with Bede, in the Reign of Osric King of Northumberland, and died about Anno Dom. 720.

BUT indeed as for the last forty Years, or thereabouts, viz. from the Time when Bede ceased to write, which was Anno Dom. 637. we have been forced to make use of the Annals, or else of those of later Writers that have made any Additions to them.

WHICH Annals, since I found them the Store-house, or Repository, from whence most (if not all) of our Latin Historians, as well those that wrote before, as since the Conquest, have borrowed the earliest Accounts of our English Saxon Affairs; I have by the advice of Persons of much greater Learning and Judgement than my self, rather chose to translate and give you them almost entire, as I find them in the Edition lately published, than to (do as most other Writers) cite them at second Hand; not that I have omitted setting down whatsoever any other Authors have added to these Annals by way of Improvement or Illustration.

WHEREFORE to avoid stuffing my Margins with unnecessary Quotations, I desire my Reader once for all, to observe, that wheresoever he shall find the Lines Comma'd, (unless they be before some Speeches or Laws) they always denote the Saxon Annals, whether expressly mentioned or not, as also in all other places, tho not Comma'd, where no other Writer is cited.

BUT if some think I have inserted too many Names of Authors into the Body of this History, and that it had been better omitted there, and put into the Margin, or bottom of the Pages; to this I answer, that intending faithfully to translate these Annals, and to make such frequent use of them as I have done, there could be no way to distinguish them from other Writers, but either by Letters in the Margin, or else by setting them in a different Character.

rather. But as the former would have been a constant and unsightly clog to the Margin, so the other would have looked as unhandsome in the Body, and especially at the latter end of the Work, where these Annals alone take up several whole Pages.

AND tho in my Citations of Authors I have seldom quoted the Page, yet having taken what I write from those who have wrote in a Chronological Method, the Reader by turning to the Tears of our Lord, may easily find what he looks for, making some small allowance for different Accounts; and where other Authors have not taken that Course, I have there quoted the Chapter or Book, and in matters of greater Moment the very Page.

BUT that even the Annals themselves do vary from each other in Account of Time, often one, and sometimes two or three Tears, that is to be ascribed either to the fault of the several Amanuenses, or else to the different Calculations of those Monks, who drew them up in the Form we now have them, as any may easily perceive that will give himself the Trouble to compare the various Readings of the several Copies of these Annals, lately published at Oxford by the Ingenious Mr. Edmund Gibson.

IN the fifth and sixth Books, as I have endeavour'd faithfully to translate the same Annals, so I have also us'd that Liberty, as not slavishly to confine my self to the very Words themselves, when either the Obscurity or Uncouthness of the Phrase would not bear a literal Translation, but I thought I could give them a better turn.

AND here, as also in the two preceding Books, I have often added by way of Illustration to the Text, the present proper Names of Places in a Parenthesis immediately after the obsolete Saxon ones, as also the Titles of the Ealdormen, or Earls, Bishops and Abbots, out of Florence of Worcester, and other Authors, where the Annals have only given their bare Names, without telling us to what Places they belonged; and here likewise I would note, That in all Saxon words, where the Letter (C) is made use of, it is always pronounced like (K), there being no K in that Language. And as for the Saxon Names of Men made use of in the Annals, I have as near as I could faithfully kept to the Saxon Original, tho they often differ very much in their way and manner of spelling them from that of those Latin Authors that translate them.

HAVING thus given you a short Account of the several Books into which I have divided this Volume, I will now proceed to acquaint you with the rest of my Authors from whom I have collected it; nor will I give you only their Names, which has been done by so many already, but a brief Censure of them and their Works, and in what Time they wrote, being such as lived either before or after the Conquest: Of the former sort there are but few, since from Bede to Aelfric. Menev. there flourish'd no general Historian; for William of Malmesbury himself confesses, that after Bede, all liberal Studies more and more declining, those that followed spent their Lives in Idleness or Silence: yet during even that Period, there were some Writers of this kind, viz. certain Monks in the greater Monasteries, whose business it was to set down in short, by way of Annals, the most remarkable Passages of their own Times in their own Language; nay, Learning was in that King's Reign fallen to so low an Ebb, that even King Alfred tells us in his Preface to the Saxon Version of Gregory's Pastoral, That "in the beginning of his Reign, there were few on this side Humber who could understand their own Prayers, much less turn a piece of Latin into English, and where then were our supposed flourishing Universities?"

AND

Vid. Append. 2.
ad vit. Alfredi.

AND I shall here begin with Afferius Menevenfis, who was so called because he was a Monk of Menevia or St. Davids. This was he who being sent for by King Alfred out of Wales, assisted him in his Studies, and besides taught his Children, and others of the Nobility, Latin: after this King Alfred sent him with others to fetch Grimbald out of Flanders into England; and after the Schools were opened at Oxford, the latter there professed Divinity, and the former Grammar and Rhetorick, as you may find in the Annals of Hyde, cited in the ensuing History.

THIS Monk, being Learned above the Age in which he lived, first wrote the Annals that go under his Name; which having long continued in the Cottonian and other Libraries in Manuscript, have been lately published by the Learned Dr. Gale, in his last Volume of Historians printed at Oxon. After these Annals, it is certain Affer also wrote the whole History of King Alfred's Life, under the Title of *de Gestis Regis Ælfredi*, which were first published by the Reverend Arch-bishop Parker, in Saxon Characters, according to the Copy now in the Cottonian Library, and was also again put out by Mr. Camden in another Edition at Frankford. But it must be confessed there is some difference between these two Copies concerning the University of Oxford, which is taken notice of in this Work in its proper Place; but that the Annals abovementioned were written before his History of King Alfred's Life, is plain, for he there refers you to those Annals, which he has also inserted in the Life almost word for word. But tho the former of these is continued to the Death of King Alfred, and the latter as far as the 14th Year of the Reign of K. Edward the Elder: yet it is evident that he himself wrote neither the one nor the other after the Year 893, being the 45th of King Alfred's Age; and this appears from the Life it self, in which the Author particularly mentions it, nor could he extend the Annals any farther, because they were written before he wrote the Life. This I observe to let the Reader understand, that whatever he finds farther in the Annals or Life, (the Substance of both which I have given him in this Volume) were continued by some other Hand; and as for the Annals they sufficiently declare it; for towards the latter end, under Anno Dom. 909. you may meet with this Passage, *hoc Anno Afferius Episcopus Scireburnensis obiit*, which was no other than our Author himself: yet this must be farther observed of him, that he was so extremely negligent in his Account of Time, that he begins the first Year of King Alfred's Reign, sometimes at one Year of our Lord, and sometimes at another, so that no Man can tell by him when it commenced.

BUT why he left off Writing so many Years before King Alfred died, and never finish'd his Life though he survived him nine Years, I confess I know not; unless being preferred, about the Time when he had finish'd it, to the Bishoprick of Shireburne, he left the King's Service, and going to reside at his own See had other Business on his Hands than Writing. And that the same Affer who taught King Alfred, was also by him made Bishop of Shireburne, appears from this King's Preface to the Saxon Translation of St. Gregorie's Pastoral, in which he tells you, he was assisted by Plegmund his Arch-bishop, and Affer his Bishop, to whom the said King in his Will, (after the Archbishop and some other Bishops) bequeathed a 100 Marks, by the Title of Affer Bishop of Shireburne: from whence it is manifest, that the same Person who was King Alfred's Instructor, was also Bishop of Shireburne; which Bishoprick was certainly bestowed on him after he had done Writing, since tho he mentions the Abbies of Banwell, Ambresbury, and Exceter, to have

Vid. Gorcelin
in vit. Grim-
baldi.

Page 491.
Edit. Camden.

have been bestowed upon him by the King, yet he is utterly silent of his being made Bishop, which he would not surely have omitted, if he had been then so preferred; but how long he held this Bishoprick we can say little positively, because we do not find when it was first given him; but as for the time of his Death, not only the Annals that go under his Name, but the Saxon Chronicle also, places it under Anno 909. So that I think there can be no reasonable cause to doubt of that.

BUT what should lead such a careful Chronographer as Florence of Worcester into so great a Mistake, as to place this Bishop's Death under Anno 883; I know not, unless he had some other Copies of the Saxon Annals by him than are now extant, but the Fasti of the Saxon Kings and Bishops published by Sir H. Savil, at the end of William of Malmesbury, and other Writers are guilty of the like Mistake, making this Affer to have succeeded Sigheilm Bishop of Shireburn, and to have died Anno 883; whereas it appears from our Annals, that Sigheilm (whom William of Malmesbury makes to be the same Person with the Bishop abovementioned) this very Year carried King Alfred's Alms to Rome, and afterwards went himself as far as India: however this Mistake of Florence, as also the pretended Authority of our Welsh Chronicle, hath (as I suppose) led divers other Learned Men (and particularly Bishop Godwin, and Arch-bishop Usher) into a Belief of two Affer's both Bishops, the one of whom died Anno 883, and the other to have been Arch-bishop of St. Davids, and to have succeeded Novis: who (according to the Chronicle of that Church published in the 2d Volume of Anglia Sacra) died Anno 872; and there immediately follows under Anno 909, Afferius Episcopus Britannia fit, which must certainly be an Error in the Monk that wrote this Chronicle; for Affer himself in his Life of King Alfred, tells us of Hemeid Prince of South-wales, That & Nobis Archiepiscopus Propinquum meum & me expulit, viz. from the Church of St. Davids: which word Nobis, the Learned Dr. Gale reads Novis, and so makes it good Sense, that otherwise seems Non-sense in the printed Copies. The false reading of which Word, as well as this Chronological mistake of Florence abovementioned, led Bale into the belief that the Arch-bishop abovementioned must have been that Affer, whom Caradoc's Chronicle (published by Dr. Powel) makes to have died Anno Dom. 906. and which Authority led the Lord Primate Usher into that small Mistake in his Index Chronologicus, at the end of his Britan. Eccles. Antiquitat. of supposing this Affer to have been the Author of the History of King Alfred, and not he who was Bishop of Shireburn.

AND the right reading of this word Nobis in Affer, also proves the fallhood of that Welsh Annal but now mentioned: for if Novis was expelled his Bishoprick not long before Affer was sent for by King Alfred, which was about Anno 885. then Novis could not be dead in Anno 872. as that Chronicle makes him; nor yet could Affer succeed Novis, Anno Dom. 909: for then there would have been a Vacancy of near 40 Years in that See, whereas the Saxon Annals rightly place the Death of our Affer Bishop of Shireburn under this very Year.

SO that upon the whole Matter, it is the Judgment of the Reverend and Learned the now Lord Bishop of Litchfield and Coventry, "That there never was but one Affer, who was also Bishop of Shireburn; and that as for this Affer Bishop of St. Davids, he had never any Being in Nature, but in the Brain of some ignorant Monks, who would for the Honour of their Church have made this Affer to have been Bishop, not only of

De Gest. Pont.
lib. 2.

Script. Britan.
Cent. 2. cap.
25.

"St.

“ St. Davids, but of Britain, contrary to the Truth of all Chronology, as well as Master of Fact.

I have no more to remark of this Affer, but that Ingulph not only says he was Bishop of Shireburn, but also Abbot of Bangor, which I find not related by Affer himself, nor by any other Author; and therefore I look upon it as a Mistake either in Ingulph or his Transcriber, in writing Bangor instead of Banwell, which was one of those Abbies that Affer says King Alfred bestowed upon him.

FROM this Affer to Ethelwerd, who calls himself Quæstor, (i. e. Treasurer) and wrote in the beginning of the Reign of King Edgar, being descended from the Saxon Blood-Royal by King Alfred his Great-Grandfather, there flourished no Historian; nor are we indeed so much the better for him as I could wish, for unless it be in the right settling of the Reigns and Deaths of some of our Saxon Kings, who lived not long before him, (about which the several Copies of the Saxon Annals do differ) there is not much to be learnt from him but what is in the Annals themselves, or else in the last mentioned Author: from both which one may perceive that he had borrowed the most part of what he there writes. So that partly from the affected Obscurity of his Style, and partly from the bad Copy from which it was printed, (being that which is now in the Cottonian Library) in many Places we do not understand his meaning; but as far as we are able to do it, we have given you a true Account of what he has added to this History.

BUT either from the Laziness or Ignorance of the Monks, who were almost the only Writers of that Age, from the Time that Ethelwerd left off, to some Years after the Conquest, we meet with no Historians, except Osbern and another Monk, that is Anonymous; the former of whom writing the Lives of St. Dunstan and St. Alphege, has afforded us some Passages relating to this History, as has also the latter in his Life of St. Dunstan, which is still in Manuscript in the Cottonian Library: But as for Osbern, he is published in the first Volume of Anglia Sacra. And from these that Age gives us none, unless the Author (whose Name we know not) that wrote that short Account of the Times immediately preceding the Reign of Edward the Confessor, called Encomium Emmae, until Ingulph Abbot of Croyland finished the History of that Abbey about the latter end of the Reign of William the First. And tho he did not take upon him to write a History of more Affairs than those of his own Monastery, yet he hath by the by interspersed many considerable Passages relating to the Publick Transactions of this Kingdom, which I likewise have here inserted.

FROM him to Eadmerus we find no Historian; and He, only relating the Ecclesiastical History during the Reign of William the First, and his Sons William Rufus and Henry, is of no use to us in this Volume here published.

IN the beginning of the Reign of Henry the First, we find a most Laborious and Diligent Chronologer, viz. Florence of Worcester, who continuing and enlarging the History of Marianus Scottus, hath among the various Transactions of the rest of Europe, given us at the end of almost every Year out of the Saxon Annals, an exact Account of the Affairs of England; to which he hath also added divers very curious Memoirs and Illustrations of his own: and besides what is printed, there is also in Manuscript in the Bodleian Library, a fair and perfect Copy of this Author, which once belonged to the Monastery of St. Edmundsbury, to which I have been much beholding, not only for some things concerning that Abbey, but also for several choice Passages relating to this our History, which are neither to be found in the printed

printed Editions of this Author, nor any where else that I know of; therefore where-ever the Reader shall meet with any thing cited from Florence which is not found in Print, he may be assured it is in that Manuscript, under the Year there set down in the Margin: this I mention, that the Reader may not be startled, if he does not find the Passage I cite in the printed Copies, since I had not always time to compare them together.

FLORENCE was immediately followed by Simeon of Durham, who did not only Copy from him, but also added several Remarkable things particularly relating to the Northumbrian Kingdom, as well before as after it came under the Government of Earls. Tho Mr. Selden in his Preface to the Decem-scriptores, will not allow this Simeon to have been the Author of this Work, but that he was a Plagiary, and stole it from Turgot a Monk of the said Church, who was also afterwards ordained Bishop of St. Andrews in Scotland; and Simeon only adding some things to it of his own, took the whole Honour to himself: his History reaches no farther than 1129. but was continued by John Prior of Hagulstad to Anno 1154.

TO whom we may adjoin Richard (a Monk of the same Monastery) his History of the Church of Durham, who has interspersed many excellent Passages concerning the same Northern Story. Here likewise we may add the Chronicle of the Abbey of Mailrofs, which tho wrote by the Abbot of Dun-draimon, was certainly collected out of some much antienter Annals of that Monastery which was then destroyed; and these together with the last mentioned Authors, have helped us to make up the Succession of the Northumbrian Kings after Eardulf; that was expelled his Kingdom Anno 806. from whom our common Writers suppose there was an Interregnum for the space of above sixty Years, tho by those above-named it appears to have been otherwise, as you may see in the Tables at the end of the last Book.

AFTER these flourished William of Malmesbury, who finished his History in the Reign of King Stephen; but certainly he began it long before, viz. in the Reign of Henry the First. To which Learned Monk, being one of the best Writers both for Judgment and Style of that Age, I must own my self obliged for the best and choicest Passages in this Volume.

TO him succeeded Henry Arch-Deacon of Huntingdon, who wrote a History of the Kings of England, as well before as after the Conquest, and retiring to Rome lived there for some time for that purpose. He deduced his History almost to the end of K. Stephen, and writing most commonly by way of Annals, transcribed many things out of Florence of Worcester; and was of that great Reputation, that Geoffrey of Monmouth, who was his Cotemporary, recommends the English History to be written by his Pen, as he does the British to be continued by Caradoc of Lancarvon, who wrote a Welsh Chronicle as far as his own Time; the Substance whereof I have here likewise given you, as it was put out by Dr. Powell, to which I have also added several remarkable Passages that were designed in a new Edition of the same Work, to be published from the Manuscripts of the Learned Antiquary Mr. Robert Vaughan, by Mr. Ellis late of Jesus College in Oxon, but which were never finished. And I have likewise inserted divers choice Notes, that I gathered from another Manuscript of the same Author's, relating to the Chronology and Actions of the British Princes, which he wrote for the Satisfaction of the Lord Primate Usher, and from him is now in my Possession. And I suppose no Ingenious British Antiquary will think this Performance unnecessary, since he will here find the Substance of all that is contained in Caradoc's Chronicle, together with a great many considerable

derable Additions from the Manuscripts abovementioned, as also some others gathered from two MS. Copies of the Chronicles of Wales, the one in the Cottonian Library, the other in the Exchequer, written at the end of one of the Volumes of Doomsday; for the perusal of which I stand obliged to the Reverend Dr. Gale.

H. Huntingdon was followed by Rog. Hoveden a secular Priest of Oxford, and was Domestic Clerk or Secretary to Henry the Second; he seems to have chiefly transcribed from Simeon of Durham, as to the Affairs before the Conquest, as he does from William of Malmesbury and other Authors, as well as his own Observations for those that occur'd afterwards to his own Time, continuing his History to the beginning of King John's Reign.

THE next we come to, are those Authors contained in that noble Volume, called the Decem-Scriptores, such as Ailred, Abbot de Rievall, who wrote concerning the Kings of England so far as King Henry the 2d. in whose Time he lived; as also concerning the Life and Miracles of Edward the Confessor, from whom I have taken divers memorable Passages relating to the Life of that King, as well as to his Predecessors, omitting his Fables and Legends in which he does too much abound.

AFTER him follows Radulphus de Diceto Dean of St. Pauls, London, who flourished in the Reign of King John, about the Year 1210. he was esteemed a very accomplished Historian, and an indefatigable Collector in his Time of things not only before, but after the Conquest.

I have also taken some few Passages from William Thorn a Monk of Canterbury, who wrote an entire History of the Affairs of his own Monastery of St. Augustin down to the beginning of King Richard the Second, in whose Reign he lived.

AFTER whom we had for a long time no printed Historians of the Times before the Conquest, till that in the Decem-Scriptores, which goes under the Name of John Brompton Abbot of Jorvaulx in Richmondshire; tho Mr. Selden has shewn us in his Preface to that Volume, that he was rather the Purchaser, than Author of this Chronicle, which he left to his own Abbey: he is supposed to have lived in the time of Edward the Third, but the History concludes with the Death of Richard the First.

BUT the said Reverend Dr. Gale farther observes of him, "That he intended to continue Geoffrey of Monmouth, as appears in the Preface, and in Col. 1153. as also that he took much from Benedictus Abbas (still in Manuscript in the Cottonian Library) and not from Roger Hoveden; for where a Fault or Omission is found in Benedictus, the same is here found also, but not so in Hoveden: e. g. Benedictus wanted the Seal of the King of Sicily, and so did Brompton, till it was added from some other Copy, and not out of Hoveden, for the Seals differ, and some Copies of Hoveden have it not at all. And tho the Compiler of this History seems to have lived in the Time of Richard I. as himself seems to intimate, yet Col. 967. it mentions Richard the Third, which must have been added to continue down the Genealogy of our Kings, as is often done in antient Chronicles by some later Hand. But the Learned Doctor farther supposes this Chronicle to have been written by one John Brompton, who (as the Doctor found in an old Manuscript Tear-Book, or Collection of Reports of the Reign of King Edward the First) was a Justice Itinerant about that Time; which Conjecture is also confirmed by his careful inserting the Antient Saxon Laws into this Chronicle: This as it was not done by any before him, so neither does it savour of the Monk.

THIS

THIS is the more worthy taking notice of, because Sir William Dugdale hath omitted this John Brompton in his Catalogue of Judges Itinerant, at the end of his Origines Juridicales.

TO this Historian succeeds Henry de Knyghton Canon of Leicester, who wrote his History de Eventibus Angliæ, beginning with King Edgar, and ending with the Reign of Richard the Second.

BUT the Reader may be pleased to take notice, that in these two last Authors are found many Passages which are in none of the more Antient Writers; and since most of them relate to Customs and Terms that had their Original after the coming in of the Normans, therefore they may with good Reason be suspected to have been borrowed from some common Stories or Traditions that then passed up and down for current.

NOR can we here omit several other Pieces of less Bulk and Note, published since that Volume last mentioned, containing the Chronicles and Histories of divers Cathedrals and Abbeys, such as are the Annals of the Abbey of Winchester, &c. which have been published from the Cottonian and other Libraries, in Monasticon Anglicanum, and the first Volume of Anglia Sacra, lately published by the late Learned and Industrious Mr. Wharton.

TO these likewise may be added the Histories of the Monasteries of Ely and Ramsey, as also of Glaftebury, by William of Malmesbury, from whom we have taken several Things, not only relating to that Abbey, but the General History of England: nor can I omit the History of John of Wallingford, whom Matthew Paris mentions in his Lives of the Abbots of St. Albans; as the 21st Abbot of St. Albans, he wrote the History of the Kings of England as far as the 42d of King Henry the Third; the first Part of which down to the Norman Conquest, hath been published in the aforesaid last Volume at Oxford by the Learned Dr. Gale. From all which last mentioned, tho mingled with abundance of Monkish Trash, we have here and there excerpted several excellent Remarks.

WE have also sometimes made use of Ranulph Higden his Polychronicon, who was a Monk of Chester, the first Part of which is published also by the said Dr. Gale as far as the Conquest; and Matthew a Monk of Westminster, his Flores Historiarum: these Authors being Contemporaries, and collecting to the Reign of Edward the Third, from all the rest of the Antient Writers abovementioned, I have seldom used but as subsidiary Helps, when the Passages they relate are not to be found any where else, several other Authors they borrowed from, being now lost, or very rare to be met with.

HAVING now done with our printed Authors, I proceed to those that continue still in Manuscript, in the Bodleian and Cottonian Libraries; and also in those of Lambeth, Gresham's College, and the Heraulds Office; such as are John of Tinnmouth his Historia Aurea, Johannes Castorius (in English, Beaver) his History of the Kings of England, and John Rouse of Warwick his Collections on the same Subject; together with above forty or fifty nameless Authors which I have perused, to see what I could find in any of them that had not been taken notice of by others: but how little they have answered in my Expectations, the small Additions I have made from them I hope will satisfy the unprejudiced Reader; and for any that are otherwise, if they please to take the same Pains that I have done, I wish their Labours may be better requited.

BUT as for the Extracts of Ecclesiastical Canons and Laws, which I have inserted at the end of divers King's Reigns, I have faithfully transcribed them

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them out of Sir Henry Spelman's first Volume of British Councils, and Mr. Lambard's Archaionomia, under their respective Years; and have also compared and corrected them in a great Part from the Manuscript Notes of the Learned Junius, at the end of the Cambridge Edition of Bede, which is in the Bodleian Library; or else by another Latin Manuscript Version of the Industrious Mr. Somner's. And I do not know of any other Saxon Laws, unless there be some of King Cnut's, which remain as yet in Manuscript untranslated in the Bodleian Library, as also in the Hands of Dr. Gale, as I am well informed: I hope they may be one day added to a new Edition of Mr. Lambard's most useful Work.

THUS having gone through all the chiefest English Historians, both in Print and Manuscript, that I know of, relating to the Times before the Conquest, which I think are as many, and of as good Credit as any Country in Europe can shew in the like space of Time; it may be expected I should say something in their Vindication, since I find they have been attacked in a posthumous Treatise, long since written by a Learned Civilian, Sir Thomas Craig, in Latin, in answer to what Mr. Hollingshead has published concerning the Homage that was due from the Kings of Scotland to those of England; and is lately translated into English by the Ingenious Mr. Ridpath: and as I shall here faithfully give you his Arguments against the Antiquity and Credit of our Writers, so I hope I shall return such Answers to them as will satisfy all impartial Readers.

HIS first Objection is, "That from the Death of Bede, (whose Credit, he says, he will every where preserve entire,) the English have no certain History nor Writer to the Reign of King Henry the First, except that Fragment of Ethelwerd's; for (says he) I do not acknowledge that Fragment of Ingulphus, who preceded Ethelwerd twenty Years, as an History; nor Aferius Menevenfis, who wrote only concerning the Transactions of his own King Alfred. And lest he should be thought to affirm anything rashly, "He brings William of Malmesbury to witness the Matter, saying, "That all the Memorials of Transactions from the Death of Bede to his own Time, which was in the Reign of Henry I. about 1142. were utterly lost; nor was there any who followed that Study, or endeavoured to pursue the thread of History till himself.

NOW to give an Answer to this Learned Advocate, and take him Point by Point as he goes on; in the first Place I am sorry to find a Person, otherwise every ways Able and Skillful in his own Profession, so ignorant in our English Historians, since if he had not been so, he could not have committed almost as many Mistakes as he hath wrote Lines: for in the first Place he calls Ingulph and Ethelwerd two Fragments, whereas if he had been pleased to have looked upon either of them, he would have found them entire Pieces so far as they went, (and we call Polybius, Diodorus Siculus, Salust, Livy, Historians, not Fragments, altho each of them be imperfect) only the Edition that was then published of Ingulph wanted the Laws of William the Conqueror, and some few Sheets at the Conclusion, which have been since added.

AND whereas he says, that Ingulph preceded Ethelwerd twenty Years, he is so far from being in the right of that, that the direct contrary is true; for Ingulph lived and wrote above one hundred Years after Ethelwerd had finished his History with King Edgar's Reign, whose Eulogy he only gives us in barbarous Verse.

AND

AND as for what the Advocate says concerning William of Malmesbury, he much misrepresents the Sense of this Author, who does not affirm that there were no Memorials from the Death of Bede to his Time, but the contrary; for he mentions the Saxon Annals in his Proem in these words, Sunt sane quaedam vetustatis Indicia, patrio Sermone, & chronico more per annos Domini ordinata: also in his Book de Antiquitate Glaftoniae (published by Dr. Gale, as above) he citeth them as good Authority, Tradunt Annales bonae credulitatis, &c. Nay, Sir Thomas Craig himself (I suppose through Forgetfulness) has allowed no less than three Writers of part of our History, who lived before Malmesbury, as you may see above: and therefore he must also be understood only in this Sense, that till himself there was none had undertaken an entire Latin Body of English History; for he, distinguishing between an History and Annals, did not reckon (it seems) these Saxon Annals as such, though he often mentions them by the Name of the English Chronicles; being, as I said before, the ground-Work upon which that Author, as well as others that followed him, built their History: and these Annals remaining in Manuscript till long after Sir Thomas Craig's Death, gave him perhaps occasion to affirm in the same Place, "That there is nothing of certainty to be found in the British History from 734. which was the Year of Bede's Death, to the Year 957. but all things were founded upon the "Rumours of Antient Men, and it may be old Wives Fables, which being collected together into one Book, and put in a Latin Dress, made up as it were the shadow of a History, from whence Hollingshead does nevertheless bring most certain Arguments to establish his fictitious Homage.

THIS Point concerning the Homage I shall not take upon me here to decide: but tho I confess there is no express mention of it in the Annals, yet I must needs say there is somewhat to be met with in them that comes very near it; for under Anno 924. they relate thus of King Edward the Elder, "That the King and whole Nation of the Scots chose him in Patrem & Dominum, in the Latin Version, i.e. for their Father and Lord; which is word for word the same with the Saxon Original, which I omit because not commonly understood or read in that Character. But because he supposes that Florence of Worcester was the first Author that wrote this Homage and Fealty, therefore he must be the first that ever mentioned the Submission of the Scottish King to the King of England: I desire those of Sir Thomas his Opinion to tell me, tho the formal Ceremonies of Homage and Fealty (which in different Ages and divers Countries, even where the Feudal Law was obtained, were very different) were not brought up till after the Norman William came hither; yet what could those words in Patrem & Dominum signify, but such an Acknowledgment or Dependence upon a Superior Lord as was tantamount? And it is the more remarkable, because this is mentioned above 20 Years before. The same Annals relate, that King Edmund the Younger, Son to King Edward, bestowed Cumberland upon Malcolm King of Scots, viz. Anno 945. on condition, that he should serve him in his Expeditions by Sea and Land, for which alone the Scottish Writers will allow this Homage to have been due.

AND in the Year following we find in the same Annals, that K. Eadred, Brother to Edmund, having reduced all Northumberland into his Power, (which then took in almost all the Low-Lands of Scotland, as far as Edinburgh) thereupon Scots etiam ei iuramenta prastiterunt, sese velle quicquid is veller, i.e. the Scottish Nation (by which I suppose must be understood

Vid. Hollingshead, Lib. I.

Scotland's Sovereignty asserted, p. 39, 40.

Lib. I. fol. 23.

Vid. Vol. I. Script. Ang. Edit. Oxon.

Florence. An. Dom. 921. 943.

Craig. ubi su. p. 47.

derstood the King as well as the People) took an Oath to King Eadred to perform whatsoever he should please to command them. But that Florence of Worcester understood this to be an Oath of Fealty, appears by his Paraphrase of these words in the Annals thus, & Edredus à Scotis, ut sibi fideles essent, juramentum accepit.

Pag. 345. BUT that, if not Homage, yet somewhat very like it, was rendered in that Age by the Kings of Scotland to those of England, for the best part of what is now called the Lowlands, may appear from the Testimony of John of Wallingford, who in his History relates, that Kenneth King of Scots received Lothian from King Edgar under the Condition of doing Homage to himself and his Successors: which, if it had not then the direct Ceremony of Homage, which perhaps came in with the Normans, yet that it was somewhat very near it, John Fordun the antientest Scottish Historian, acknowledges in these words, That King Edmund (viz. of England) gave the Province of Cumberland to Malcolm King of Scots, sub fidelitate Juramenti; and it was afterwards agreed between the said King Edmund and King Malcolm, that Prince Indulf his next Heir, and all the future Heirs of Scotland successively, should pay to King Edmund and his Successors for the same, Homagium, & fidelitatis Sacramentum: so that if our English Writers have been mistaken in calling that Submission, which the Kings and Princes of Scotland then payed to England, Homage, you may here see the most Antient Scottish Historian guilty of the same Error: which was indeed an Oath of Fidelity, if not the same, yet very like what the Scottish Kings afterwards took when they did Homage to our Kings of England after the Conquest.

Lib. 4. cap. 21. HAVING said thus much, I shall now leave it to the Reader's Judgment, when he has gone through our Annals, to consider, whether this Author's Censure of our English History, from the Year 734. when Bede ended his, to the Year 957. be just, that they were only things, as he says, founded upon the Rumours of Antient Men, and it may be old Wives Fables, and so being collected together in one Book, drefs'd up in Latin, made up as it were the shadow of a History.

Idem. pa. 41. AS also whether what Florence is cited by the Author to say, "That after Bede's Death the English History ceased, and that for his own part he had left things to Posterity, either as he found them in the Text of the English Chronicles, or as he had them from the relations of Men worthy of Credit, or heard and saw them himself; deserves that rash Censure, not only concerning these Annals now published, but of Florence himself, viz. as to what concerned the Text of the English Chronicles, he mentioned them that he might deceive his Reader with the greater Facility: whereas Florence was accounted always a Writer of unquestionable Diligence and Veracity, as appears by the several Testimonies of Learned Men before his History.

Id. ibid. BUT the reason of this Author's Triumph before the Victory, was, that he did not believe any such thing as a Saxon Chronicle could be found; for says he immediately after, "If there were any Chronicles of those Times, seeing Florence lived about the Year 1148. they must still remain in the Archives, which hitherto no English Author did ever alledge, or hath been able to demonstrate; for that Chronicle, as is observed by the Prologue, did only set down the number of Tears. And so he proceeds to invalidate the Credit of Florence of Worcester, as if he had had no Voucher to warrant his Chronicle.

BUT

BUT I hope this Translation I here present you with, will satisfy all ordinary Readers, that the Saxon Annals do contain much more than the bare numbers of Tears, and the Edition first published by Mr. Wheelock in Saxon and Latin from two Copies in Sir Robert Cotton's, and Beinet College Libraries, have long since convinced all Learned Men, that we really had such Monuments in our Archives, which have been also farther confirmed as to the Truth of it, from two other Manuscript Copies, given by Arch-bishop Laud to the Bodleian Library at Oxford, and lately published together with those abovementioned, by the aforesaid Mr. Edmund Gibbon; most of which Copies belonged to several antient Monasteries, and I doubt not but many more of them were lost at their Dissolution in Henry the Eighth's Time, or carried over Seas; for we find Lazius in his Book de Migratione Gentium, quotes several of them. And it's evident that our Annals sometimes follow not Tradition only, but also old written Histories, and perhaps Latin Writers, as may appear by the Actions of Athelstane and Eadmund, An. 938, and 942. But for the support of their Authority I refer the Reader to this Author's own Country-man John Fordun, where he tells us in his Prologue to his Scottish History, "He had heard it was very well ordered in England, that every Monastery of Royal Foundation should have its particular Writer, who was Chronologically to set down all the Memorable things which happened in each King's Reign, either in their own or Neighbouring Kingdoms; and that at the next Great Council after the Death of every respective King, each of those Chronographers met there, and produced whatsoever they had so remarked; and that some of the most discreet Persons in the said Council who were best skilled in such Matters, being chosen for that purpose, should examine those Memorials, and by comparing them together should extract a brief Chronicle from them all, which was to be preserved in the Libraries of those Monasteries, as Authentick Annals to be relied on by Posterity, that so the remembrance of those publick Affairs of the Kingdom might not be lost, or devoured by the Rust of Time.

WHICH Passage had Sir Thomas Craig but carefully considered, he would have had no reason to doubt whether we had had any Chronicles of those times remaining in our Archives, and whether William of Malmesbury, and all the rest of our Historians, have blindly followed Florence of Worcester into an Error, as Cattel do their Leader that break over a Ditch. Id. p. 47.

BUT if our Saxon Annals were not a good Foundation for succeeding Historians to build upon, I desire to know what Credit the Antient Greek and Roman Authors can claim with Men of that scrupulous Temper, since they had nothing but such short Annals or Chronicles preserved in their Archives, (besides Traditions, and the common Fame of their Ancestors) from whence to compose the particular Histories of those Common-Wealths they treat of; such as were the Libri Lintei preserved in the Capitol, from whence Livy drew the most antient Memorials for the writing his Roman History.

AND tho there is some difference to be found between the several Copies of these Annals as to the Calculation of Tears, and some particular Matters that are sometimes inserted in one, and omitted in another; yet the Ingenious Author of the Preface before it, has given the World a satisfactory Answer as to this Matter, which is, "That as to the general Affairs of the whole Kingdom they all agree well enough, tho indeed as to foreign Trans- actions,

"actions, or some few Passages relating to their own private Monasteries, there may be some Additions that are not to be met with in the rest; as may be observ'd from those called the Canterbury and Laudean Copies in the Bodleian Library.

SO I shall leave it upon the whole Matter to the Reader to consider, whether the Author has made good his Challenge, viz. That the English were not able to produce one approved Writer of their own Countrey, who compos'd any Story or History from the Death of Bede, to the Time of Henry the Second; tho I suppose he meant the First, however it is unluckily printed twice the Second in one Page.

BUT to come to this Author's second Objection against our English Historians, the substance of which is, "That the Writers as well before as after the Conquest were Monks, who being dead to the World, have no right of giving a Legal Evidence, it being expressly forbid by the Canon Law to concern themselves in secular Matters; and also that by reason of their solitary Lives, they ought very seldom to be entrusted in publick Affairs, seeing they are no competent Judges concerning them: for it was not very probable that either the Secrets of Princes, or things belonging to the State, were ever communicated to them, otherwise than by common Report, seeing they were kept at the greatest distance from all manner of Action, and do oftentimes embrace things doubtful as certain, and Fictions for Matter of Fact; and that therefore this feigned Homage must of necessity fall to the Ground, for which there is no better Evidence than that of a Monk; for it will not be admitted as a good Conclusion, that because a Monk says so, therefore it is true.

THIS Argument may as easily be retorted upon him thus, That as a thing is not true because a Monk writes it, so neither is it false for that reason alone; for tho Monks are by the Canon Law forbid meddling with Secular Affairs, and may not perhaps be admitted for good Witnesses in Civil Causes, yet is this but a meer Cavil as to the Point in Question, since that was not the intent of the Canon to forbid them the writing either of Civil or Ecclesiastical Histories; and Bede himself (whose Credit this Author says he will not impair) was a Monk, as were also Marianus Scotus (whom he alloweth and would have to be taken for his own Countrey-Man) Sigebertus, Hermanus Contractus, and almost all the Famous Chronographers of those Times, who flourish'd in our Neighbouring Nations as well as our own; and that they were not of such retired Lives as not to have Memorials sent them of publick Actions, appears by the aforesaid Citation out of Fordun, concerning the manner of writing our English Annals in the Monasteries, which, as he tells us, were supervised afterwards by some appointed of the Great Council of the Kingdom. And that some of the Monks after the Conquest were in great Reputation for their faithful Accounts, appears by the great Credit given to Florence of Worcester and William of Malmesbury in those times; the last of whom dedicated his History to Robert Earl of Gloucester Natural Son to King Henry the First: and Matthew Paris was of so great Esteem, that we learn from himself, that King Henry the Third gave him particular Directions for inserting into his History several considerable Passages relating to his own Reign: so far were the Princes of that Age from being of this Author's Opinion, that Monks were no wise fit to write History, nor to be credited when they had done.

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BUT if no Credit must be given to the Memorials of Monks, I desire to know, what will become of the so much talk'd of Scottish Annals that were kept in the Isle of Jona or Icolmhil, and of their famous Book of the Abbey of Paisley, from whence Hector Boethius pretends to have derived the principal Matters that make up the first part of his History? Nay, what will become of their most creditable Writer John Fordun, who bottoms much of his History on the Legends of S. Brendane, and others?

NOR is there any difference that I know of between these Books now mentioned and our Saxon Annals, but that these are to be seen (I mean the Originals) in our Libraries, and are also published both in Saxon and Latin, and are here translated into English in this ensuing History, whilst theirs are not; and if Hector Boethius ever saw them, is more than we can be sure of, since a most Reverend Doctor (and now Bishop of our Church) hath produced very good Reasons to render it highly suspicious, that there never were any such Books at all; and if so, I wonder what will become of the Credit of all their Antient Scottish History, and their long Bedroll of Kings before Fer-
Vid. Dr. Stil-
lingfleet Antiq.
of the Brit.
Church. Pref.
pag. 35, 40.

AS for the rest of this Author's Objections, I shall be very short in my Answers to them.

THE third of which is, that our Authors are not to be credited, because they are English-men. If this were of any weight, I might turn his own Cannon upon him, and tell him, no more are his Writers who deny this Homage, because they are Scots-men: and if neither are to be believed, I would fain have any Learned Gentleman of that Nation to shew me a Foreign Historian who lived near those Times, that denied there was any such thing.

AS for his last, that they were Enemies, it is yet more trivial; since I have here made use of no Authorities but what were written before the Conquest, when there was no War at all between the two Nations, but rather a strict Amity or League against their Common Enemy the Danes; or else from Florence of Worcester and William of Malmesbury, Authors that lived and wrote (as hath been already shewn) in the very Times when those Homages they mention were done; which whether they were for Scotland it self, or else for Northumberland and Cumberland, which they then held of the Kings of England, shall be further considered in my next Volume, if God shall permit me to finish it.

BUT I desire the Reader to take notice, that finding the English-Saxon Chronicle to be very dry in many places, it giving us only an account of the Succession of their Kings, and the Battels they fought against one another, without ever telling us what were the Grounds of their falling out; the Monks of those Times, for want of Civil Affairs, or (as we call them) those of the Cabinet, filling up their Annals only with Fighting and Devotion, I saw it necessary for me to pursue in great part the Method that Bede had laid down throughout the whole Work, and to insert some things relating to Ecclesiastical Affairs, to make this History more useful, as well as diverting, to all sort of Persons.

AND therefore being sensible of the near Conjunction of the Civil with the Ecclesiastical State, which were often united into one Mycel-Synod, or Great Council of the whole Nation, wherein were made not only Civil Laws, but also Ecclesiastical Canons or Constitutions, respecting Religion and Discipline, as well as Reformation of Manners, I have set down both

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the one and the other whenever I thought they contained any Matter of more than ordinary Notice: and as for those Synods or Councils which were wholly Ecclesiastical, though I have not always expressly given you all the Canons they made, yet I have not failed to refer the Reader for his farther Satisfaction, to that rich Treasury of this kind of Knowledge, Sir Henry Spelman's first Volume of Councils.

TO which I have likewise not only added the Succession of some Bishops, and Abbots, as far as I have found them in the Saxon Annals, but have inserted from William of Malmesbury and other Writers, whatever I could find relating to them, or any other of the same Order, remarkable for Learning or Piety; especially the Arch-bishops of Canterbury and York, whose Successions I have often supplied from other Authors, wherein the Annals were silent.

NOR have I omitted the Foundations of the greater Monasteries, as I met with them in the Annals, no more than the other Foundations of the same kind set down in Monasticon Anglicanum, yet still confining myself to such of them as were valued at 500 l. per annum or more, at the time of their Dissolution. And I hope no Man that is a Lover of Antiquity, or the Honour of his Nation, will look upon this as needless, any more than the Foundations of our two famous Universities, of which I have here given you the earliest Accounts I can find.

NEITHER do I suppose it will prove tedious, if I have here likewise put down the Stories of some Miracles related by Bede and other Monks, since I have done it with Moderation, and where the Contexture of this Work would have seem'd lame and imperfect without it; and I only give them you just as I find them, leaving every one to make what Judgment he pleases of them.

I confess I am not satisfied that divers of those Relations swallowed by Bede and other Authors of Note, are true, they having been since discovered by Men of great Learning and Judgment, to carry evident Marks of Forgery along with them; such as is that of Joseph of Arimathea his Preaching the Gospel in England, which hath been examined with great Accuracy by the Reverend and Learned Dr. Stillingfleet, now Lord Bishop of Worcester, in his Origines Britannicæ; so that though I have both from him, and others, said somewhat upon that Subject, yet I must still refer the Reader to the Book it self, if he desires farther Satisfaction either in gratifying his Curiosity, or informing his Judgment.

BUT to the foregoing Relations, I must needs here add that of the Martyrdom of St. Alban, which though the Learned Author last named, in his second Chapter of his said Book, hath with great Learning proved it, if not true, yet at least probable; I hope he will not take it amiss if I farther examine the Certainty of this Story: for notwithstanding it be set down in the old Roman Martyrologies, and his Suffering here is also mentioned by Constantius, Presbyter, who lived above one hundred Years before Bede, from whom I have borrowed this; yet I must ingenuously confess, I do not see how it can consist with the Ecclesiastical or Civil History of those Times, in which it is supposed to have happened. For Bede places the Suffering of St. Alban during the Persecution of Dioclesian, and after the Recovery of Britain from the Usurpation of Allectus.

WHEREAS it is evident from Chronology, that Carausius the Usurper, having Anno Dom. 286. rebelled against the Roman Emperor, held Britain

Britain under his Power for near seven Years, and then was murdered by the Usurper Allectus, who also governed near three Years longer, till about the middle of the Reign of the Emperor Dioclesian; who having constituted Constantius Chlorus, Cæsar, sent Asclepiodotus as his Lieutenant into Britain, (being then part of his Share, as were all the Provinces on this side the Alpes) in the Year 295. and he having slain Allectus in Battel, governed here some short Time, till Constantius himself coming over in Person, reigned as Cæsar or Augustus so long as he lived: During all which Revolutions we do not read of any Persecution in Britain, as the Learned Mr. Dodwell in his Dissertationes Cyprianæ has very well observed, and consequently St. Alban could not suffer Martyrdom between the Years 303. and 305. or at any other Time where the Roman Martyrologies place it.

Disert. Cypri.
11. de paucitate Martyrum,
§. 75.

AND this I think is clear from the Testimonies of two Authors of unquestionable Credit, who lived in the very Time when this (if at all) must have happened. The first of these is Eusebius, who in his eighth Book of Ecclesiastical History, giving a Character of Constantius the Emperor, hath these words, viz. "He always shewed himself most benign and affable towards all Men, which appeared by this, that he was no ways partaker of the Persecution raised against us (i.e.) Christians: but having preserved the Worshipers of the true God free and unhurt from all Accusations, and not having so much as destroyed the Buildings of our Churches, or acted any thing against those of our Religion, he at last attained a quiet and happy End. To which we may also add another Passage in his first Book, cap. 8. but it being more tedious, and not so express and full as the Place now cited, I therefore omit it.

Cap. 13.

TO whom we may also subjoin Lactantius, who in his Treatise de Mortibus Persecutorum, differs indeed from Eusebius about his demolishing the Christian Churches, yet he agrees with him in the main; that no Christians suffered Death in Constantius his Division or Share of the Empire. This Author's words I have thus translated. "But Constantius, lest he should seem to dissent from the Edicts of the greater Emperors, tho he permitted the Meeting-places of the Christian Assemblies, that could be rebuilt, to be pulled down, yet he still preserved the true Temple of God, which is in the Bodies of Men, safe and inviolate. And this is farther confirmed by Optatus de Schismate, as also by Zozomen in his Ecclesiastical History, who both rectifying the Address of the Donatists to the Emperor Constantine, do acknowledge that his Father never shed the Blood of any Christian.

Lib. 1.
Lib. 2.

AND even this small difference between these two Authors may be thus reconciled, by supposing that tho he connived at the destroying of the Christian Churches by the vulgar Pagans, yet he no ways commanded it; much less approved of it when it was done. So that there could be no Persecution in Gaul or Britain, (both which were part of his Province) during the Time that he continued either as Cæsar or Emperor; and the Persecution ceased Anno Dom. 308. not long before his Death.

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GR. AP. 1.

Lib. 1. c. 6.

BUT since a Learned and Ingenious French-man, Theodorus Rutarum, in his Preface to a late Treatise, entitled, *de Actibus Martyrum*, put out with a new Edition of this Work of Lactantius in Holland, hath endeavoured to justify the Martyrologies against this Opinion of Mr. Dodwell's, I think it very convenient to take some notice of what he there alledges; and his chief Argument against these plain Authorities, is, that the Emperor Maximian was in Gaul during some part of this Persecution, and that then the Power of Constantius being only as Cæsar, was suspended by the Presence of the Emperor himself; and consequently the Persecution was carried on in that part of the Empire, notwithstanding Constantius his private dislike of it, or perhaps opposing it as much as he durst.

BUT in return to this seeming Argument, we shall first observe, that neither Eusebius nor Lactantius mention any Persecution in Gaul or Britain during all this Time, which it is highly probable they would have done, had it been carried on with the like Fury in these as it was in the other parts of the Empire. So that I do not find this Author clearly makes out, that the Emperor Maximian was in Gaul during this Persecution, by any other Testimonies than those Martyrologies themselves, whose Credit we have just reason to question.

BUT suppose I should admit there was a Persecution in Gaul at the same Time as he affirms, what will this concern Britain, where it is certain from the Authority abovementioned, that the Power of Constantius was never abrogated, or suspended by any of the other Emperors? But if it appears there was no such Persecution in Gaul as he pretends, can one with reason believe that there should be any at that Time in Britain, which lay so much more remote; and out of the View or Notice of those persecuting Emperors? But Michael Alford in his British Annals, being sensible of the great Improbability of this Persecution between the Years 303, and 305, when upon Constantius's being declared Emperor, all Authors agree the Persecution ceased all over the Empire; he therefore antedates the Time of it to the Year 287, when he supposes that St. Alban, after he had been kept six Months in Prison, suffered Martyrdom, viz. in the beginning of the Reign of Dioclesian and Maximian; and for this he cites an ancient Manuscript Copy of Bede which he had seen, as also the Authority of Matthew Paris in his History, and Matthew Westminster, who both follow an old Martyrologist cited by Capgrave, as much antienter than Bede.

TO this Opinion we reply, that in the first place it does not appear by any Authority, but this Writer's bare conjecture, that there was any Persecution in Britain or Gaul at the beginning of the Emperors Reigns abovementioned, but rather the contrary, since Eusebius expressly tells us, that Dioclesian was so far from persecuting, that he favoured and employed the Christians in all Offices both Civil and Military, till after the Persian War, which was toward the latter end of his Reign. Nor indeed could this Persecution have happened under the Usurpers of Carausius and Allectus here in Britain, seeing they were always engaged in defending themselves against the Roman Emperors, and therefore

could

could not be at leisure to persecute Men for Religion during such unsettled Times.

AND as for the Authority of these Martyrologies which this Author urges for the Truth of this Persecution, viz. That they are some of them very Antient, the Originals of them being about 900 Years old: I doubt this will be so far from supporting their Credit, that it will rather be instrumental to destroy it; since it is very well known that it was about the end of the fifth, or beginning of the sixth Century, that this trick of forging the Lives and Sufferings of Saints came first in Fashion, and so was carried on in those dark Times for near 500 Years following, as the Reverend Dr. Burnet (now Bishop of Salisbury) has learnedly proved in his Preface to his Translation of the aforesaid Treatise of Lactantius.

NOR did the Monks fail of finding their Account in this Design, since nothing contributed more than this and such like Legends, to the worshipping of the Reliques of Saints, and going on Pilgrimages to their Tombs: Which Superstition, how much it advanced the worldly Power and Grandeur of the Clergy of those Times, he must be a great Stranger to the Ecclesiastical as well as Civil History of those Ages, not to understand.

HAVING now, I hope, gone through all those things I thought necessary to advertise the Reader of, I have little else remaining, but to ask his Pardon for not adding in the Margin some short Notes or Contents of what is in the Body of the Work; which tho I confess several Historians have done, yet I thought it might very well be spared here: First, Because in my Opinion it spoils the Beauty of the Margin; and besides, this Volume being written in an exact Chronological Order, it will be very easy for the Reader, (if he will but please to remember near the Year about which any thing he would find, happened) to satisfy himself in the Matter he would know, by turning over but two or three Pages: and farther, the Tears of our Lord standing in Roman Figures in the Margin, do in many Places fill that Space which those Contents usually take up. But if these Reasons by some may not be thought sufficient; a good Friend of mine has been at the Pains, for your sake, as well as my ease, to make an exact Table to the whole Work, by which I am confident you cannot miss readily finding out any thing whatsoever you have a desire to be satisfied in, that is contained in this Volume, either as to Persons, Places or Things.

I have endeavoured to make this History as diverting as I could by variety of Matter, as also by inserting into it whatsoever Relations I met with in our old Historians, that were not utterly improbable; and therefore I hope the Reader will not be uneasy, because all the parts of there are not kept up alike pleasant and agreeable, since the dryness of the Matter, and the barrenness of those few Authors I find in some Periods, will not always equally afford it; any more than it can be expected, that in a long Journey it should be alike pleasant Travelling through dark and narrow Lanes, as over a free and open Champaign.

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THERE is one thing more I must needs stand obliged to you in for your Pardon, and that is, the many Errata's you will find in the first four Books; for being out of Town when near half of it was wrought off, I could not supervise it myself: and though I committed the Correction of those Sheets to a Person on whom I could (as I have done before) safely rely for his Ability and Faithfulness in the discharge of that Trust; yet no Man is able to judge of the Author's Sense so well as himself, nor consequently to mend it, if any where too Obscure or Mistaken; and I cannot, as I would, answer so well for the Care of my Amanuensis in his Writing or Pointing: and I must add this also, that some Printers are not always so careful as they should be to amend their own Faults, tho never so exactly Corrected by those to whom their Sheets were entrusted for that Purpose.

THE

THE
General Introduction
TO THE
Whole Work.

SINCE the late Learned Doctor *Howell* and Doctor *Brady*, the former in his Second and Third Parts of his General History of the World, and the latter in his General Preface, and First Book of his Compleat History of *England*, have given us a large Account of the Political Government and Laws in this Part of our Island we now call *England*, during the time of the *Roman* Emperors, as also of our *English-Saxon* Kings, as far as the *Norman* Conquest; this Undertaking of Mine would look very imperfect, if I should not in some measure follow their Method, and prefix before it something of the like nature.

I have therefore made bold to borrow from Mr. *Selden*, and those other Authors who have written on this Subject, whatsoever I thought was necessary to carry on the same Design; and also added those Things that I found they have either omitted or mistaken, and which required more largely to be treated of, in order to render this Work as useful as possible I could for a matter of so great Importance.

TO begin then with the Government of the *Britains* before the Arrival of *Julius Caesar* into this Island: Of which we have scarce any Account but what can be gathered from *Geoffrey* of *Monmouth*, which is so uncertain and fabulous, that there is little reliance upon what he says, save that in the general it was governed by Kings, and often canton'd into several Kingdoms: for that it was ever under one Monarch, as he frequently affirms, I have very good reason to doubt; it being not only contrary to the *Genius* and Custom of the *British* Nation, (where all the Male Issue inherited alike) to suffer the Eldest Son to go away with the whole Inheritance, but likewise it is directly opposite to *Caesar's* Account of this Island when he came first hither, which he says he found divided into several distinct Principalities and States.

BUT if any Part of *Geoffrey's* Relation be true, that is most likely to be so which he gives us of the Laws of *Molmutius*, viz.

THAT the Temples of the Gods had this Privilege, That whatever guilty Persons should fly to them, they should be secure from their Prosecutors; because we find that Custom very antient, not only amongst the *Greeks* and *Romans*, but indeed all other Nations, the *Jews* not excepted.

NEXT, That the publick Ways leading to the said Temples, and the Cities wherein they were, should be free and safe. And,

LASTLY, That such a Proportion of Land should maintain so many Ploughs for the Encouragement of Husbandry; which was very natural in a Countrey, where not only the Soil, but the Laziness of the Inhabitants, rendered it more apt for Grazing than Tillage.

BUT I cannot forbear observing how little stress is to be laid on *Geoffrey's* Account of the Laws of those *British* Princes, since he has the Confidence to tell us of another Set of Laws supposed to be made by *Queen Martia*, which, he says, being afterwards translated by King *Alfred* out of the *British* Language, were by him inserted into his Body of *Saxon* Laws, under the Title of *Mearchen-Lage*. The Fallshood of which Derivation *Mr. Camden* has very well discovered, by shewing, That this Word had not its Original from *Queen Martia*, but from the *Saxon* Word *Meare*, signifying a Limit or Boundary; from whence the *Mercian* Kingdom had its Name, and was so called from its Situation, as being circumscribed by the other Kingdoms of the *Heptarchy*.

BUT as for the *British* Government that succeeded upon the *Romans* deserting of this Island, we can say no more of it, than that it was Regal; but that it was all subject to one Monarch, I no where find. For tho it appears from *Gildas* and *Nennius*, that *Vortigern* was made King not long after the *Romans* leaving it, yet does it not follow from thence, that there were no more Kings than he at the same time; since it seems very unlikely, that all *Britain* (properly so called) which in the time of the *Romans* was divided into so many distinct Provinces, each of which had their particular *Præfects* or Deputies, should so unanimously agree in the Choice of this *Vortigern*, whom *Geoffrey* preposterously relates to have been then Count of the *Gewises*, when indeed there were no such People of that Name in Being, till the erecting of the *West-Saxon* Kingdom; those People being then (and not before) so called from one *Gewis*, an Ancestor of *Hengist*. And *Gildas*, who lived within fourscore Years after the Reign of this *Vortigern*, tells us of no less than four distinct Kings reigning together in this Part of the Island, and mentions not a Word of its ever being otherwise.

BUT that the Titles of those Kings who reigned here during the first Wars between the *Britains* and the *Saxons*, were oftner by Election than Succession, may appear not only from *Geoffrey* himself, but also from *Gildas* and *Nennius*, who are Authors of better Credit; and they relate *Vortimer* the eldest Son of *Vortigern*, to have been elected upon his Father's Deposition, King of the *Britains*; and after his Death, and the second Desertion of *Vortigern*, that *Aurelius Ambrosius* was elected first General, and some time afterwards King of the *Britains*.

NOR can we believe that these Kings were Absolute or Despotick Monarchs, since we find that Government unsuitable to the Temper of the *British* Nation, both then, and in succeeding times; having not only frequently cast off the Government of the *Roman* Emperors, but also of their own Kings, for their cruel Tyranny and Oppression.

AND that this way of the Election of one supreme King over the rest, was after often used by the *Britains*, you will find in the History it self, not but that it must be confessed, that the several petty Kingdoms or Principa-

Principalities which the *Britains* still possessed, and that go under the Name of *North* and *South-Wales*, did commonly descend, and were divisable among the several Sons of the deceased Prince, tho it was with great Inequality and Confusion; which often produced frequent Civil Wars between the Contending Competitors, and became the Ruin of them all at last.

BUT to pass from these *British* Princes, and the manner of their Government, as well before the coming in, as after the Desertion of the *Romans*, and which (tho not in its due order of Time) I have here put together, that the Reader might have a full View of it all at once. I proceed now to the Civil and Military Administration of the *Romans* whilst they continued Masters of this Part of *Britain*.

JULIUS Cæsar, when he had rather view'd than conquer'd this Island, left it, upon the Delivery of some Hostages, and the Promise of sending over more into *Gaul*, together with a certain Tribute to the Senate and People of *Rome*, neither of which the *Britains* ever perform'd; but during the Civil Wars, which not longer after ensued, they recovered their antient Liberty, which for divers Years they enjoyed, till the Emperor *Claudius*, at the Instigation of one *Bericus* a Fugitive, and upon a Pretence of their denying the *Romans* to trade here, sent over first *Aulus Plautius* as his Lieutenant, and then following presently afterwards himself in Person, made the *Britains* (I mean the greatest part of them) partly by Force, and partly by Fear, submit themselves to his Empire; tho in a great measure under the Regiment of their own Kings, who only paid Tribute, and received *Roman* Garisons, and suffered them to erect Colonies where they pleas'd: during which time the Government of the *Romans* was rather Military than Civil, the People living after their own Laws.

NOR were the *Britains* wholly subdued by them, till upon their Insurrection under *Queen Boadicia* in the Time of *Nero*, when *Paulus Suetonius* being Legate or Lieutenant here, reduced them (tho with great difficulty) under the *Roman* Yoke.

BUT the Civil Wars that afterwards happened upon the Death of *Nero*, hindered their entire Conquest, until such time as the Emperor *Vespasian* sent over that famous Commander *Agricola* to be his General here; who in a few Years, having laid aside their petty Kings, brought it into the Form of a Province under the *Roman* Governours, sometimes stiled *Præsidents*, sometimes *Consulares*, and sometimes *Legati* or *Procuratores*, as the Emperor's Commission, or the various Appellations of the *Roman* Historians are pleased to entitle them.

AND then it was, I suppose, this Part of the Island was first divided into several *Præfectships* or Governments, tho how many they were, cannot be ascertained; only we find from the Breviary of *Sextus Rufus*, that in the Reign of *Constantine* it was parcell'd into these four for its better Administration, viz. *Britannia prima*, which is conjectured to have been that Part of the Countrey lying from the *Gallie* Sea to the River *Thames* and the Mouth of the *Severn*; *Britannia secunda*, which reached from the *Severn* to the *Irish* Sea; *Flavia Casariensis*, which was enclosed by the Rivers *Thames*, *Severn* and *Humber*; and *Maxima Casariensis*, lying betwixt *Humber* and *Hadrian's* Wall; to which was afterwards added by *Theodosius* the Elder, the

De his Nominibus, vid. Pancirol. ad N. r. Imperii Occident. & Camden. Brit.

the Province of *Valentia*, so called from the Emperor *Valentinian*; and which, having been taken out of *Maxima Caesariensis*, lay betwixt the Wall of *Hadrian*, and the Friths of *Glotta* and *Bodotria*, which now are those of *Edinburgh* and *Dunbritton*.

EACH of which Provinces were under their particular Magistrates, some whereof had the Title of *Consulares*, and others of *Præsides*: all which, according to the *Notitia Romani Imperii*, were by *Constantine's* new Constitutions, made subject to the *Vicarius of Britain*, as he was to the *Praefectus Praetorii* of *Gaul*, who was one of the Four *Praefecti* of *Constantine's* Erektion.

THIS *Vicar of Britain* had also several inferior Officers under him for the Civil Administration; as first, he had his *Princeps* or Lieutenant out of the *Agentes in rebus*, that is, from the Chief of the Agents, Solicitors, or Attorney-Generals: he had also from the *Ducenarii*, or Society of the Emperors Pursuivants; a *Cornicularius*, i. e. one that wrote and published the Sentences and Decrees of the Presidents and other Magistrates, and had his Name from *Cornu* a Horn, by the founding whereof he is supposed to command silence in the Court; then two *Numerarii*, i. e. Clerks Accountants, who did set down all the Sums of the publick Revenues; then a *Commentariensis*, i. e. the Jailor or Keeper of the Prison, and was so called from the *Commentaria*, or Kalendars which he kept of the Prisoners, and delivered to the Judges: then certain Officers called *ab Actis*, who were Publick Notaries, that wrote Testaments, Contracts and other Instruments, which were signed before by the Judge or President, and attested by him, that so after the Death of the Party they might remain Authentick: then other Clerks or Secretaries *de Curâ*, or *de Curâ Epistolarum*, who wrote and sent the Letters and Dispatches of the Governours of Provinces to the Emperor, or to each other.

BESIDES whom, the *Vicarius* himself, (and, I suppose also, each of the Presidents) had his *Adjutorem*, i. e. his Coadjutor, in case of Sickness, or necessary Absence; as likewise *Subadjugas*, Under-Assistants, or Assistants to the Adjutor: and, in short, certain other Officers called *Singulares*, from the particular Civil Employments they had, who seem'd to have been Prosecutors, Informers, or Serjeants; not to mention others of more inferior Rank, as Apparitors, Summoners, or Messengers. This was the Civil Court of the *Vicarius*, or Deputy of *Britain*, under the *Praefectus Praetorii* of *Gaul*, who had the Power to reverse his Judgments and Decrees.

THE Ensigns of his Government were a Draught of those Five Parts of *Britain* before-mentioned, expressed in the Forms of several Buildings, with the Supercription of their Names placed on the Triangular Form of the Island, as if they had comprehended the whole Island; the Book of their Instructions covered with Green, and the Commission in a gilt Cover, with several Letters inscribed on the Book, the Signification of which is unnecessary to be here inserted; but you will find this, as also a Draught of these *Insignia* themselves, in the above-cited *Pancirollus*.

BESIDES these general Presidents, there were likewise Courts in all the great Cities, *Municipia*, or Colonies of each Province, which had their several Officers and Magistrates according to the Model of *Rome* it

it self, who heard Causes, and administered Justice to the particular Districts belonging to them, much after the same manner as the Parliaments in *France* do at this day.

HAVING thus concluded their Civil Administration, we now come to the Military, which was executed by Three Chief Officers under the *Magister Militum* of the *West*, and they were these, viz. the *Comes Britanniarum*, *Comes Littoris Saxonici*, and the *Dux Britanniarum*; whose several Charges, and the Tracts subjected to each of their Commands, may be best discerned by the Names of those Towns where their Under-Officers and Forces are said to have had their Head-quarters. The first of these, viz. the Count of *Britain*, is thought to have had his Command over the Inward or Middle Part of the Island, because the two others are known to have had theirs over the Northern or Maritime Parts thereof; but the *Notitia* assigns not any Forces to the former, nor mentions any Places under his Command, because, as *Pancirollus* writes, the whole Island was then almost overrun by Barbarians.

BUT as for the *Comes Littoris Saxonici*, so called in the Declension of the Roman Empire, from the charge or Care he had to suppress the Saxon Pirates, who often landing on the Eastern Parts of *Britain*, (lying over against *Germany*) committed great Ravages there; he had eight *Præpositi*, and one *Tribune* under him, that were Leaders of divers Cohorts, consisting of *Gauls*, *Germans*, and other Foreign Nations, who quartered in several Towns all along the Coasts, from *Suffex*, as far as the remotest part of *Norfolk*: for the Names of whom, with the Places where they lay, I shall refer you to the *Notitia Imperii Occidentalis*, or (if you had rather have them in *English*) to Mr. *Selden's* Titles of Honour, and Dr. *Howell's* second Part, and third Chapter, of his General History.

THE like I may also say of the Forces under the *Dux Britanniarum*, or General of *Britain*, whose Army, had it then been really in being, was sufficient to have suppressed both the *Picts* and *Scots*; for they consisted of no less than fourteen *Praefecti* or *Præpositi* of Horse and Foot, whose Names, and Places where they quartered (extending from *Lincolnshire* through all the Northern Counties, as far as the *Pictish* Borders, and so round about by *Lancashire* into *North-Wales*) you may find in the Authors abovementioned.

BUT as for the several Ensigns of these three chief Military Officers, they being much what the same with those of the *Vicarius Britanniae*, viz. The Figures of certain Towns, with their Names set over them, together with their Commissions, contained in Books of different coloured Covers, with the Emperor's Images set by them on Pillars, I will leave it to those who take more Pleasure than I do in such Curiosities.

ALL these *Comites* and *Duces* were equal in Power, and only subordinate to the *Vicarius Britanniae*; the Forces under their Command were not only dispersed through the *Municipia* or Free Colonies, which the Romans planted here, and were governed by their own Civil Magistrates in Imitation of *Rome* their Mother-City, but were also garrison'd in divers Towns, Castles and Forts, all along the Roman Limits, thereby to discover the Motions of the Neighbouring Nations; several of which being intended only at first for their Military Camps,

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by degrees grew up into Cities, and are known at this day by the Name of *Chesters*; such as are *West-Chester* on the River *Dee*, *Portchester* in *Hampshire* (now destroyed,) *Chester in the Street* in *Northumberland*, with several others of less note near the *Pitts Wall*; as also in the Inland Parts of *England*, ending in the word *Cester*, as *Leicester*, *Cirencester*, &c. all which owe their Original to the Latin Name *Castra*.

HAVING now dispatched the *British* and *Roman* Polity, I come to the main part of my Design, which is, to give a brief Account of the Civil Government that the *English Saxons* established in this part of our Island, which they called *England*, who consisting of several Tribes or Nations inhabiting different Countries, yet all speaking the same Language, came over hither at several Times under their particular Leaders; and as soon as they had expelled the *Britains*, they did within the space of about a hundred Years, erect seven distinct Kingdoms, though not of equal Extent; the Names of which, (notwithstanding they are set down in the History it self, yet having not given you the particular Catalogue of the several Counties they contained, because their Dominions were not then divided into those Districts as they were afterwards,) I have referred to this place.

The Heptarchy.

1st. Kingdom. THE first Kingdom, being that of *Kent*, consisted only of that County and *Surrey*.

2^d. Kingdom. THE second, viz. that of the *South-Saxons*, contained *Sussex* and *Surrey*, or at least great part of it.

3^d. Kingdom. THE third was the Kingdom of the *West-Saxons*, and contained *Devonshire*, *Dorsetshire*, *Somersetshire*, *Wiltshire*, *Hampshire* and *Berkshire*. But as for that Countrey called *Cornwall*, I shall not reckon it here, because it was for a long Time after governed by its own Princes, and not brought under the *West-Saxon* Dominion till long after

4th. Kingdom. THE fourth was that of the *East-Saxons*, which contained *Essex*, *Middlesex*, and part of *Hertfordshire*.

5th. Kingdom. THE fifth was that of the *Northerners*, which contained *Lancashire*, *Yorkshire*, the Bishoprick of *Duresme*, *Cumberland*, *Westmorland*, *Northumberland*, and part of *Scotland*, as far as *Edinburgh Frith*.

THIS Kingdom after the Death of *Ida*, was divided into two parts; the first whereof, containing all the Countries lying on this side the River *Tyne*, was called the Kingdom of *Deira*; and that on the other side of it was called *Bernicia*, and so continued for several Descents, till King *Osmy*, about the Year 643. upon the Murder of King *Oswin* his Cousin, again reduced them into one; and they continued thus united till such time as the *Southern* Provinces were overrun by the *Danes*, as the more *Northern* were by the *Scots*, and have ever since remained part of that Kingdom: and hence it is that the Low-Lands of *Scotland*, (that is, all the Countrey from the River *Tyne*, to the *Friths* of *Edinburgh* and *Dunbritton*;) antiently spoke the *English Saxon* Tongue, which in succeeding Times was changed into that *English* Dialect they call the Modern *Scotch*; and consists of the old *Saxon*, with no little mixture of the *Danish* Language: this, I suppose, proceeded from the great Conquests, and settling so many of that Nation in those *Northern* Parts.

545. THIS is in great measure confirmed by *John of Wallingford*, (published by the Learned Dr. Gale) where he relates, that *Kenneth* King of *Scots* received *Lorhian* from King *Edgar*, under the Condition

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of a Homage from himself and his Successors Kings of *Scotland*, to the King of *England*, as also that the People of that Countrey should enjoy their Laws and Customs, as also the use of the *English* Tongue.

BUT as for the true and genuine *Scotish*, which they now call the Speech of the *Highlanders*, because by them only spoken at this day, it is no other than the antient *Irish*, which the *Scots* brought over with them from thence, when they first came over to inhabit there, as you will find in the Beginning of *Bede's* History.

THE sixth Kingdom was that of the *East-Angles*, which contained *Norfolk*, *Suffolk*, *Cambridgeshire*, with the Isle of *Ely*.

THE seventh was that of the *Mercians*, containing *Gloucestershire*, *Herefordshire*, *Worcestershire*, *Warwickshire*, *Leicestershire*, *Rutlandshire*, *Northamptonshire*, *Lincolnshire*, *Huntingtonshire*, *Bedfordshire*, *Buckinghamshire*, *Oxfordshire*, *Staffordshire*, *Shropshire*, *Nottinghamshire*, *Cheshire*, and part of *Hertfordshire*.

BUT as for the Names of the Kings who reigned in each of these Kingdoms, till they were all brought under that of the *West-Saxons*, I shall refer you to the Tables at the end of the third, fourth and fifth Books of this Volume, wherein you have at one view all the Kings that succeeded in each of those Periods, as also those of that part of *Britain* we now call *Wales*; and for the more exact Chronology of the first *British* Princes, I must own my self obliged to the exact account of the Right Reverend the present Lord Bishop of *Bangor*, who I hope one day will let the World see some of his Learned Labours on that Subject.

THIS is a short Scheme of the several Kingdoms, into which that Part of *Britain* we now call *England*, was divided in the *Saxon* Times.

I should next proceed to the particular Laws and Forms of Government in each respective Kingdom; but since we have no Remains of those left us for want of Letters, before the Preaching of Christianity here, we can only say in the general, that without doubt each of these Kingdoms had its own particular Laws and Customs; and tho they might perhaps differ one from the other in some Points, yet they all agreed in the main, as to the most Material and Fundamental Constitutions of their Government, and long received Laws and Customs before ever they arrived in *England*, as proceeding from the same Common Ancestors.

AND tho the *English-Saxons* were not immediately derived from the *Germans* but *Goths*, as you will find in the third Book of this Volume; yet since even the *Germans* themselves were derived from the same *Gothick* Original, with all the rest of those Northern People, as the *Sweeds*, *Danes* and *Norwegians*, as appears by the Agreement of their Language, Customs and Laws; I shall therefore suppose that in the main likewise they agreed with the Antient *Germans*, as they are described by * *Tacitus*, in their Laws, Manners, and Religion; and therefore I shall from him give you some of the most considerable of them, as they are collected by Mr. *Selden* in his Learned Treatise, called, *Jani Anglorum Facies altera*.

* De moribus Germanorum:

THE first of which is, *In conciliis Rex vel Princeps, prout Aetas cuiq; prout Nobilitas, prout Decus Bellorum, prout Facundia est, audiuntur, Auctoritate suadendi magis quam jubendi potestate. Si displicuit Sententia,*

I.

Sententia, fremitu aspernantur; sin placuit, frameas concutiant. Honoratissimum assensus Genus est Armis laudare. Which for the Benefit of the Common Readers, I will take upon me to translate into English, viz.

" IN their Councils the King, or some principal Person, according to every one's respective Age, Nobility, Reputation in Arms, or Eloquence, are heard, rather by the Authority of Persuading, than the Power of Commanding: if their Opinions displeased them, they shewed their dislike by their Clamour; but if they approved of what was spoken, they struck their Launces one against another. This was thought the most Honourable way of giving their Assent to approve by Arms.

2. THE second is, *Eliguntur in iisdem Conciliis Principes, qui Jura per pagos vicofq; reddunt. Centeni singulis ex plebe Comites Consilium simul & Auctoritas adiungunt, viz.*

" IN those Councils such chief Men are Elected, as judge Causes in Towns and Villages. A hundred Assessors chosen out of the common People are added to each of them, as well for Counsel as Authority. From whence Mr. Selden here supposes our Hundreds had their Original; which antiently consisted of the Masters of one hundred Families.

3. THE third goes on thus, *Nihil publica vel privata Rei nisi Armati agunt, sed Arma sumere non ante cuiquam moris, quam Civitas suffecturum probaverit. Tum in ipso Concilio, vel Principum aliquis, vel pater, vel propinquus, scuto frameaq; Juvenem ornant: hec apud illos Toga, hic primus juvenis honos: ante hoc Domus pars videntur, mox Respublica, viz.*

" THEY transact nothing either of Publick or Private Concern without their Arms: but it was not a Custom for any to assume those Arms, before the Common-Wealth had approved of his Ability. Then in this very Council, either one of the principal Men, or his Father, or his near Kinsman, adorned the Youth with the Shield and Lance. This served them instead of a Gown, and was the first Honour of their Youth: before they only seemed as part of the Family, but now they became a Member of the Common-Wealth. And here Mr. Selden discovers the first Footsteps of Knighthood.

4. THE fourth is, *Insignis Nobilitas, aut magna patrum merita, Principis dignationem, etiam Adolescentulis assignant; viz.*

" EMINENT Nobility, or the signal Merits of their Ancestors, do advance even these young Men to the Degree and Honour of being a chief Man.

FROM hence we may observe, that all Nobility among the antient Germans was at first Military, as being derived from the Noble and Valiant Acts of their Ancestors in War; and thence proceed all the present Ensigns of it, videlicet, the Shield, on which our Coats of Arms are now depicted; as also the Helmet and Crest that stand for an Ornament over them: for until some Brave and Worthy Act was performed, it was not lawful among the Germans for a young Warriour to paint any Device upon his Shield, which was only Personal to himself, and extended not to his Posterity.

5. THE fifth is, *That Dotem non Uxor Marito, sed Uxori Maritus offert, viz.*

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" THE Husband settles a Dower upon the Wife, and not, *vice versa*, the Wife upon the Husband. Which shews the Antiquity of Dower among the Germans and English-Saxons; and as Mr. Selden upon this Law observes, it was called antiently MORGANGHEB among them.

THE sixth shews, that *Accisus Crinibus, nudatam adulteram coram propinquis expellit domo Maritus, ac per omnem vicum verberare agit, viz.* 6.

" FOR Adultery, the Husband turned the Wife out of his House in the presence of her Relations, having first cut off her Hair, and being then strip'd, whip'd her through the Town.

BUT the Severity of this Punishment, if ever it was in use here, was quite abolished by the English-Saxons, as you will find from the Laws about it.

THE seventh is, that *Heredes, successoresq; sui cuiq; Liberi: & nullum Testamentum, viz.* 7.

" EVERY Man's Heirs and Successors are his Children; and no Testament is allowed.

BUT in this the English-Saxon Law differed much from those of the Germans; for it was lawful in England for Men of Quality to dispose of their Land by Will (if they pleased) provided it were *Boctand*, (that is Free-Tenure grantable by Deed) as you may find by some Laws in the ensuing Volume; otherwise in Lands held in *Socage*, every Man's Sons inherited all alike: But this Law was changed after the Conquest, and no Will could be made of Lands held by Military Service, but they descended entirely to the eldest Son: which Law continued so low as the Reign of King Henry the 8th, when the Statute was first made, which gives the Tenant by Knights Service, Power to bequeath his Estate by Will, provided there were enough left to perform the Service. 32 Hen. VIII. Cap. 1.

THE eighth says, that *Suscipere Inimicitias, seu patris, seu propinqui, quam amicitias, necesse est, viz.* 8.

IT is absolutely necessary to continue the Enmities of a Father, or near Kinsman, as well as Friendships.

FROM whence, as Mr. Selden well observes, arose those Family-Quarrels, called in the North of England, DEADLY FEUDS, (which you will also find mentioned in the ensuing Collection of Saxon Laws) and which are continued in Scotland even to this Day.

BUT to proceed with Tacitus, he says, *Nec implacabiles durant: Luitur enim etiam homicidium certo Armentorum ac Pecorum numero, recipitq; satisfactionem universa Domus, viz.*

" THAT they do not remain implacable; for the Homicide is recompensed with a certain Number of great and small Cattel, and the whole Family thereupon receives Satisfaction.

THIS Custom continued long not only among the Germans, but also English-Saxons; the Price of Blood being to be redeemed at a certain Rate, according to each Man's Condition, which you will hereafter often find in the said Laws to be mentioned under the Title of WIRE-GILD: and in the Laws of King Ethelstan you will meet with the particular Prices of each Man's Head, from the Clown even to the King himself; the Estimation of whose Life is likewise there set down, tho at a much higher Rate (as it ought to be) than that of other Mens. But of this we shall speak more anon.

9. THE ninth Law bears, that *Frumenti modum Dominus, aut pecoris, aut vestis Colono injungit, viz.*

"THE Lord of the Soil prescribes to the Husbandman, what quantity of Corn, Cattel, or Clothes he shall pay him.

FROM whence we may take notice of the Antiquity of Rent reserved upon Farms, which was chiefly in Provision, and not in Money, as it continued for a long Time after the Conquest here in England, and remains so in Scotland even to this Day.

HAVING thus done with the Laws, we shall next descend to the People who practised them. The antient Saxons, as Adam of Bremen from Einhardus relates, were like the Germans, divided into these four sorts, viz. Noblemen, Freemen, Slaves that were Manumized, and lastly, those that continued Slaves: But * Nithardus speaking of his Time, makes them but of three sorts, *scilicet, Ethelings, Frilingues, and Lazzi*, that is, Noblemen, Freemen, and Slaves: and it was established as a Law among them, that none of these should transgress the Bounds of their own Condition, by matching with those who were either a Degree above, or below them.

Adam. Bremen. Hist. Eccles. Brem. & Hamburg. cap. 5. ex Bibliotheca Henrici. Ranzovii. * Nithard. p. 4.

THIS Custom was also long observed in England after the Conquest, and gave Original to those Statutes of *Mag. Char.* and *Merton*, by which the Lord was to lose the Benefit of his Wardship, in case he married the Ward to his Disparagement, that is, *To the Daughter of a Villain, or a Tradesman, in case that the Kindred complained of it.*

BUT before we come to treat of the several Degrees of People abovementioned, it is fit we should say something of the Head of the Saxon Common-Weal, viz. their King; who though he was chosen in all the Kingdoms of the *Heptarchy*, out of the Blood-Royal of *Woden*, their first Leader of this Gothick Colony into Europe, as appears by their Pedigree at the end of the Book; yet were they at first no better than Generals in War, and in time of Peace they had little or no Power, as we may see in Bede.

Vid. Mag. Charta, C. 6. & Merton. C. 7.

FOR he speaking of the Province of the Hither (i. e. East) Frizeland, (from whence he supposes our Saxon Ancestors to have come, and to which the two *Hewalds*, the White and the Black, went to preach the Gospel, and were there martyr'd for their Pains) he hath this remarkable Passage, *Non enim habent Regem iidem antiqui Saxones, sed Satrapas plurimos sua Gentis praepositos, qui ingruente Belli Articulo mittunt aequaliter sortes, & quemcumque sors ostenderit, hunc tempore Belli Ducem omnes sequuntur, & huic obtemperant; peracto autem Bello, rursus aequalis potentia omnes sunt Satrapae*: i. e. "For the Antient Saxons (says he) have no King, but several Noblemen of their own Nation set over them, who on the breaking out of any War, cast Lots, and on whomsoever the Lot happened to fall, all the People during that War, follow and obey him as their General; but when the War was over and at an end, all these Lords again became of equal Power.

AND it is likewise very observable, that neither Bede nor any other German Author, who relates the Story of the Saxons being invited by the Britains over hither, ever mention their being sent by any of their Kings, but only by the Saxon Nation in general: and if it continued thus in Bede's Time, it ought reasonably to be concluded, that it was likewise

likewise so before their coming over, unless any Man can shew me some better Authority than ever I have yet met with to the contrary.

AND that this likewise continued so, not only in Bede's Time, but many Years after, may appear from this Testimony of *Johan. Pomarius* in his Saxon Chronicle, which, tho written in Latin, yet not being able as yet to procure the sight of it, I shall give you what he says almost to the same effect out of *Verstegan's Restitution of decayed Intelligence*; "As for the General Government of the Countrey, they ordained twelve Noble-men, chosen from among others for their Worthiness and Sufficiency. These in the Time of Peace rode their several Circuits, to see Justice and good Customs observed; and they often of Courte, at appointed Times, met all together, to consult and give Order in Publick Affairs; but ever in Time of War one of these twelve was chosen to be King, and so to remain as long only as the War lasted; and that being ended, his Name and Dignity of King also ceased, and he became as before: and this Custom continued among them until the Time of their Wars with the Emperor *Charles the Great*, at which time, *Wittekind* one of the Twelve as aforesaid, a Nobleman of *Angria* in *Westphalia*, bore over the rest the Name and Authority of King; and he being afterwards by the means of the said Emperor converted to the Faith of Christ, had by him his mutable Title of King turned into the induring Title and Honour of Duke; and the eleven others were in like manner by the said Emperor advanced to the honourable Titles of Earls and Lords, with Establishment for the continual remaining of these Titles and Dignities unto them and their Heirs; of whose Descents are since issued the greatest Princes at this present in Germany.

Verstegan. Chap. 3. pag. 68, 69.

FROM what now I have given you, I think nothing is more evident than that the Government of the Antient English Saxons was rather Aristocratical than Monarchical: and admitting they allowed the King they had set over them somewhat more Power than those Noblemen abovementioned, by whom they were governed in their own Countrey in time of Peace; yet was this Power of theirs far short of that absolute Dominion which Dr. *Hovell* in his Discourse of the Polity of the English-Saxons supposes, (tho without any just Ground,) that these Kings enjoyed, and therefore he would have it, "That the Government was Monarchical, and that not only in respect of the particular Kingdoms during the *Heptarchy*, which had their peculiar Kings, but even of the whole Body of the Nation, which was usually commanded by one of the Seven; of all which Bede takes notice in his Time.

Dr. Howell's General History, Part. 4. Fol. 272.

BUT if every one of these Kings were no more a Monarch, than he who was sometimes Supream or Chief above the Rest, I doubt he will fall very short of that Title, which is not found either in Bede, or in the Saxon Annals, or yet in any other Antient Writer before the Conquest, until the Time of King *Edred*.

BUT I have said enough to confute this Notion, I hope, in the Preface.

THE Doctor's next Argument is from the Nature of the Monarchy, which he says, "We must believe at the first followed the Condition of the Tenure, absolute Conquests and Territories, both got and held by the Sword alone, usually producing absolute Governments, which

Id. ibid.

" which many times either by reason of the infirm Foundation laid by the Conquerors themselves, the Humour of the People not enduring such Subjection, or other Accidents, change into more Moderate and less Arbitrary. That *Hengeft*, *Ælla*, and the other Captains, where they first erected their Dominations, governed their Souldiers, whom now being Kings they called Subjects, with as great Authority, and as full Command as formerly, we little doubt.

IN answer to this, and to shew you, that notwithstanding what this Author hath alledged, we have still great reason to doubt the Truth of it, as being founded on no Authority, but rather the quite contrary appears; I shall therefore only desire the Reader in the first place to take notice, that it is no good Argument at all to say, that because the *Saxon* Princes were Conquerors by the means of their Followers, therefore they must have submitted themselves absolutely to their Dominion, when the War was over.

FOR the better Proof of which, I would farther intreat the Reader to observe;

FIRST, That those Princes or Generals over the *English-Saxons*, (tho' all of them were descended from *Woden* their Common Ancestor,) knew no such Power as that of Kings at Home, (according to *Bede*;) or if we believe *Pomarius*, the Title of King lasted at the most no longer than the War: nor could those Princes be made Kings by their own Nation before they came over, since being only meer Souldiers of Fortune, they had as yet conquered no Dominions, from whence they could receive that Denomination: so that then it must fall out, that they could only be so by the Election of their Souldiers and Followers, that came over along with them; which may be also proved from the ensuing *Annals* themselves.

FOR first they call *Hengeft* and *Horfa* the two Brothers, who came over hither only *Heretogan*, i.e. Leaders or Captains of the *Jutes* that accompanied them, as you may see *An. 449.* of these *Annals*.

NOR secondly, do they begin the Reign of *Hengeft* till the Death of *Horfa* his Brother, *Anno 455.* six Years after his coming over: so that it is plain he could have no other Right to his Kingdom of *Kent*, but the free Election of the People that came over with him, or else followed him not long afterwards.

THE like I might say of all the rest of the Kingdoms of the *Heptarchy* for the same Reason, were there no express Authorities to prove it, which yet also are not wanting.

FOR as to the Kingdom of the *West-Saxons*, (which afterwards swallowed up all the rest) our *Annals, Anno 495.* tell us "Of *Cerdic*, and *Cynric* his Son, their landing in *Britain* with five Ships, and having fought with the *Britains*, they about six Years after their coming over, upon their conquering the Countrey of the *West-Saxons*, became their first Kings: which is further confirmed under *Anno 519.* where it is expressly related, that *Cerdic* and *Cynric* then began their Reigns over the *West-Saxon* Kingdom. So likewise in *Anno 547.* it is there said, that *Ida* began first to reign; from whom is derived the Royal Stock of the *Northumbrian* Kings.

AND yet we find from *Nennius* and *Malmesbury*, and all our other Historians who treat of this Matter, that *Ofta* and *Ebufa*, Son and Nephew to *Hengeft*, had landed in the Northern Parts of *England* not long after

Hengeft

Hengeft himself; and having conquered those Countries, they and their Descendants ruled there for near 100 Years, tho' without the Title of Kings, but only as subordinate Lords or Earls under the Kings of *Kent*, till this *Ida* obtained the Kingdom; but whether by Succession or Election, *William* of *Malmesbury* cannot tell us, but rather inclines to the latter: and tho' it be true, that these *Annals* mention no other Kingdoms of the *Heptarchy* than these three last; yet it appears from very good Testimonies in the ensuing History, that *Norfolk*, *Suffolk* and *Cambridgeshire*, being the Countrey of the *East-Angles*, were conquered by them under several petty Princes, that ruled there long before *Ofta*, who was made the first King of that whole Countrey.

THE like I may say for the *Mercian* Kingdom, where *Creoda*, or *Crida*, began his Reign about *Anno 585.* above 60 Years after the *East-Angles* first settled in those Parts.

HAVING now, I hope, sufficiently proved this Point against the Learned Dr. *Hovell*, I think it will plainly follow, that all those Kings above-mentioned could have no other Title to their Crowns besides Election, who from Captains and Generals in time of War, became Kings in time of Peace over the Countries they had conquered.

I will here therefore leave it to the Impartial Reader, to consider, whether what Dr. *Hovell* asserts is at all likely to be true, viz. "That the Power of these Kings commencing by the Sword, was as absolute in Time of Peace as in that of War: for we plainly see, that these were a free People, and it is in no ways probable that they should, contrary to the Genius of so noble and free a Nation, submit themselves to the absolute Dominion of one Man, who owed his delegated Power to themselves.

BESIDES this, the original Constitution of all these several Kingdoms speaks the quite contrary; for we find in the following History, frequent mention made of great Councils of the *Wites*, i.e. the chief, or wise Men of the whole Kingdom, which Councils were established to curb the exorbitant Power of their Kings; since by these they were elected, and by these too they were likewise often deposed, when ever their Tyranny rendered them insupportable; as you will see in several Instances when you peruse the following Books in this Volume.

AND thus having traced as far as we are able the Original of the first *English-Saxon* Kings, we shall now in the next Place treat of the manner of their Succession to the Crown, which some of our Modern Authors fancy to have been by a Lineal Succession, because we find the Son to have often succeeded the Father in most of these Kingdoms for several Descents. But if this should be granted, yet is it no good Argument to prove a Lineal Succession by Blood: for tho' I am sensible that the *Saxon* *Annals*, as well as all other Historians, are very obscure in this Point, not declaring which way those Princes came to the Crown, whether by Succession or Election, because it was omitted in the old *Saxon* *Annals* out of which they wrote, and which we find very short in that particular; yet this will by no means warrant those Kingdoms to have been only Successive, as some Men fondly suppose; seeing we may observe, that in the *German* Empire, (which every one knows to be Elective) the Son hath succeeded the Father, or a younger Brother the Elder, for above 150 Years, ever since the Time of the Emperor *Ferdinand* Brother to *Charles the Fifth*; however I hope no Body will

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have the Confidence to affirm, that the Empire hath been only Successive, and not Elective all this while.

THE same I may say concerning the Succession of our English-Saxon Kings, in which tho we find the Son often succeeded the Father, or one Brother another, yet does not this prove that the Succession went by right of Inheritance, as it does at this day.

I MAY say the like as to *Denmark* and *Sweden*, the latter of which has been by Succession but little above fourscore Years from *Charles the Ninth*; and as for the former, it has become so even in our own Memories: and yet for many Successions in both these Kingdoms, he that was the next Heir by Lineal Descent, was most commonly chosen King after the Death of his Father, Uncle or Brother; but before this Election he could claim no Legal Right to the Crown by the Laws of these Kingdoms, of which I shall give you divers Instances. And I think we may affirm this of all the Kingdoms of the *Saxon Heptarchy*; where tho the *Mycel-Gemots* commonly obliged themselves to choose one of the Blood-Royal, and the next Heir rather than any other, provided he were equally fit to govern, especially if he were recommended or designed for Successor by the Will of the last King; however in this they took a great Latitude, as will evidently appear in the pursuit of this Discourse.

BUT I must confess the manner how the *Saxon Kings* came to the Throne is but darkly expressed by the words *FENG to RICE* in *Saxon*, in Latin *Regnum capessit*, which we have commonly rendered, *succeeded in, or to the Kingdom*; yet those words do not signify any Lineal Succession, but are often promiscuously used, when the next Successor could have no Title but Election, as shall be farther shewn by and by.

NOW the best way to prove this, I think, will be briefly to survey the Successions of each Kingdom, and the several Breaches and Alterations that were made therein, upon this supposed Lineal Succession. And first, to begin with the Kingdom of *Kent*, of which we indeed have scarce any more than the bare Names of the Kings, with but very little of their Actions, for about four Descents, till *Ethelbert* the first Christian King there began to reign, only that the Son still succeeded the Father.

SO likewise from this *Ethelbert* to *Earcombert* his Grandson, for two Descents more we find the like seeming Lineal Succession; yet for all this doth it not therefore follow, that there might not have been either elder Brothers, or the Sons of them, who were excluded during that Time; seeing that we only meet with the next Successor mentioned, without telling us whether there were not such Heirs put by: for under the Year 640. we learn from our *Annals*, that *Earcombert* King of *Kent* succeeded *Eadbald* his Father above-mentioned, who yet left an elder Son named *Ermenred*, that according to the Course of Lineal Descent ought to have succeeded to the Kingdom before his younger Brother *Earcombert*; but whether he was disinherited by his Father, or rejected by the People, our *Annals* mention not, only that this *Ermenred* left two Sons, who afterwards were made away by one *Thunor*, Servant to King *Earcombert*.

AFTER him *Egbert* his Son succeeded, leaving a Son called *Eadric*, yet he did not succeed as he ought to have done (according to our *Malmesbury*, dern Opinions) by Hereditary Right, but *Lothaire* his Uncle, that kept

Vid. Florence of Worcester's Genealogy of the Kentish Kings at the end of his Chronicle, pag. 689, and Will. of Malmesbury, lib. 1. p. 10, 11.

the Kingdom twelve Years from him: But whether he came in by the Testament of his Brother, or Election of the People, or by both, neither *Bede* nor any other Author give us an Account; tho it must be confessed, that this *Eadric* was discontented at his being thus put by, and therefore fled to the *South-Saxons*, and joined with them who were then in actual War against *Lothaire*; who happening to be worsted in the Fight where this *Eadric* commanded, and dying of the Wounds he therein received, *Eadric* succeeded, but whether by Right of Lineal Descent, or Election, is no where said: Nor doth his thus making War upon his Uncle prove his Right, since we find that King *Edward the Elder* * *Vide Saxo's Annals, Ann. 901, 902.* suffered the like Disturbance from Prince * *Ethelwald*, the Son of King *Ethelred* his Father's elder Brother, as you will see in the beginning of the Reign of that King, which ended not but with the Life of the said Prince *Ethelwald*, who pretended to the Crown.

NOR were Foreign Princes any better satisfied with *Eadric's* Right; for *William of Malmesbury* tells us, that *Ceadwalla* made War upon him, and destroyed his Countrey, to revenge the Death of King *Lothaire* his Predecessor.

BUT after this *Eadric*, two Princes, called *Webba* and *Seward*, held the Kingdom, which must certainly have been by Election, because it is not related, whether they were of the Royal Family or no; but they reigned not long, for *Whitred* Brother to *Eadric* succeeded them: after whom this Kingdom seems to have gone in a Lineal Succession for three Descents, as far as to his Sons *Eadbert*, *Ethelbert*, and *Alric*; tho these Princes might have been also elected, for ought we know to the contrary, for they all reigned successively after each other: But whether any of these left Sons is uncertain, for *Malmesbury* tells us, "That after them the *Kentish* Royal Family decaying, any bold Aspirer, whom Wealth or Faction made formidable, obtained that Crown, but how?—Most likely by the Election of their Great Councils, for Usurpations by Force could not well be practised in Kingdoms where (there being no standing Army) the King in great measure depended on the general good Will of the People.

BUT as for the next Kingdom, viz. that of the *South-Saxons*, there is so little said of them by any of our Historians, and they were so soon Saxons, swallowed up by the Kingdom of the *West-Saxons*, that we can only guess they succeeded to the Crown, but it is most probable, that it was after the same manner as the Kings did in all the other Kingdoms.

I should next treat of the Kingdom of the *West-Saxons*, according to the course of Time wherein it begun, but I intend to reserve that to the last, because it is from them that all our *English-Saxon Kings* descended, till the Conquest.

AND therefore I will now give you a brief Succession of the Kings of the *East-Saxons*, where they seem to have followed in a Lineal Descent, till *Sebert*, the first Christian King; and he dying, as *Bede* relates, left his three Sons joint Heirs of his Kingdom, tho we can find no more than the Names of two of them, viz. *Sexred* and *Seward*, who being both slain in a Battel against the *West-Saxons*, *Sigbert*, the Son of *Seward*, succeeded him.

THIS I remark to shew you, that this Kingdom did not always go according to a Lineal Succession, for all the three Brothers were Heirs alike: and that the Testament of the King alone had not the Power to

* *Vide Saxo's Annals, Ann. 901, 902.*

lib.

2. South-Saxons.

3. East-Saxons.

Bede lib. 2. Cap. 5. & Flor. Wig. pag. 650.

lib.

do this without the concurring Assent of the Great Council of the Kingdom, I shall prove when I come to discourse of the Succession of the *West-Saxon* Kings; since it is most reasonable to suppose the same General Laws or Constitutions concerning it to have been in use among them all, until any one can prove the contrary.

I have no more to say concerning these Kings of the *East-Saxons*, but that after the Death of King *Sebbi* or *Sebba*, we are informed by *Bede*, that *Siggard* and *Smithered* his two Brothers, reigned jointly after him, which I observe only the further to make good the former Instance, of more Heirs than one at a Time.

4. Nor-
thumb- AND now I come to the Kingdom of the *Northumbers*, the Lineal Succession whereof being so often broken, and so very perplexed, it would be tirefome to give you all the particular Instances in which the next Heirs by Descent were put by, and other Princes of the Blood more remote chosen by the People in their Rooms: so that from *Ida* their first King for near three hundred Years, we shall scarce ever find that Crown settled in any one Family for above three Descents, but that it was still translated to some other Prince of the Blood Royal, which seems to have been the most general Rule they observed, as any one may see, who will please to consult their Pedigree at the end of *Florence of Worcester*.

Vid. The Genealogies of the Saxon Kings at the end of Florence of Worcester.

AND indeed the frequent Rebellions of this Nation against their Kings, and the Deposing of them so as they did, being not only observed, but frequently blamed by *William* of *Malmesbury* and our other Antient Historians, I shall not draw any Precedents from thence, but such as we find in the very beginning of this Kingdom, and before that People were infected with that turbulent Humour of casting off their Kings whenever they displeased them.

Lib. 1. Cap. 3. TO begin with *Ida* their first King, 'tis true *William* of *Malmesbury* will not affirm, whether he made himself King by his own Power, or else became so by Consent of the People, because he owns it to be very much in the dark; yet *Henry Huntington* is positive, that he was chosen to this Dignity by the Consent of the Great or chief Men: but after his Death, tho a Prince of great Merit, the Kingdom became divided, and *Adda* his Son only obtained the Kingdom of *Bernicia*, whilst *Ella*, the Son of *Tffi*, of the same Royal Lineage, succeeded him in that of *Deira*, which how it could be unless by Election, I do not understand.

NOR did any of the Sons of *Adda* succeed him in that Kingdom, but three other Princes, viz. *Glappa*, *Theodulf*, and *Fretulf*, whose Relation to the *Northumbrian* Blood Royal, our Authors do not declare, nor yet how they stood in Consanguinity to each other; only they say that after them, *Theodrick* first, and then *Ethelrick*, the Sons of *Ida*, succeeded in the *Bernician* Kingdom, which how they could do otherwise than by Election I do not find.

AND note, that these six Princes last mentioned, governed *Bernicia*, whilst *Ella* being yet alive still reigned in *Deira*; nor did he, for all he ruled above thirty Years, long secure the Kingdom to his Son *Eadwin*; for he was soon expelled by *Ethelfrith*, the Son of King *Ethelrick*, who forced him to fly his Countrey, whilst he commanded both Nations for several Years, till being at last overcome and slain in Battel by *Redwald* King of the *East-Angles*; *Eadwin* again recovered not only his own Kingdom, but that of *Deira* also.

BUT

BUT yet he did not enjoy what he had thus obtained many Years, for he lost his Life in a fight with *Penda* King of the *Mercians*, and then *Ofrie* his Cousin-German succeeded him in *Deira*, whilst *Eanfrid*, the Son of *Ethelfrith*, was made King of *Bernicia*; but he soon after being killed by *Cadwallo* King of the *Britains*, *Oswald* his Brother succeeded him, who being also slain by the said *Penda*, *Oswin* his younger Brother was made King, whilst *Osny*, the Son of *Ofrie*, reigned in *Bernicia*, and having cruelly murdered *Oswin*, made himself Master of both Kingdoms; but whether it was done by the Power of the Sword, or by Election, since our Authors are silent in this Matter, I will not determine. I have only set down the Succession of these first Kings, to shew that there was not often any Hereditary Lineal Right to the Crown observed among them.

AS for the Kingdom of the *East-Angles*, the Antient *Annals* and *East-Angles* Histories of that Countrey having been all destroyed by the *Danes*, we have little more than the Names and Successions of their Kings left us, nor yet of those higher than *Offa*, (tho it is certain the *East-Angles* had fixed themselves in those Parts long before he began to reign) and those but very lame and defective: For from *Ethelbert* who was murdered by King *Offa*, for above threescore Years, we have no Account of what Kings reigned in that Kingdom; and it is certain, that upon the Death of *Offa* and his Son *Egbert*, the People of the *East-Angles* freed themselves from the *Mercian* Yoke; but about the Year 855. (as *Affer* in his *Annals*, and *Florence of Worcester* assure us) *Edmund*, (after called the Martyr) being then but fifteen Years old, was Elected and Crowned King of the *East-Angles* by the general Consent of the People of that Kingdom; but they do not inform us who was his Father; yet if we may give Credit to *John* of *Tinmouth* in his *Sanctilogium*, he makes him to be the Son of one *Alcmond* a Nobleman of the Blood Royal.

I have given you this Instance, to let you see that they were no Strangers to Elective Kings; for if his Blood alone would have fixed in him any Title, there would have been no need at all of his Election: but this King being afterwards murdered by the *Danes*, they also seized on his Kingdom, and held it till it was reconquered by King *Edward* the Elder.

NOR have we much to remark of the manner of the Succession of the *Mercian* Kings; for tho the Son very frequently succeeded the Father, or one Brother or Cousin to another, yet it is as certain that it must have been chiefly by an Elective Right, notwithstanding the *Annals* and our Historians do not expressly mention it: * For *Beornred* having in the Year 755. treacherously slain *Ethelbald* King of the *Mercians*, *Offa* a young Man of the Blood Royal, raising Forces against him, and having driven him out of the Kingdom, he was, as † *Ingalph* relates, made King in his room by the General Consent of the Nobles of *Mercia*; or as ‡ *Matthew Westminster* words it, "He was by the unanimous Consent of the Clergy and Laity of that Kingdom, Elected and Crowned King; which without doubt was done in a Great Council of that Nation, for we find that to secure the Crown to his own Family, * *Matthew Paris* in his Life of King *Offa*, tells us, that in a Great Council assembled at *Calcuith*, Anno 787. he caused *Egfrid* his eldest Son, a comely and valiant Youth, to be crowned King, who jointly

See Florence in the Place above cited.

Flor. Ibid.

* Florence Wig. p. 691.
† Pag. 852. printed at the end of Script. post Bedam.
‡ Anno 758.

* Page 26.

jointly reigned with him as long as he lived : and that this could not be done without the Consent and Election of this Great Council, appears by the twelfth Law or Decree made therein, entituled, *De ordinatione Regum*, viz. " That at the Election or Ordination of Kings, no Man should permit the Assent or Vote of evil Men to prevail, but Kings shall be lawfully Elected by the Clergy and Elders, (i.e. chief Men of the Kingdom) and not begotten of Adultery or Incest, because an Adulterer, according to the Canons, cannot arrive to the Priesthood ; so neither can he be the Lord's Anointed and Heir of his Countrey, or King of the whole Kingdom, who is not begot of Lawful Matrimony.

FROM hence the Reader may observe, that he who is appointed to be Elected, is also called *Heres Patrie*, to let us see, that he who was to come in by an Elective Right, was also accounted the Right Heir of the Kingdom.

AFTER *Egfrid* succeeded *Kenulf*, who certainly came in by Election, being himself very remote from the Crown ; for *William of Malmesbury* says, he was in the fifth Descent from *Cenwalch* the Brother of *Penda*, one of the first *Mercian* Kings ; a Title too stale in that Age to give a Right without a new Election, since his Predecessor *King Offa* could not be admitted to obtain the Crown without it, tho he was in Blood almost as near to it, being in the fifth Descent from *Wibba* or *Wippa*, who was the Father of the aforesaid *Penda*.

BUT were there no other Proof of this, the Decree of the Council abovementioned sufficiently evinces this Kingdom to have been elective at that Time.

TO *Kenulf* abovementioned, succeeded *Kenelme* a Child, and he is the first Example of an Infant's succeeding when there was a Male Heir of full Age alive, viz. *Ceolwulf* the Brother of the said *Kenulf* ; which I suppose proceeded from the great Love they bore to their late deceased King, and some Aversion they had to his Brother, as you will see by and by.

BUT if *John of Tinmouth* in his *Historia Aurea*, (still in Manuscript in several Libraries) may be credited, tho he wrote long after those Times, yet out of antient Manuscripts not now extant, he says expressly, *Kenelmum etate parvulum, sed animo & pietate magnificum, ad Regem elegerat Amor Populi sui*, i.e. the Love of the People had elected *Kenelm* to be their King, tho an Infant in Years, yet remarkable for Spirit and Piety.

BUT King *Kenelme* being murdered by his Sister *Quendride*, and she frustrated in her expectations of the Crown, our *Annals* tell us, that then *Ceolwulf* was advanced to it, (without making any mention at all of King *Kenelme*) and the next Year expelled his Kingdom by the Faction and Contrivance of *Bernulph* a potent Nobleman, but however no way related to the Blood-Royal, and so consequently could have no other Title or Pretence but Election, however unjustly he came by it.

THE like I may say of his Successors *Ludican*, *Wiglaff*, *Bernulph*, and *Burhed* ; the former of whom was only a remote Kinsman of *Bernulph's*, and the three latter were all of them of quite different Families : but as for *Ceolwulf*, who was the last that bore the Title of King of *Mercia*, he deserves not to be mentioned, being only for a Time made King by the *Danes* to serve their turns, and was quickly after deposed by them. I have but lightly run over the Succession of these

Kings,

Kings, and refer you for the farther Proof to the following History ; where you will find all the Authors fairly quoted.

BUT now I come to the Succession of the Kings of the *West-Saxons*, 7. *West-Saxons*. from whom our *English* Monarchs derive their Pedigree to this Day : *Saxons*. and therefore I shall be the more particular in my Quotations out of the Antient Authors concerning the Right which those Princes had to the Crown, and the manner how they attained it.

AS for *Cerdic*, and his Son *Cynric*, the first Kings of the *West-Saxons*, it is certain that they had not the title of Kings before they came over, which the *Annals* place under *Anno 495*. as we have already observed : nor is it likely that they claimed by any other Title than the Election of their Followers, because we find by the same *Annals*, that it was above twenty Years before they took upon them the Name of Kings ; for *An. 519*. they say, *Hoc Anno Cerdicus & Cynricus Occidentaliū Saxonum Regnum susceperunt ; à quo usque die regnavit Occidentaliū Saxonum proles Regia*. This Year *Cerdic* and *Cynric* began to reign over the *West-Saxons*, and from that Time the Royal Race of the *West-Saxons* have reigned to this day.

BUT it must be confessed, that the Crown from *Cerdic* to *Ceawlin* went lineally in three Descents from Father to Son ; however this doth not prove but that it might also have been Elective for the Reasons at first given.

THE same may likewise be said for *Ceolric* and *Ceolwulf* the Nephews of *Ceawlin* : but that the former of these came in by Election is apparent ; for upon *Ceawlin's* being expelled the Kingdom, *Cwichelme* * his Brother ought to have succeeded him in case he had no Sons, as we do not read he had : and yet notwithstanding *Ceolric* was made King, and this *Cwichelme* died in the same Year with his Brother, viz. *DXCIII*. as you may see in the *Annals*.

AND to *Ceolwulf* succeeded *Cynegils*, Son of *Ceol*, Brother to the King last mentioned ; and that he also came in by Election is highly probable, because another *Cwichelme* who was his Brother was made Partner with him in the Kingdom, which could not have been done by his sole Authority, his own Power at that Time not being absolute.

THIS *Cwichelme* * *William of Malmesbury* makes to be his Brother ; but *Florence of Worcester*, and *Matthew Westminster*, call him his Son : but let him have been whether you please, it is certain here was no Monarchy, the Kingdom being divided between two who had equal Power. But *Cwichelme* dying before *Cynegils* his Brother or Son, the latter left the Kingdom to *Cenwalch* his Son ; tho if *Cwichelme* was his Son, then *Cuthred* his Nephew, the Son of * *Cwichelme*, ought by right of Blood to have succeeded his Father.

BUT this King dying without any Issue, left the Kingdom to *Seaxburge* his Consort by his Testament.

AND tho this Example may seem to make good Dr. *Brady's* assertion, viz. that the *West-Saxon* Kings might bequeath the Crown to whom they would, yet that they could not do this without the Consent of the Estates of the Great Council of the Kingdom, I hope I shall fully make out before I have done.

BUT this Queen *Seaxburge* dying, or being deposed, as * *Matth. Westminster* relates, after somewhat more than a Year's Reign, *Æthelwina* a remote Kinsman succeeded her ; tho he was six Degrees off from *Cerdic* the

Vid. Sir Henry Spelm. Concil. Vol. 1. Anno 787.

Lib. 1.

Vid. Chronicon Saxonicum, Anno DCCCLV. where his Pedigree is set down.

Vid. William Malm. Lib. p. 33.

* Vid. Rad. de Diceto, Anno 593.

* Vid. Annal. Saxon. An. 511.

* Lib. 1. cap. 2.

* Vid. Flor. Wig. An. 665. and the Pedigree at the end of the 4th Book.

* Vid. William Malmesb. Lib. 1. pag. 13.

* Flor. Hist. Anno 672.

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first King; and therefore he is not likely to have had any better Title than his Predecessors, for the Reason already given under the Kings of *Mercia*; and if that will not satisfy, then I say *Centwin* his Successor was much nearer to the Crown than he, being younger Son to *Cyneigils*, who had reigned within two Successions before, as you may see by the Pedigree at the end of the fourth Book, where are exactly set down either from the *Annals*, or Antient Manuscripts, in what manner these several Kings stood related to each other.

BUT before the Death of *Æsfrin*, it seems by the *Saxon Annals*, Anno 785. That *Ceadwalla*, a Prince of the Blood Royal, taking Arms, began to contend for the Crown of that Kingdom, tho he was very far removed from it, being descended from *Cutha* the younger Son of *Ceawlin*.

TO *Ceadwalla* succeeded *Ina*, to whom that King upon his going to Rome left the Crown, tho he was no nearer to it than his Predecessor, being descended from *Cuthwin*, the youngest Son of *Ceawlin* abovementioned, and could for certain have had no other Right than that of Election, because *Cenred* his Father was alive at the same time, as you may see in the * Preface to this King's Laws, where he is expressly so called.

Vid. Annal. Saxon. Anno 693.

BUT as for the five next Princes, viz. *Athelhard*, *Cuthred*, *Sigebyrt*, *Cynewulf*, and *Bryhtic*, it is most probable that they neither could have any other Title than Election, since being only Kinsmen and not Sons to each other, it is very unlikely that so many of them should have died without leaving any Son to succeed them: which is also as good as confessed by *William of Malmesbury*, in these words, *Nam & ipse Brihticus, & ceteri infra Inam Reges, licet naturalium splendore gloriantes, quippe qui à Cerdicio originem traherent, non parum tamen à linea Regie stirpis exorbitaverant*; i. e. For tho *Brihtic* himself, and the rest of the Kings since *Ina*, tho boasting of their Royal Lineage, as drawing their Origine from *Cerdic*, yet did they not a little deviate from the right Royal Line, that is, they were not Lineal Heirs by Blood: and if so, what other Right could they have except that of Election by the People? Therefore since neither our *Annals*, nor any other Author that I know of, have given us their Pedigrees, I have been forced to set down the Names of these last five Kings by themselves, without being able to shew you what Relation they had to each other.

BUT as for *Cynewulf*, that he could have no Title to the Crown but what Election gave him, it is certain; for our *Annals* inform us under Anno 755. "That he with the Wife and Noble Men of the *West-Saxons*, deprived King *Sigebert* of the whole Kingdom for his Cruelty and Injustice. And certainly then the same Authority that Deposed the one, must also Elect and set up the other; since he could by no means succeed him as his Heir, because we find in the same Anno 755. *Annals*, "That *Cyneheard* the Brother of the late King *Sigebert*, conspiring against King *Cynewulf*, set upon him in a certain Woman's House at *Merton* in *Surrey*, and there slew him; and was at last also killed himself: after whom *Bryhtic* began to reign, who was in a Right Line descended from *Cerdic*.

BUT we are now come out of the Dark into clearer Times; for *K. Egbert* succeeding *Bryhtic*, came in by Election, being, as our *Annals* likewise

likewise inform us, four Descents removed from *Ingilds* the Brother of King *Ina*; and that his best Title was Election, appears from the Testimonies of our most antient Historians, viz. *Ethelwerd*, who says expressly, *Itaq; ordinatur Egbert super Occidentales Saxones in Regnum*; *Ethelwerd Hist. Lib. 3. cap. 2.* this must signify, that he was set over the Kingdom. And further to confirm that, *Ordinatur* here signifies the same with *Eligitur*: see the Law abovementioned concerning the Election of the *Mercian* Kings; the Title of it in Sir *Henry Spelman's* first Volume of Councils, Fol. 292. is, *de Ordinatione Regum*, i. e. of the Election of Kings.

AND that by this word *Ordinatur*, cannot be meant any Lineal Succession in *Ethelwerd*, will further appear from him, where he says, *Post Obitum Athulfi Regis, ordinati sunt filii ejus in Regnum*; which must be understood either an Appointment by the Father's Will, or else a new Election, since these Sons of King *Ethelwulf* could never be thus appointed or ordained Kings by the Law of Lineal Succession, because each of these Brothers, except the Eldest, left Sons. *Lib. 4. Cap. 1.*

BUT *William of Malmesbury* does likewise as good as own, that King *Egbert* came in by Election, when he says, that upon the Death of *Bryhtic*, *Egbert* at the frequent Solicitations of his Country-men coming over into Britain; *Moxq; imperare jussus, Patrie Desiderii satisfecit*, being immediately commanded to reign, did thereupon satisfy the Desires of his Country. Now I would fain know, if he had come in by virtue of a Lineal Descent, why he should have needed the being commanded to reign, since he ought rather to have commanded their Allegiance as his Due? *Lib. 2. Cap. 1.*

AND either to this Time, or rather to the latter end of this King's Reign, (as you may find in the ensuing History) I suppose may be referred what the Author of the *Mirror of Justices*, in the very beginning of the Book, says concerning the first Election of a King to reign over the rest of the Saxon Sovereign Princes, viz. "That forty of them made him to swear, that he would maintain the Holy Christian Faith with all his Power, and govern his People according to Right, without regard to any Person: and that he should be liable to suffer Right, (i. e. Judgment) as well as others of his People."

THIS Passage, tho it be accounted by some of but a doubtful Authority, because of the forty Princes abovementioned, whereas we never read of above seven or eight Saxon Kings to have reigned at once, and those too were by this *Egbert* reduced to three besides himself, viz. the *East-Angles*, *Mercia*, and *Northumberland*; yet if by the Princes here mentioned, we understand not Sovereign Princes, but Ealdormen of Counties and Great Cities, who (as Mr. *Selden* shews us in his *Titles of Honour*) are commonly stiled in the old Saxon Charters *Principes*, and by this Author in his *French* Original, rendered *Princes*; these meeting together in a Great Council, did, as the chief Magistrates of the Cities and Counties from whence they came, injoin the King this Oath which was taken at the General Council mentioned in the ensuing History under Anno 803, or else 828. This Passage in the *Mirror of Justices*, if it were taken out of some old Saxon Monument now lost, (as I have great reason to believe it was, since the Laws which he here relates concerning King *Alfred*, are admitted by the Learned Author of the Notes upon his Life, printed at Oxford, to have been transcribed by him from some Antient Commentaries of that King, which

Selden. Tit. Hon. Fol. 502. last Edition. The Division of England into Counties was much more antient than King Alfred.

Alfredi Magoi Vita, Fol. 82.

which Laws he there a little after recites :) I say, this Passage may serve as a great Proof, not only of this King's Election to be the Chief or Supreme King of all *England*, but also it gives us the Original Contract, if I may so call it, which he then entered into with this Nation, at the time of his Election and Coronation.

TO *Egbert* succeeded *Aethelwulf* his Son; who, though I grant it is no where said that he was Elected, yet if his Father were so (as it is most evident he was) it is not likely that the Kingdom should become Successive in one Descent, especially if we consider the manner of all his five Sons coming to the Kingdom, either in his Life-time, or after him.

FOR as to *Aethelstane* his eldest Son, on whom he bestowed (almost as soon as he came to the Crown) the Kingdom of *Kent*, with the *South* and *East-Saxons*, I have proved in the ensuing History from * *Matthew Westminster* and other Authors, that he was Illegitimate, and so could have no Legal Right of Succession: nor does it seem probable, he should be set over those Kingdoms by his Father without any previous Election, or Consent of those People.

AND as for his other four Legitimate Sons, *Ethelbald*, the Eldest of them, did by the General Consent of the King and the whole Nation, (which amounts to an Election) * divide the Kingdom with his Father, he himself enjoying that of the *West-Saxons*, whilst his Father ruled over the rest. And by the virtue of his Testament, confirmed likewise by the General Consent of the Kingdom, *Ethelbald* remained only King of the *West-Saxons*, whilst *Ethelbert* his second Brother reigned in *Kent*, as also over the *East* and *South-Saxons*, which had been his Brother *Aethelstane's* share, who died without Issue for ought we can find.

BUT after King *Ethelbald's* Death, *Ethelbert* succeeded in the whole Kingdom; and he likewise dying, *Ethelred* his Brother succeeded him, after whose Death also *Alfred* the youngest Brother came to the Throne.

THIS short Account is the Truth of the Matter of Fact; yet there requires a great deal to be said to have it well understood; since Dr. *Brady* in his true and exact History of the Succession of the Crown, Vol. 1. of his *Introduction*, will needs derive the whole Right which these Princes had to the Kingdom, from the Entail of it by their Father's Will abovementioned; and if the Testament of a King then Regnant could dispose of the Crown to the prejudice of the Right Heirs by Lineal Descent, I desire this Learned Antiquary to satisfy us how this could consist with his supposed Right of Lineal Succession at the same Time?

BUT the Truth is, this worthy Doctor, as well as the Author of the great Point of Succession discussed, here deal with us like some crafty Witnesses, who indeed speak the Truth, but not the whole Truth, if they find it will make against them. For the Doctor in the first Place conceals, and the nameless Author of the other Pamphlet, either wilfully or ignorantly, positively denies, that King *Alfred's* three older Brothers, who reigned before him, left any Issue Male; whereas it is most certain that two of them, if not all Three, left Sons behind them: for *Aethelwulf* and *Aethelwold*, (to whom King *Alfred* by his Testament bequeaths divers Lands therein mentioned, under the Title of his Brother's Sons) are supposed by the Learned Author of the Notes upon his Life, to have been the Children of King *Ethelbald*, his eldest Brother,

*Vid. Annal. Saxon. & Flor. Wig. An. 636. * Flor. Hist. Anno 637.*

** Vid. Annal. Afferii, Anno 855. pag. 56. edit. per Doct. Gal. & De Gestis Alfredi, pag. 3.*

Vid. Testament. Alfredi Regis.

ther, tho whether they were so or no I will not be so confident as to affirm. But that they were either the Sons of *Ethelbald* or *Ethelbert* is most certain, and consequently they ought to have reigned before him who was but their Uncle.

AS for King *Ethelred*, he had also two Sons if no more, viz. *Alfred*, supposed to be Grandfather to *Elthelwerd* the Historian, and *Ofwald*, whom Mr. *Speed*, in the Reign of this King, says was a Witness to his Father's Charter to the Abbey of *Abington*: but the Author of the Notes to King *Alfred's* Life being convinced of this, to solve an Ob- Fol. 19: jection so directly contrary to the received Hypothesis of a Lineal Succession, is feign to take refuge in a supposed Arbitrary Power the English-Saxon Kings had of disposing of their Kingdom as a *Fee-Simple*: which is such a Conceit, that if he would but have been pleased to put down the first seven or eight Lines of King *Alfred's* Testament, instead of that Scrap he has there given us of it, it would have sufficiently confuted that Assertion. Therefore since he has been so fair as to give us this Testament at full length in the second Appendix to the said Life, I will make bold to transcribe so much as will be enough to evince the contrary, and leave the Reader to consult the rest at his leisure.

Testamentum Alfredi Regis.

* EGO *Alfredus* Divino Munere, labore ac studio *Athelredi Archiepiscopi*, nec non totius *West-Saxoniarum Nobilitatis Consensu pariter & Assensu*, Occidentalium *Saxonum* Rex, quos in testimonium mee ultime Voluntatis complementi, ut sint advocati in disponendis pro salute Anime mee, Regali Electione confirmo, tam de hereditate, quam Deus ac Principes cum senioribus populi misericorditer ac benigne dederunt, quam de hereditate, quam pater meus *Aethelwulfus* Rex nobis tribus fratribus delegavit, videlicet *Aethelbald*, *Aethelredo*, & *Mibi*; ita quod qui nostrum diutius foret superstes, Ille totius Regni Dominio congauderet.

* Printed also at the end of *Alfred's* *Gestis* *Alfredi*.

See the Translation of this Will at the end of *K. Alfred's* *Life*.

NOW I would gladly be satisfied from the Author abovementioned, in these three Points, if King *Aethelwulf* had full Power to bequeath the Kingdom to his Sons, and to turn it from a *Fee-Simple* into a *Fee-Tail*;

FIRST, Why *K. Alfred* in the very first Line of this Testament calls himself King of all *West-Saxony* by the Divine Donation, and the Assent and Consent of the whole *West-Saxon Nobility*, if he had not been Elected, or at least Confirmed by them in the Possession of the Crown, so bequeathed to him by his Father?

SECONDLY, When he here summoned them to be Witnesses to the completing and confirming of this his last Will, why he distinguishes that private Inheritance which he had given him by the Grace of God, and the Favour and Bounty of his Nobility and People, from that public Inheritance which his Father had bestowed on him and his two Brothers, so that the longest Liver of them should enjoy the whole Kingdom? But,

THIRDLY, if his Father's Testament alone could have given his Brothers and him an absolute Right to the Kingdom, how came it to pass that he styles himself King by the Assistance of Arch-Bp *Aethelred*, with the Assent and Consent of the whole *West-Saxon Nobility*? and what necessity was there for him to summon them only to be Witnesses thereof,

if

if their Confirmation were no ways necessary thereunto? I fear he will not be able to answer these Queries, unless he will grant that this last Will of King *Alfred* wanted as much their Confirmation, as that of his Father had done before.

AND this may be plainly proved, not only from the beginning of the Will it self, but also from an Agreement therein recited to have been made between the three Brothers abovementioned; by Virtue of which they dying, the whole Inheritance of King *Ethelwulf* his Father was devolved upon him by a certain Charter made in the *Mysel Gemote*, or General Council of the Kingdom, at *Langdene*; which being read before the Witnesses, (i. e. all the Estates) of all *West-Saxony*, they unanimously declared, that they knew of none who had a juster Title than himself. And yet you must not forget, that both his said elder Brothers had left Children behind them.

WHEREUPON the said Estates farther declared thus, *Ecce jam habes tuam hereditatem iterum in Manibus tuis. Nunc de Bonis & Possessionibus conde Testamentum tuum; lega, & dona tuo proximo sanguini vel Amicis tuis & Cognatis sicut tibi placuerit.* To which the King replied, *Et Omnes illi firmitatem irrevocabilem mihi fecerunt, & subscripserunt, ipsos nunquam hereditatem meam alicui homini aliter pervertendo daturus, præterquam cui Egomet legabo die proximo jam instante.*

FROM whence it is most evident, that it was to the Consent of the Estates of the Kingdom that King *Alfred* owed the Power of making this his last Will, and of bequeathing only the private Inheritance which his Father and Brothers had left him; and where, tho he disposed of the several Lands therein mentioned, first to his eldest Son *Edward*, then also to his younger Son, whom he does not name, and his two Nephews and others; yet he pretends to make no Bequest of the Crown, which one would think he would by no means have omitted, had he had any such unlimited Prerogative abstracted from the Consent of the Kingdom, to have disposed of, or entailed it, as his Father had done before him, tho not without or against the said Consent, to which it appears every one of his Predecessors chiefly owed his Title.

NOW give me leave to draw two Conclusions from the whole Will, which I have almost translated *verbatim* at the end of King *Alfred's* Life in the following History.

FIRST, That it was then indeed in the Power of the King to make his Will, and bequeath his Kingdom; but how? with the Consent and Assent of the Estates; and the Person or Persons to whom it was thus entailed, came in successively by virtue of such Designation: and therefore * *After* very well and justly calls King *Athelwulf's* Will, *Hereditariam, vel Commendatoriam Epistolam*, i. e. a recommendatory Letter to the Estates of the Kingdom to elect his Sons; but if no such Bequest was made, and so confirmed as aforesaid, then the Estates of the Kingdom were at liberty to choose the Eldest Son, or next Brother or Kinsman, if he were of fit Age and Capacity, for their Sovereign; nay, the King's Testament or Adoption preceding, a meer Stranger to the Royal Blood might be capable of succeeding, provided he also had the Election or Confirmation of the Great Council of the Kingdom, as I suppose Queen *Sexburgha* the Wife of King *Cenvalch* had; and as you will further find *Harold*, the Son of Earl *Godwin*, obtained, towards the end of this Volume.

SECONDLY,

SECONDLY, That the Person so designed was called the *Heir* of the preceding King, and enjoyed the Inheritance thus acquired *Jure Hereditario*, i. e. by Hereditary Right, tho he was not the next Heir in Blood to him that went before him, as is clearly manifest from this Testament it self, wherein King *Alfred* plainly distinguishes between the Dominions which he and his Brother King *Ethelred* were to conquer, and those that came to him *Jure Hereditario*, i. e. by Hereditary Right, viz. by Virtue of his Father King *Ethelwulf's* Will; therefore when the Crown fell to King *Alfred* by virtue of that Entail, Abbot *Ailred* expressly says, *ad Eum totum Regnum jure Hereditario transit, &c.* And yet King *Alfred* could not be Lineal Heir to his Brothers, since they both left Sons behind them, as hath been already observed.

AND in the same Sense King *Edward the Confessor*, in the Preface to his Charter to the Abbey of *Westminster* (which you may find at large in *Monast. Anglican.*) having recited the Miseries the Nation had undergone from Wars raised by Strangers, which were to that extremity, *Ad eo ut pene periclitata sit hereditaria Regum Successio, magnūq; esset interstitium inter fratrem meum Edmundum, qui Patri meo successit, meq; habitum sit; invadentibus Regnum Sweyno, & Cnuto filio ejus, &c.* where you may observe he calls his own Succession to his Brother, *Hereditaria Successio*; and yet his Brother left a Son behind him, who was Living when he was chosen King. Thus also *Eadmerus* relates, that Duke *William* claimed the Crown of *England*, *Jure Hereditario*, from King *Edward the Confessor's* Testament; but certainly the Duke could have no pretence to it by Right of Blood, being no ways descended from the *English-Saxon* Kings.

SO that it is a manifest Error in some of our Modern Writers of the Succession, who will needs understand these words, *jus Hereditarium*, to have been used in the same Sense in those, as they have been taken in later Ages, since the Crown came to be claimed by a Lineal Descent of Blood: But indeed *Eadmerus* his Sense of these words is most agreeable to the *Civil Law*, wherein he is called *HÆRES EX ASSE*; who comes in as Heir by Testament to the whole Inheritance, tho no way related to the Testator; for that Law describes an Heir thus, *Heredis significatione, omnes significari Successores, etsi verbis non expressi*: And therefore our *Bracton* derives the word *Hæres*, ab *Hereditamento*; for says he, *Inheritance is a Succession to all the Right which the Predecessor (he does not say Ancestor) enjoyed: from whence you may observe, that in Bracton's Time, this word Hæres was not even by our Law limited only to an Heir by Blood or Descent.*

HAVING said thus much of our *Saxon* Kings Accession to the Throne, as far as King *Alfred*; I shall in the next Place proceed to give you the Succession of all the rest, down to the pretended Conquest, from the most Antient Authors who lived either a good while before, or else not long after that Time, before Men's Minds became prejudiced by those Notions of Lineal Succession, which began to be in Vogue about the Time of *Edward the Third*, when the Crown had descended from Father to Son for four Descents, tho not without somewhat that was tantamount to an Election in that Prince himself.

TO King *Alfred* succeeded his Son King *Edward the Elder*, who, not having the Crown bequeathed to him as his Father had, viz. by Will, confirmed

De Genealog.
Regum Ang.
Col. 351.

1 Vol. pag. 57.

Hist. Ecclesi.
pag. 5.

* De Gestis
Alfredi.

confirmed by an Act of the Great Council, was fain to be Elected, as *Ethelwerd* expressly tells us in these words, *Successor equidem Monarchia post filius supra memorati Regis coronatur, ipse Stemmatis Regali, à Primatibus ELECTUS Pentecostis in die*: that is, afterwards *Edward* the Son of the abovementioned King, being Successor of the Monarchy, was Crowned; and being descended of the Blood Royal, was Elected by the Chief Men of the Kingdom on the day of *Pentecost*, (i. e. *Whitsunday*).

AFTER this *Edward's* Decease, *Ethelstan* his Son succeeded him, whom most Antient Writers, as well in Print as Manuscript, relate to have been begot of a Concubine, and therefore could have no Legal Right: and tho *William* of *Malmesbury* endeavours to palliate it, yet he is almost forced to confess it at last by saying, *Sed ipse prater hanc Notam (si tamen vera est) nihil ignobile habuit*, i. e. that he had no other Mark of ill upon him but this, if it were true.

BUT tho *Dr. Brady* will have this Prince to have succeeded wholly by virtue of his Father's Will, and cites *William* of *Malmesbury* for it, who, he says, has these words in the History of *Edward* the Elder, *Jussu Patris in Testamento Ethelstani in Regem acclamatus est*; by the Command of his Father, in his Will, *Ethelstan* was proclaimed King; yet he might have been so fair and ingenuous as to have given us the words that are in the very beginning of this Chapter in the same Author, viz. *Itaq; magno Consensu Optimatum ibidem Athelstanus ELECTUS, apud Regiam Villam quæ vocatur Kingston Coronatus est*; i. e. That thereupon by the General Consent of the Chief Men or Estates of the Kingdom, *Athelstan* being Elected, was Crowned at the Royal Town of *Kingston*: but this did not agree with the Doctor's Hypothesis, and so I suppose he thought it best to leave it out.

THIS Passage was borrowed by *William* of *Malmesbury* from a much Antienter Author, viz. the Compiler of the *Saxon Annals*, who under *Anno* 925. expressly tells us, That he was *Elected in Regem, & apud Cingestum Consecratus*, Elected King, and Anointed at *Kingston*: from both which it appears, that the Election and Consecration were then two different Actions.

AFTER *Athelstan*, succeeded *Edmund* his Brother, and indeed ought to have been King before him, he being Legitimate, whereas the other was only a Natural Son.

BUT he dying, and leaving two Sons behind him, *Edwy* and *Edgar*, neither of them, but *Edred*, King *Edmund's* younger Brother, was advanced to the Throne; which how it could be done unless by Election, I confess I do not understand: and therefore this might be omitted as to this Prince, as well as the Coronation of King *Edgar*, and other of our English-Saxon Kings are both by our *Annals* and Antient Historians; for I must own I cannot find that the word *Electus* is used in his Advancement to the Throne: for *Ethelwerd* tells us expressly, *ejus Successor extitit Eadred in Regnum, suus quippe frater*; that *Eadred* his Successor obtained the Kingdom, because he was his own Brother.

AND in this he is followed by *Florence* of *Worcester*, who expresses it thus, *Eadredus proximus heres fratris succedens, Regnum suscepit*; *Edred* succeeding as next Heir to his Brother, enjoyed the Kingdom.

Dr. Brady in his above-cited Treatise, will needs solve this open Breach of a Lineal Succession, by the Nonage of King *Edmund's* Sons, and the Nation's then being under great Difficulties. The former of these

I grant to be a good Excuse, but as for the latter it was not at all true; since King *Edmund*, by subduing both *Northumberland* and *Cumberland*, driving the *Danes* out of the one, and delivering the other to the King of *Scots*, to be enjoyed as his Vassal, had thereby sufficiently settled the Peace of the Nation: so that let the Doctor take his choice, and either allow this King to have succeeded by Election, or else if by Succession, it was no Lineal one, as the Doctor would maintain, because these Historians tell us, he succeeded his Brother as next Heir, when at the same time they confess too, that he left two Sons behind him; and if the Nation's lying then under great Difficulties, will be a good Warrant to set by a Right Heir, I desire he would be pleased to satisfy me, why it may not always be a justifiable Reason to make a Breach upon the Succession in the like Cases?

AS for *Edwy*, Nephew to this King, indeed I do not find any thing mentioned in the *Annals* or other printed Authors of his Election; yet the Antient Manuscript Life of Arch-bishop *Odo*, now in the * *Cottonian* * *Otho.D.12.* an I library, and which seems to have been written by some Monk not long after that Time, says expressly, *Edwigus Filius Edmundi in Regem ELECTUS est*. Nor indeed could he succeed as Heir to his Uncle, for his Lineal Right was before him: nor does the Expression commonly used in the *Saxon Annals*, viz. *FENG to RICE*, (which is rendered in the Latin by *capessit Regnum*) signify any thing concerning the manner of this or any other King's coming to the Crown, "These being, as the Doctor himself acknowledges, the usual Saxon and Latin words, by which the Succession is expressed, being variously rendered by Translators, by *Regnum capessit, succedit, or Electus est*: and thus we likewise find the same words are used in the *Annals* to express King *Athelstan's* and *Eadred's*, nay *Harold's* Accession to the Throne, tho it is evident none of them could claim by any Lineal Succession.

AND these are not the only words made use of in the *Saxon Chronicle* when an Election is signified; for *An. 1015*, we find these words concerning the Election of *K. Edmund Ironside*, that the *Wites* or *Wise Men* who were at *London*, and the *Citizens*, *Gecuron* *Eadmund* to *Cynge*, i. e. chose *Edmund* King. So likewise *Anno 1036*. concerning the Election of *Harold Harefoot*, that all the *Thanes* North of *Thames*, and the *Seamen* of *London*, *Gecuron* *Harold*, to rule over all *England*: the same word we also find *Anno 1066*. where after the words *FENG to RICE* abovementioned, these likewise follow, *and eac men Hine her to Gecuron*; i. e. all Men Elected him, viz. *Harold*, to the Crown.

AND that there may be no dispute about the meaning of this word *Gecuron*, we find it often used in these *Annals* for the Election of the Pope, as, e. g. *Anno 1054*. upon the Death of Pope *Leo*, *Victor* was *gecuron* to *Papan*. So likewise *Anno 1057*. upon the Death of *Victor*, was *Stephanus* *Gecuron* to *Papan*; and I think the Doctor might with as much appearance of Truth have maintained, that the *Saxon* word *Gecuron* here rendered by the Latin *Electus* in these *Annals*, signified not the Election, but Recognition of the Pope; as to assert (as he does) with so much Confidence, that *Eligerunt* in all Historians signifies no more than *Recognoverunt*, when used concerning our English-Saxon Kings; i. e. the Subjects acknowledged, owned or submitted to him as their King, as he says concerning King *Edgar* and others.

BUT

Chron. Ethelwerdi. Lib. 3. Cap. 3. An. 901.

Lib. 2. Cap. 5.

Ethelwerdi Histor. Cap. 7.

True and exact History of the Succession of the Crown, fo. 3, 9.

vid. Exact History of the Succession, p. 7, 9.

BUT King *Edwy* being cast off by the Mercians and Northumbers, our *Annals* inform us, that *Eadgar Etheling* (FENG to RICE, i.e.) succeeded to the Mercian Kingdom, which yet was no otherwise than by Election; for an Antient Manuscript Life of Arch-bishop *Dunstan*, written before the Conquest, and now in the * Cottonian Library, shews us plainly, that both the Mercians and Northumbers Elected him for their King: the words are these, *Hoc itaq; Omnium Conspiratione relicto, eligere sibi, Domino distante, Eadgarum ejusdem Germanum in Regem*; i.e. This King *Edwy* by the Consent of all Men being thus deserted, they chose, the Lord directing them, *Eadgar* his Brother for their King.

AND hereupon the Kingdom becoming divided between him and the King his Brother, that Division was also confirmed by a publick Act of the Estates, as the same Author testifies; *Sicq; Univerſo populo testante, Publica Res Regum ex Definitione Sagacium segregata est, ita ut famoſum Flumen, Thamenſis Regnum diſterminavit Amorum; tunc Edgarus à prædicto populo sic sortitus ad Regnum, &c.* i.e. So that all the People being Witnesses, each of these King's shares were apportioned and set out by the Decree of the *Wites* or Wise Men; and the Noble River of *Thames* was the Boundary of both their Kingdoms; then *Edgar* was advanced to the Kingdom by the aforesaid People.

BUT *Edwy* dying not long after, the same Author relates of this *Edgar*, that *Regnum illius velut æquus heres ab utroq; populo ELECTUS, suscepit*; that is, that upon his Death *Edgar* as Right Heir being Elected both by Clergy and Laity, succeeded to his Kingdom.

FROM whence we may observe, that the same Person who is here called the Right Heir, yet needed an Election upon his Brother's Death to confirm his Title, and gain him an Admission to the Throne of the whole Kingdom; which is also confirmed by *Florence of Worcester*, whose Citation the Doctor himself here makes use of thus, *Ab omni Anglorum populo Electus, Regnum suscepit*; which shews that a new Election by all the People of *England* was necessary, tho he was King of part of it before.

AFTER the Death of King *Edgar*, our Historians tell us, there was a Contest between Prince *Edward*, and his Brother *Ethelred*, concerning their Succession to the Crown; which, says *William of Malmesbury*, was set on foot by *Elfrida* the Wife of King *Edgar*, and Mother-in-Law to *Edward*; which divers of our Authors tell us, was because those of her Faction pretended that *Egelfrida*, the Mother of Prince *Edward*, was never married to King *Edgar*; for otherwise there could have been no Colour why the elder Son should not be preferred before the Younger, especially since he was also recommended by his Father's Will: and indeed it is left very much in the dark, whether the Lady last mentioned were ever *Edgar's* lawful Wife or not: For the *Annals*, and more Antient Historians, are wholly silent in it; nor does any Writer make mention of that Lady as King *Edgar's* Wife, till *John of Wallingford*, who lived in the Reign of King *Henry the Third*.

BUT be it as it will, whether Prince *Edward* was Legitimate or not, his Father however had left him (as *Florence of Worcester* says) Heir of his Kingdom, as well as of his Vertues; yet we also learn from *Simeon of Durham*, that *Quidam Regis filium Edwardum, Quidam illius fratrem eligerunt, Ethelredum; quam ob causam Archiepiscopus Dunstanus & Oswaldus cum Co-episcopis, Abbatibus, Ducibusq; quamplurimis in unum convenerunt,*

* Cleopatra.
B. 13.

Sim. Dunelm.
975.

convenerunt, & Edwardum, ut pater ejus præceperat, eligerunt, electum consecrarunt, & in Regem unxerunt. " Some Elected *Edward* the King's " Son *Edmund*, some his Brother *Ethelred*; wherefore the Arch-Bishops, " *Dunstan* and *Oswald*, with the Bishops, Abbots, and very many No- " blemen being gathered together, Elected *Edward*, (as his Father " had commanded) then Consecrated and Anointed him King.

THIS shews it so plain from the Doctor's own Translation of the words, that Prince *Edward* (notwithstanding his Father's Will) was first Elected, and then Anointed King, that I needed not have added any further Remark to it, had he but faithfully rendred the Latin Text as he ought to have done; but he has unhappily left out one material small word, and that is *Electum*, that so the unwary Reader might not observe that those Kings were first Elected, before they could be Anointed.

BUT I have not yet done with this Prince, nor with the Doctor, for *John of Timmouth* in his *Historia Aurea* (now in Manuscript in the Lambeth Library) tells the Story of this Election thus:

EDGARO Rege mortuo, & Edwardo ad Regnum relicto, dum quidam principes acquiescere nolent, Dunstanus arrepto Crucis Vexillo in mediis constitit, Edwardum illis ostendit, elegit, sacravit; that is, King *Edgar* being Dead, and *Edward* left Heir of the Kingdom, whilst some of the Chief Men would not Consent to it, Arch-Bishop *Dunstan* taking up the Banner of the Cross, placed him in the midst, and shewing him to them, he Elected, and then Consecrated him.

SO that I will leave it to the impartial Reader to judge, whether these words *Eligerunt* and *Electum*, here signify no more than *recognoverunt*, " As the Doctor will have them, i.e. they acknowledged, owned, " submitted unto him as their King, as his Father had commanded, and " by Will appointed, as the Doctor has been pleased to Paraphrase it. But I would advise him in the next Edition of this Treatise, or any other he writes upon this Subject, to shew us an Example out of any Antient Roman Authors, nay, any Glossary of the more barbarous Ages; where the word *Electus* or *Eligerunt*, signifies *Recognition*.

FOR as to all his Instances out of his own Glossary at the end of his *Introduction*, instead of Presidents, I may boldly say they are only meer Cavils against the Right and Manner by which the Kings or Bishops he there mentions came to obtain their Thrones or Sees; for that the Monks who wrote of them, ever meant by such their expressions that they were truly Elected, he himself cannot deny, which also proves the Falshood of that his Assertion, wherein he affirms, " That the old " Monks said every one was ELECTED, that had not an HEREDITARY Title; and tho he was set up by the ART or VIOLENCE " of a Faction, or obtained the Crown by Force and Arms without Title, yet according to them he was ELECTED, when as the PEOPLE " only received and submitted unto them when they could not help it; " and it may be because there was much Shouting, and many Acclamations at his Reception.

BUT I hope the Presidents I have here now given will evince the contrary, since of all the Kings that have been already mentioned to have been Elected, I desire him to shew me one, concerning whom the word Election can mean no more than a bare Recognition or Acclamation of the People, when they first received and submitted to them; whereas in-
o
deed

True and exact
History of the
Succession, &c.
Fol. 7.

Page 37.

Ibid pag. 38.

deed they were then solemn and deliberate Acts of Choice by the whole Estates of the Kingdom.

BUT since the Instances that the Doctor brings for this his Opinion are all after his Conquest, when he fancies the Nation totally subdued, and their Liberties lost; I shall reserve the Consideration of the Force of those Authorities till my *Introduction* before my next Volume, if God shall grant me Life to finish it.

BUT to return from whence some perhaps may think this too long a Digression.

KING Edward being murdered by the Instigation of his Mother, Ethelred his Brother succeeded him; and tho the Doctor again seems to put some stress on the words FENG to RICE, as if he had come in by Lineal Succession, yet that he was also Elected as well as his Brother, I desire he would consult the Antient *Annals* of the Monastery of *Thorney* in the *Cottonian Library*, great part of which is written in *Saxon* Letters, and either some time before, or else not long after the Conquest, and there under *Anno 978.* he will find these words, *Eadwardus Rex occiditur, Atheldredus eligitur*, that King Edward was killed, and Ethelred Elected.

Bibliothec.
Cotton. Nero.
cap. 7.

Id. sub Effigie
Claudii. A. 3.

* i. e. the Ld.
on Prince to be
elected; whence
the Spanish and
Italian Titles
of Seignior.

AND for a Proof of this, there is in the same Library the form of the Coronation of that King and his Queen, which hath these words in it.

* SENIOREM per manus producant Duo Episcopi ad Ecclesiam, & Clerus hanc decantet Antiphonam, duobus Episcopis precinentibus.

FIRMETUR manus tua, ut supra versis.

GLORIA Patri, &c. perveniens Rex ad Ecclesiam prostrat se coram Altare, ut hymnizetur.

TE Deum Laudamus; Te Dominum confitemur.

QUO finito tenus hymnizato, Rex erigetur de Solo, & AB EPISCOPIS ET A PLEBE ELECTUS. Hec tria se servaturum jura promittat, & clara Voce coram Deo omniq; Populo dicat. Hec tria populo Christiano, & mihi subditis in Christi promitto nomine,

IMPRIMIS, ut Ecclesia Dei, & omnis populus Christianus veram pacem nostro arbitrio in omni tempore servet.

SECUNDO, Ut Rapacitates, & omnes Iniquitates omnibus gradibus interdicam.

TERTIO, Ut in omnibus Juditiis equitatem & misericordiam precipiam, ut mihi & vobis indulgeat suam misericordiam clemens & misericors Deus, qui vivit, &c. His peractis omnes dicant, Amen.

AND for a farther Confirmation of the Truth of this Oath, there is also an Antient *Saxon* Copy of it, together with a Latin Version which differs but little from that now cited, and is said to be that Oath which Arch-Bishop *Dunstan* administered to this King at *Kingston* on the Day of his Coronation; at the end of which Oath it is also specified, *that so long as the King observes it, he will thereby obtain both Earthly Glory, and also God's Mercy; so if he breaks it, he will still pass from bad to worse, as well in respect of himself, as People, unless he repent.* This you will find printed both in *Saxon* and *Latin*, in the second Book of *King Alfred's* Life, printed at *Oxford* from an Antient Manuscript in the *Cottonian Library*.

Cleopatra.
B. 13.

I

I shall not trouble you with a verbal Translation of all this long Oath; only observe thus much, that hereby it appears plainly that King Ethelred had been before Elected by the Clergy and Laity, in order to be crowned King; which is further confirmed by that old *Saxon* imperfect Ritual of the Coronation of the *English Saxon* Kings and Queens, part of which Mr. *Selden* hath given us in his *Titles of Honour*, where in the Prayer upon the Anointing we find these words, *Respice propitius ad preces nostra humilitatis, & super hunc famulum tuum illum quem supplici Devotione in Regem ANGLORUM vel SAXONUM pariter ELIGIMUS, Benedictionum tuarum Dona multiplica*; as also what follows in the same Chapter, in the Blessing after the Coronation, in giving him the Scepter. *Benedic, Domine, hunc PRE-ELECTUM Principem, qui Regna omnium Regum a seculo moderaris.* Amen.

NOW from both these Places above quoted, we may safely conclude, that an Election did most commonly precede the Coronation of our *English Saxon* Kings; which I think is made so evident by these Authorities, that it needs no farther Enlargement; nor should I trouble my self about it were it not to expose the Obstinacy of some Men, as well as to continue the Series of this Succession (which perhaps would seem lame to others without it) down to the Conquest.

TO go on therefore where we left off, after the Death of King Ethelred, the *Saxon Annals* tell us, that *Omnes Proceres, qui in Londonia erant, & Cives, eligerunt Eadmundum in Regem*, i. e. All the Chief Men, (or *Witan*, as it is in the *Saxon*, i. e. *Wife Men*) that were at *London*, and the Citizens, chose *Edmund* for their King; and yet he was his Father's eldest Son, tho whether Legitimate or not is uncertain: for we do not find any antient Author till after the Conquest, that mentions Ethelred's being married to the Mother of this Prince; and if he was not, this Son of his could have no other Title but Election. This is also confirmed by *Ingulph*, who says, *Cui (Ethelredo) successit in Regnum Londonensium & West-Saxonum Electione, Filius ejus primogenitus Edmundus, &c.* i. e. *Edmund* his eldest Son succeeded his Father Ethelred, by the Election of the *Londoners* and *West-Saxons*, in the Kingdom.

Ingulph. fol.
507. b. lin. 5.

BUT tho our *Saxon Annals* are silent of it, yet an Antient Manuscript Chronicle, wrote about the Time of the Conquest, now in the *Cottonian Library*, relates, that about the same Time that King *Edmund* was thus Elected, *Episcopi, Abbates, quique Nobiliores Angliæ Canutum in Regem eligere*, the Bishops, Abbots, and several of the Chief Men of *England* chose *Cnut* for their King; which is also confirmed by *Florence of Worcester* in these words under this very Year. *Post cujus mortem maxima pars Regni tam Clericorum quam Laicorum in unum congregati, pari consensu Cnutonem in Regem eligerunt, & ad eum Southampton veniens pacem cum eo pepigerunt, & fidelitatem jurabant*; i. e. after whose Death (*viz.* of King Ethelred) the greatest part of the Kingdom, as well of the Clergy as Laity, being met together, chose *Cnut* for their King; and coming to *Southampton* made Peace with him, and swore Fidelity; but he there says nothing of his Coronation.

Ocho. D. 7.

THESE Testimonies concerning Ethelred and Edmund being thus plain, I confess Dr. *Brady* has been so just as to cite them, and fairly to translate that Passage in *Ingulph* by the word *Election*, whereas it should

should have been *Recognition*, if it had suited with his Hypothesis; as he does also that of *Florence of Worcester*, rendring the word *Eligerunt*, by *chose* him King: if therefore it were a true Election in one case, then surely it must be so in the other, for the same Reason.

Page 5.

BUT the nameless Author of *the Great Point of Succession discuss'd*, tho he does wilfully conceal all the printed Authorities above mentioned, yet being hard press'd with this Passage of King *Cnut*, has no other way to evade it, but by saying, "That *Canutus*, by the Terror of his Arms, having the greatest part of the Island at his Devotion, forced them to acknowledg and receive him for their King, which they being under an apparent Force, could not refuse to do."

THE fallaciousness of which Assertion I will not go about to prove in this Place, but refer the Reader to the ensuing History, where he will find that the Persons abovemention'd, were not so forced by the Terror of his Arms, as to acknowledg him for their King, since *London* (then, as still) the Capital City of the Nation, with many others of the Nobility, had before Chosen King *Edmund*, who by their Assistance was strong enough immediately after his Election to fight the *Danes* at the great Battel at *Assendune*; and therefore if voluntarily, yet it was treacherously done of them; to quit the Prince who ought to have been Elected, and to choose a Stranger and an Invader over his Head: and whether the Gentleman this Author writes against, had ridiculously called King *Cnut*'s Accession to the Throne an *Election*, as he would have it, I shall leave to the impartial Reader's Judgment.

AFTER the Death of King *Cnut*, our *Annals* relate, that at a *Witena-Gemot* or Great Council being held at *Oxford*, *Leofricus Comes*, & omnes propè *Thani* à *Boreali* parte *Thamisis*, & *Nauta* de *Lundonia* eligerunt *Haroldum* in *Regem* totius *Anglia*, dum ejus Frater *Hardeknute* esset in *Denmarcia*, i. e. *Leofric* the Earl, and almost all the Thanes North of the *Thames*, and the Sea-men of *London*, chose *Harold* King of all *England*, whilst his Brother *Hardeknute* was in *Denmark*; which is also confirmed by * *Ingulph*, and † *William* of *Malmesbury*, who farther report, "That the *English* had a Mind to chuse *Edward* the Son of *Ethelred*, or at least *Hardeknute* the Son of *Cnut* by *Emme* his Wife, the Widow of King *Ethelred*, who was then in *Denmark*."

BUT *Henry* of *Huntington* says expressly, *Haroldus filius Cnuti in Regem Electus est*. But *Radulphus de Diceto* is yet more express as to this Election of *Harold*, as appears by this Passage under *An. 1038*. *Haroldus Rex Merciorum & Northymbroorum, ut per totam regnaret Angliam, à Principibus & omni Populo Eligitur*, i. e. *Harold* King of the *Mercians* and *Northumbers*, that he might reign over all *England*, is Chosen by the chief Men and all the People: whence you may observe, that tho he were then King of the *Mercians* and *Northumbers*, yet that still needed a new Election to make him King of all *England*.

NOW if this were so, as the Doctor himself has ingenuously cited it in his said Treatise; I desire he would let us know, where was then the Right of Lineal Succession, when the People of *England* would fain have chosen *Edward*, who could not be Right Heir of the Crown so long as the Children of his Elder Brother were alive, tho then in Exile? nor could *Hardeknute* have any Right so long as *Harold* his Elder Brother was alive; whom also, as our Historians relate, his Father had appointed Successor at his Death, tho whether that be true or no, is much to be doubted.

BUT

BUT the Author of the aforementioned *Great Point of Succession*, &c. (to evade this Proof of *Harold*'s Election) will have all this Point in Controversy to have been, who had the most Right, and best Title to the Crown of those two, *Harold* or *Hardeknute*; and that *Earl Godwin* objected *Harold*'s Illegitimacy, and the Will of the deceased King; of all which there is not one word mentioned in any of our most Antient Historians, only he cites a Scrap in the Margin, as he thinks, out of *Brompton*, (but it should be *Simon* of *Durham*, for no such thing is to be found in the former Author) viz. That *Harold* ——— *quasi justus heres cepit regnare, nec tamen ita potenter ut Canutus, quia justior heres expectabatur Hardicanutus*, i. e. as just Heir, but yet not so absolutely as *Cnut*; because the juster Heir (*Scil. Hardeknute*) was expected, which he is pleased to call him, because he falsely supposes that none could have a Right to the Crown but one of *Queen Emma*'s Children. But this Writer cunningly leaves out the preceding Words with a dash, because they make against him, which I shall here add, *atq; consentientibus quamplurimis MAJORIBUS natu Angliæ, quasi Justus heres, &c.* So that it seems his Right to reign, proceeded from the Consent of the Estates of the Kingdom.

SO that granting, as this Author supposes, That *Hardeknute* had been left Heir by his Father King *Cnut*'s Testament, yet you see this could only give him a Precedency of being first Proposed, and Elected.

HAROLD dying after a few Years Reign, *Hardeknute* was sent for out of *Flanders* to succeed him; yet this could not be as his Heir, being but of the half Blood, and his supposed Brother only by his Father's side: and therefore *Henry* of *Huntington* says expressly, that *Post Mortem Haroldi Hardeknute filius Regis Cnuti illico susceptus est, & ELECTUS in Regem ab Anglis, & DACIS*, i. e. After the Death of *Harold*, *Hardeknute* the Son of King *Cnut* was presently received, and Elected King by the *English* and *Danes*.

HARDEKNUTE dying suddenly after, about two Years Reign, the abovecited Antient Chronicle in the *Cottonian* Library, proceeds to tell us, that *Mortuo Hardecanuto, Eadwardus Annitentibus maxime Comite Godwino & Wigornensi Livingo, levatur Londoniæ in Regem*, i. e. that *Hardeknute* being dead, *Edward* by the Assistance chiefly of *Earl Godwin*, and *Living Bishop* of *Worcester*, was advanced to the Throne at *London*.

WILLIAM of *Malmesbury* words it thus, speaking of *Earl Godwin*, *Nec mora, congregato concilio Londoniæ, rationibus suis explicitis, Regem effecit*. From whence it appears, that by *Godwin*'s means he was made King at a Common-Council of the Kingdom.

BUT *Ingulph* is yet more express, who says, *Post ejus (Scil. Hardecanuti) obitum, Omnium Electione in Edwardum concordatur, maxime cohortante Godwino Comite*. i. e. that after the Death of *Hardeknute*, it was unanimously agreed upon to Elect Prince *Edward*; *Earl Godwin* chiefly advising it.

AND *Henry Huntington* goes yet a step higher, and writes thus, *Eadwardus cum paucis venit in Angliam, & Electus est in Regem ab omni populo*. Prince *Edward* coming into *England* with but a few Men; was Elected King by all the People: which is also confirmed by an Antient Manuscript Chronicle of *Thomas* of *Chesterton* Canon of *Litchfield*, in the *Cottonian* Library, who under *Anno 1042*. says thus, *Edward* — Cleopatra. C.

dux filius Athelredi Regis, ab omni Populo in Regem Electus, & Consecratus est.

Lib. 6. cap. 9. BUT the Doctor very cunningly conceals all this concerning his Election, and only gives us a shred out of *Guilielmus Gemeticensis* in these words, Hardecanutus Edwardum totius Regni reliquit heredem; that is, left Edward Heir of the whole Kingdom: but so far indeed the Doctor is in the Right, "That he could be no other than a Testamentary Heir, there being other Heirs of the Right Line, both of Saxon and Danish Blood before him. But it may well be doubted, whether the Author last mentioned, being a Foreigner, may not be mistaken, if he means the words *heredem reliquit*, for a Bequest by Will, since no English Historian that I know of mentions any such thing: and indeed it is highly improbable that this Prince made any Will at all, since all Writers agree that he died suddenly at a Drunken Feast, in the very Flower of his Age; and as it is not likely he made any Will before, so it was impossible he could do it at his Death:

BUT this Election of King Edward farther appears, from the mean and abject Carriage which this Prince shewed, (as you will find in *William of Malmesbury*) towards Earl Godwin, when he was so far from claiming the Crown, that he only desired he would save his Life, till the Earl encouraging him, put him in hopes of obtaining the Kingdom upon Promise of marrying his Daughter; which he would never have done, had he had so fair a Pretence as the last Will of his Brother *Hardecnut* to recommend him to the favour of the Estates of the Kingdom; and if that alone would have done, to what purpose should he need afterwards to be Elected?

THIS is in part acknowledged by the Doctor; but to palliate it, he will have *Godwin*, (a Council being immediately called) by his Reason and Rhetorick to make him King; (it seems then he was to be made so) but he dares not say one word of his Election, for fear it would betray the Cause which he has so strenuously laboured to advance.

AND therefore he thinks he has now nothing more to do, but to expose and ridicule the Legend of the Abbot of Rievall in making Edward the Confessor to be elected King in his Mother's Womb: which tho' I grant to be as absurd as to drink a Prince of Wales his Health before he is born, yet the Abbot had certainly no ground for this Story, unless he had been sufficiently convinced that this was an Elective Kingdom in the Time of King *Ethelred* his Father.

BUT if the Reader desires further Satisfaction concerning the Circumstances of this King's Election, I shall refer him to the Antient *Annals* of the Church of Winchester, which I have faithfully transcribed out of the first Volume of *Monasticon Anglicanum*, and inserted into this Volume under Anno 1041. where he will find the whole History of this Prince's Election and Coronation, written by a Monk of that Church not long after the Conquest; these *Annals* are also in Manuscript in the Cottonian Library, to which I must likewise be the Favour of its honourable Possessor, own my self highly obliged for several considerable Remarks in this History of the Succession of our Saxon Kings.

BUT to draw to a Conclusion upon this Subject; King Edward (as appears by our *Annals*) in the Year 957, sent over for his Cousin Prince *Edward*, surnamed the Out-Law, Son of King Edmund, out of Hungary, as *Simon of Durham* relates, *illum se Regni heredem constituta*, that he

he might appoint him Heir of the Kingdom: which had been a very idle Thing had the Kingdom been Hereditary, and that it had been his undoubted Right by Proximity of Blood.

THIS Prince dying soon after his coming over, we nowhere find, that King Edward ever offered to do the like for his Cousin *Edward Atheling*; but on the contrary forgetting his own Family, *Ingulph* tells us, that the Year before his Death, he sent Robert Arch-Bp of Canterbury his Ambassadour, to let William Duke of Normandy know, *illum designatum esse sui Regni successorem*, that he had appointed him Heir of his Kingdom: which relation tho' I have proved to be false as to Archbishop Robert, towards the end of this ensuing History; yet might it be true in the main, and some other Bishop might have gone over to Duke William on that Message; but however, for all this, King Edward afterwards adopted Earl Harold upon his Death-bed, for which we have very good Authority, since our Saxon *Annals* testify it in these words, *Tunc Haroldus Comes cepit Regnum, sicut Rex ei concesserat, Omneq; ad id eum eligebant, & consecratus est in Regem in Festo Epiphaniæ*, which was the same day that King Edward was Buried. Page 172.

THIS is also confirmed by the History of the Abby of Ely, written not long after the Conquest, and lately published by the Learned Dr. Gale, *Quo (Scil. Edwardo) tumulato, subregulus Haraldus Godwin Ducis Filius, quem Rex ante suam Deceffionem Regni Successorem elegerat, à totius Angliæ Primatibus ad Regale Culmen ELECTUS est, Die eodem ab Aldredo Eboracensi Archiepiscopo in Regem honorifice consecratur*; which also agrees with Florence of Worcester, and *Simon of Durham* under Anno 1066. almost in the very same words, and by Eadmerus (who lived not long after the Conquest) in these words, *Juxta quod Edwardus ante mortem statuerat, successit HARALDUS*. Lib. 2. cap. 43. fol. 515.

FROM all which remarkable Testimonies I shall draw these two Conclusions.

FIRST, That this Testamentary Designation of Harold by King Edward for his Heir, was not sufficient alone to make him King, but it also required a subsequent Election of the Estates of the Kingdom.

SECONDLY, That there is an apparent Distinction here made between his Election and Consecration.

AND I think this enough, had I no more to say, to settle this Point; but to let the Reader know the utmost that may be objected against these Authorities, I must freely confess, that divers Writers of good Credit and Reputation, who lived after the Conquest, viz. *Ingulph* of Croyland, *William of Malmesbury*, *Ailred* Abbot of Rievall, and *Henry of Huntington*, look upon this Donation of King Edward as a meer Pretence, invented by the English in Prejudice of the Norman Duke.

BUT how they will be able to answer those plain and full Authorities I have before cited, I know not: for *William of Malmesbury* himself was also forced to confess, that King Harold claimed not only by virtue of Edward's Designation, but by the Election of the Great Council of the Kingdom, as appears by this Memorable Passage, viz. *Ille (scilicet Haraldus) in his Answer to William then Duke of Normandy, de puelle nuptiis referens, de Regno (addebat) presumptuosum fuisse, quod absq; generali Senatûs & Populi Conventu & Edicto, alienam illi hereditatem juraverit, i.e. "That Harold, speaking of the Marriage* Malmesbur. de Gestis Anglorum Lib. 2. Fol. 95.

"riage of the Duke's Sister, further added, that it was a very pre-
sumptuous way to swear away another's Inheritance to him, with-
out the General Act and Appointment of the Senate and People, that
is, the Nobility and Commons.

THIS shews, that it would have been a most notorious Falshood for
Harold thus to have gone about to impose upon Duke William, had
there never been any such thing as a Real and Solemn Election, which
our abovementioned Authors have related.

Dr. Brady's
Answer to Ar-
gum. Antinor-
man, fol. 238.

NOR is Dr. Brady's Objection against this at all material, in saying,
that those who thus set him up, were only a Court Faction, for the Peo-
ple all England over could never have notice to come to, or send their Re-
presentatives to such a Solemnity, as to elect and crown him King in four
and twenty Hour's Time; and therefore should his Election be granted,
he could not be chosen by the People, who had neither Notice nor Know-
ledge of it, but only received and submitted to him as their King.

NOW in answer to this I need only say, that if the Doctor would
have been so fair as to have consulted Sir Henry Spelman's first Volume
of Councils, or the first Volume of *Monasticon Anglicanum*, he would
have found in both of them, (in the Charters of the Foundation of the
Abby of Westminster, and the History of that Church printed in the
Latter) that it was not (as he says) never to have been imagined; for it
was really true, that the Estates of the Kingdom did meet a little before
Christmās, (*secundum Morem*, according to Custom) and not only so,
but were expressly summoned to be present at the Great Solemnity of
the Consecration of that Abbey, which was, as our *Annals* inform us,
on St. Innocent's day, and the King dying on the Twelfth-day following,
this Great Council (which certainly was a full one) was so far from be-
ing then Dissolved, that it chose Harold for their succeeding King, as
the said *Annals* relate: The nicety of the Dissolution of a Parliament
upon the King's Decease not being at that time known.

I think this is sufficient to answer all that the Doctor has, or I sup-
pose can say upon this Head; therefore I will now leave it to the
Reader to consider, how far any of his Assertions are true.

True and exact
History of the
Succession,
Fol. 7.

AS first, "Whether the sure Rule of Succession was either Right of
Blood?

OR Secondly, "Whether the bare Nomination or Appointment of
the preceding King, was then thought and allowed as Cause suffici-
ent for the Father to prefer his Brother's Son before his own, or a
"Bastard before his Lawful Issue, or that the Instances which he hath
"produced will be able to make it out; or else whether those very In-
"stances, which I have here set in their true Light, do not directly evince
"the contrary?

Id. Fol. 9.

THIRDLY, Whether from this foregoing History of the Succession,
it appears also to be true what he asserts, viz. "That from Egbert the
"first Saxon Monarch, to Ethelred the last by Right of Blood, we do
"not read of many Elections for the space of two hundred and sixteen
"Years; and that those we meet with are bound and limited by Proxi-
"mity of Blood, or Nomination of the Successor by the Predeces-
"sor, and that where the word Election or any thing in that Sense is
"used, it signifies only a Recognition and Submission? And I will
now leave it to the Reader's Judgment, if I have not given sufficient
Instances to the contrary in every one of these Particulars, there being
not

not above two Kings in all this long Series of more than two hundred
and sixty Years, concerning whom I have not brought express Testi-
monies from Authors of undoubted Credit both in Print and Manu-
script, of their Election by the Estates of the Kingdom. Or,

FOURTHLY, Whether his last Assertion be any truer than the
former, viz. "That the Danish Kings, after Sweyn had conquered the
"Kingdom, (whose best Title was the Sword) either brought hither
"the Custom of the Predecessor, naming or giving the Kingdom to
"the Successor, as probably it might have been practised in their own
"Kingdoms, or used it as they found it here practised by the Saxon
"Kings? Or whether the Authorities I have already cited do not ex-
pressly prove, that every one of the three Danish Kings came in by E-
lection, and that Harold Harefoot was the only Prince of those Three,
who could make any pretence to it by Testament?

AND as for the Saxon Kings that reigned before them, how far they
by their last Wills alone could dispose of, or entail the Crown, with-
out the concurrent Assent and Consent of the Great Council of the
Kingdom, I refer the Reader to that part of King Alfred's Will, I have
here made use of for his farther Satisfaction, if he have still any
doubt left about it.

I have now dispatched this exact and faithful History of the Suc-
cession of our English Saxon Kings, in which I am not conscious to my
self that I have either added or diminished any thing material to, or
from the Authors which I have made use of; I desire to be believed
that I have not wrote this to prove, that the Succession to the Crown
ought at this day to be Elective in the same manner as it was before
the Conquest, but only to obviate and remove the false Opinions or
Prejudices of some Men, who by the plausible Representations of
the Doctor and others, have been so far prepossessed as to believe, that an
Hereditary Succession to the Crown hath been as Antient as the Monarchy
it self; whereas we find that Sweden and Denmark have from Elective
become Hereditary Kingdoms in a much less space of Time: And I
suppose no Man of those Countries would asperse any Writer there, of
being an Enemy to Monarchy for asserting so evident a Truth; and
therefore I hope I may find the same fair Quarter at Home, notwith-
standing the Doctor's Insinuations before his abovesaid History of the
Succession of the Crown, That none but Papists, Fanatics, or Common-
Wealth's Men, (a List of whose Works he there gives us) would dare to
write for, or maintain this Opinion. But if Parsons the Jesuit has hap-
pened in his Discourse of the Succession, to write some Truths concern-
ing it, I am no more to be thought Jesuitical for following (not him,
but) the Authors from whom he took them; than I should be if I had
wrote a Mathematical Dissertation founded upon Demonstrations from
Euclid, which had been before made use of by Tacquet, or any other
Learned Jesuit, that has wrote upon that Subject.

AFTER the Election, I shall say somewhat of the Coronation of
our English Saxon Kings, which sometimes was performed on the
same Day on which they were Elected, and sometimes several Days,
nay, Months after, as appears by the Coronation of King Edward the
Confessor; who tho he were Chosen King in June not long after his
Brother Hardecnut's Decease, yet was he not Crowned till the Easter
following,

following, as you will find in the *Saxon Annals* under the Years 1041, 1042. But *Harold* his Successor (to make the Crown the surer) was Elected and Crowned the same Day. This Solemnity of the Coronation, was most commonly performed by the Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*, yet was it not at first done in the Church, but in the open Air; thus the Kings *Athelstan*, *Edmund*, and *Edred*, are expressly mentioned by our Historians to have been Crowned in the Market Place of *Kingston* upon *Thames*: and I suppose the like had been used in the Coronation of former Kings, since it is not taken notice of as an Innovation.

BUT to say somewhat of the forms of those Crowns which our Kings then wore, it appears from their Coins that they were at first no other than Diadems like those of the Greek Emperors in that Age, and from whom they were borrowed: thus *Offa* King of the *Mercians* is Graven on his Coin with a Diadem of Pearls about his Head; but our great King *Alfred* has no more than a bare Head-band, or Circle, which seems to have been tied behind, as you may see in his Coins. And tho I confess there is also a Coin of one *K. Egbert* with a Coronet of Rayes upon his Head; yet that this was not of our *K. Egbert*, but rather of him that was King of *Northumberland*, who began to reign *An. 867*, I rather incline to believe. As for King *Edward the Elder*, he has in his Coins only a kind of Diadem upon his Helmet, King *Athelstan*, *Edmund* and *Eadred* his Brothers being the first of our *West-Saxon* Kings, who wore Crowns with three Rayes, or Points higher than the rest; and therefore I look upon it as a Fiction in them who will needs have it, that *K. Alfred* was Crowned with a Crown wrought with Flower-de-Lices; because such a Crown was kept among the *Regalia* at *Westminster* before our late Civil Wars, in a Box, upon whose Cover was this Inscription, *Hec est Principalior Corona cum qua Coronabantur Reges, Alfredus, Edwardus, &c.* Which having been the Crown of *Edward the Confessor*, it was very easy for the Monks of that Church who kept those *Regalia* in after times, to inscribe what they pleased upon this Box, since it added so much to the Antiquity and Reputation of this Crown: and I am the more inclined to this Opinion, because I find King *Cnut*, and *Edward the Confessor*, to be the first Kings who wore Diadems adorned with Flower-de-Lices, as appears by their Coins.

I shall in the next Place say somewhat of the Titles by which our *West-Saxon* Kings stiled themselves in their Laws and Charters; and to begin with King *Egbert*, (however Supreme he were over all the rest of the Kings then reigning in *England*, yet we cannot find that he stiled himself more than, *Rex West-Saxonum* in any of his Charters; for as for Laws we have none of his left us. The like I may say for his Successors *Ethelwulf*, and his Sons and Grandsons, as far as King *Athelstan*, who for ought I can find was the first Prince that upon his Victories over the *Danes* and *Scots*, changed his Title of *Rex West-Saxonum*, or *Anglorum* alone, which was used by his Predecessors, to this that follows, *Ego Athelstanus Rex Anglorum, per omnipotentis Dextram totius Britannie Regno sublimatus*, as you will find it in his Charter in *William of Malmesbury*, de *Gestis Pontif.* as also in the same Place you will find this King's Title to have somewhat varied; for on a rich Box, or Shrine, given by this King to keep the Relicts of the Saints in, was engraven this Inscription, *Ego Ethelstanus totius Britannie & multarum nationum in circuitu*
positarum

Vid. Ante
Vitam Al-
fredi. B. Tab.
4. & ante
Camden. Bri-
tan. Tab.

Vid. Vitam
Alfredi. pag.
152.

Vid. 4. pag.
223. 224. 225.
226. 227. 228.

positarum Imperator, &c. which Title was also made use of by his Brother King *Edmund*, only instead of *Imperator*, he stiles himself *Gubernator & Rector*, as appears by his Charter to the Church of *Glastonbury*, set down by the same Author above-mentioned, in his * *Antiquity of the Church of Glastonbury*, which was also used by King *Edgar*, tho with some difference, who instead of *Rector & Rex*, stiled himself *totius Albionis Basileus* in divers Charters; but this proceeded from the corrupt Stile of that Time, or else the particular Fancy of the Clerk or Monk who drew the Charter: And tho instead of this word *Basileus*, King *Ethelred* his Son again made use of *Rex*, yet the rest of the Title remained the same, and was also continued by King *Cnut*; however he sometimes stiled himself *Rex totius Albionis Insule, & aliarum Nationum plurimarum*. What Titles his Sons had I do not find, because I have not seen any of their Charters; only we may here observe, that several Kings before *Cnut*, stiled themselves Kings not only of *Albion*, or *Britain*, but of several other Nations round about, by which could only be meant that Superiority they assumed at that time over the Kings of *Scotland*, *Wales* and *Northumberland*, before that Country was reduced into the form of a Province, and was governed by Earls.

* Pag. 318.
published in the
last Vol. of
Dr. Gale.

I now come, in the next place, to give you an Account of the chief Powers and Prerogatives of our *English-Saxon* Kings; some of which I find set down in our *Saxon Annals* at the end of the Year 693, at the Council of *Becanceld*, where the Arch-bishop of *Canterbury* thus defines them in his Decree at the Conclusion of that Council. *Regum est*, says he, *constituere Comites, Duces, Vice-Comites, & Judices*; it is the Office of Kings to constitute Earls, Ealdormen, Sheriffs and Judges.

TO which we may also add the Power of Coining Money, which being then the Prerogative of the Crown, was granted by Charter to the Arch-bishops of *Canterbury* and *Tork*, as likewise to the Abbots of *Medeleshamsted* or *Peterborough*, and to several other Abbies; as may be seen in *Monasticon Anglicanum*, as well as in the *Annals* themselves. Some Instances of which I have given you in the ensuing History, not omitting some of the Coins which are still preserved in Cabinets, some of whose Figures are to be found in the Collection of *Saxon* Coins before King *Alfred's* Life, as also before the new Edition of *Camden's Britannia*.

BUT that any of those Kings had Power by their own Royal Prerogative, to enhance or debase the intrinsic Value of the Money, coined either in their own or other Mints, I can no ways believe, since such a Prerogative would have highly tended to the Loss and Defrauding of the Subject, for which that Power was never designed; nor do I find our Kings ever assumed this Prerogative to themselves, till later Ages. And in Confirmation of this the † *Mirror of Justices* recites it as an old Law of the *Saxon* Times, that no King of this Realm could change, enbase, or enhance his Money, or make other Coin than of Silver, *sanx l'assent de tous ses Countees*, i. e. without the Assent of Parliament; as Sir *Edward Coke* in his second Institutes, hath on very good grounds interpreted this Expression, in that Author *Andrew Horne*, who lived in the Reign of King *Edward I.*

TO these we may further add, that of pardoning Offenders their Lives in several Cases, such as striking in the King's Palace, &c. which he might also take in Case of *Homicides*; but still reserving the *Wiregilds*, or

† Sect. 3.

Artic. super
Chartas, cap.
20. p. 576.

or Compensations that were to be made to the Friends or Relations of the Parties slain, which it was not in his Power to release, as appears by several Passages in our *Saxon* Laws, some of which I have inserted in this Volume; whence, I suppose, are derived the Appeals of the Wife, Son, or Brother, in Cases of Murder at this day.

BUT as for the Power of making War or Peace, since I find little said of it in our Histories, I shall not be positive in asserting any thing concerning it: only shall observe, that in every Peace made by the King upon Payment of Money, the Consent of the Estates of the Kingdom was required; for Taxes could not be raised without it, as you will find in our *Annals* under the Years 994, 1002, 1006, 1011, when that extraordinary Tax of *Danegelt* was raised to be paid to the *Danes* for purchasing a Peace of them. And as for the Power of making Foreign War, that could also signify little, since those Kings had not the Prerogative of raising Money without the Consent of their People, any more than our Kings have at this day: nor were their Revenues so much in Money, as in Provisions for their Household.

NOR can I omit here taking notice, that the *English* *Saxon* Kings wanted one great Prerogative, which ours exercise at this day, *viz.* the power of granting away the *Demefnes* of the Crown, even to pious Uses, without the Consent of the great Council of their Kingdoms: and of this we find a remarkable Instance in Sir *H. Spelman's* first Vol. of Councils, where *Baldred* King of *Kent* had given the Mannor of *Mallings* to *Christ-Church* in *Canterbury*; but because the chief Men of his Kingdom (*i. e.* the Great Council) had not consented to it, it was revoked until *K. Egbert* afterwards by the Consent of his *WITTEN* *A GEMOT* made a new Grant thereof: and this was also the reason why the Foundations and Infeodations of Abbies were always confirmed and attested by all the Estates as well Spiritual as Temporal, as you will find by most of their Charters in *Monast. Anglican.* of which I have inserted some Examples in the History it self; so that I shall leave it to the Reader's Consideration, whether those Princes that could not dispose of their Crown-Lands without the Consent of the Great Council of the Kingdom, could without the like Consent dispose of the Crown it self as they pleased, as *Dr. Brady* in his * History of the Succession, &c. asserts, tho without any just Grounds, as hath been already proved.

BUT those Kings great Prerogative chiefly consisted in giving their Sanction to all Laws that were made, as well relating to Civil as Ecclesiastical Matters, that did not concern Doctrines of Faith: but this is still to be so understood, that this Prerogative could never be exerted without the Advice and Consent of the *Wysel-Gemot*, or Great Council of the Realm; at which, tho they were often first drawn up into Form, and then proposed by the King, yet was their Authority also necessary for the enacting of those Laws, without which they could no ways oblige the Subject, as shall be further shewn towards the end of this Discourse.

BUT since I have given you so large an Account how our Kings then obtained the Crown, it may perhaps be expected I should say somewhat now concerning the manner of their losing it, sometimes by other ways than Death.

IN order to this I desire the Reader would observe, that not only in *England*, but in all the Kingdoms of *Europe*, that were raised upon the Ruins

Ruins of the *Roman* Empire after the *Gothic* Model, the same mix'd manner of Succession, partly by Testament, partly by Election, did in those days chiefly prevail: Of which *Monsieur Mezeray* himself is so sensible, that in his Abridgment of the * History of *France*, he freely owns, "That during the Kings of the first Race, they were still chosen out of the Royal Family; but that there were three Conditions required to it. (1.) Birth, (tho whether they were legitimate or no it matter'd not). (2.) The last Will of the Father. (3.) The Consent of the Great Men, or Estates of the Kingdom; and the last of these (says he) almost ever followed the two former. Moreover, that in all those Kingdoms, where this way of Election was in use, their Kings were so far from being absolute Monarchs, that they were accountable for their Tyranny, or Male-Administration, to the Estates of the Kingdom, and were by them liable to be deposed for the same: Of which (were it to my present purpose) I could give you frequent Examples, not only in *Denmark* and *Sweden*, in both which Kingdoms that Law was in force till within this last Century, when they became successive in a Lineal Descent, by an Act of all the Estates; but also in *Castile* and *Arragon*, and even in that of *France* it self (as much as she takes upon her to be Absolute at this day): and for the Proof of this I shall refer you to any *French* History. Those famous Examples of the last *Childerick's* being Deposed by the great Council, or Assembly of the Estates of *France*, who elected *Pepin* King in his room; and also their setting aside *Charles* Duke of *Lorrain*, tho the undoubted Heir of the Crown by Blood, only for his supposed Enmity to the *French* Nation, and their choosing *Hugh Capet* for their King, from whom all the Kings of *France* from that time have been (so far as we know) lineally descended, renders this a Truth too notorious to be denied.

THIS I have here mentioned, that so you may not wonder if in the ensuing History you meet with divers Examples of the *English* Saxons deposing their Kings; since the same Custom did in those Ages prevail in all those Kingdoms, as a part of their Original Constitution.

AND for farther Proof of this, tho I could bring several Instances from the *Mercians* and *Northumbers*, yet because the latter were look'd upon as of a Rebellious Disposition against their Princes; and for the former it may be said, that those they expelled were Usurpers, and not lawful Kings; I shall therefore content my self with mentioning but two Examples concerning our *West-Saxon* Kings, which you will find hereafter more at large: The first is that of *Sigebert*, who (as the *Saxon Annals* inform us Anno 752.) for his unrythm *Dadum*, *i. e.* illegal Practices, or (as *Hen. Huntington* paraphrases it) for his Oppression, and wresting the Laws to his own Advantage, was by all the *Wyses*, or Wise and Great Men of *West-Saxony*, deprived of his Kingdom, and *Cenwolf* his Kinsman was by them elected in his room. † The next is that of King *Edwy*, who for his loose and irregular Life (tho chiefly for persecuting the Monks) being cast off or deposed by the *Mercians* and *Northumbers*, his Brother *Edgar* was chosen to succeed him; but yet the Kingdom was divided, and *Edwy* had only *West-Saxony* for his share. And both this Deposition and Division were confirmed by an Act of the Estates of the whole Kingdom, as I have already shewn.

BUT whether this was lawfully and rightfully done for any real Breach of their Original Contract, it is none of my Business here to decide;

* At the end of the Reign of *K. Clotaire II.* cir. Moeurs 8: Coustumes.

† *Vid. Hoveden*, pars prior, p. 424.

it is sufficient to shew, that the Estates of those Countries then judged so, not that I maintain the Law is, or ought to be so at this day; but that it was so before the Conquest, pray consider this Law, which tho found among those that go under the Title of *Edward the Confessor*, yet was certainly much more Antient, as containing not only the Office of an *English King*, but what he was to suffer in case he omitted that Duty: I shall give it you from the Latin Original in * *Hoveden* and † *Lambard*, in these words, *Rex qui est vicarius summi Regis, ad hac est constitutus, ut Regnum terrenum, & Populum Domini, & Super omnia sanctam veneretur ejus Ecclesiam, & regat, & ab injuriis defendat, & maleficos ab ea evellat, & destruat, & penitus disperdat; Quod nisi fecerit, nec Regis Nomen in eo constabit, i.e.* not so much as the Name of a King shall remain to him. Here you see not only the Substance of this *Original Contract*, but also the Penalty annex'd to it, if it were broken.

AND that there was such a thing as an *Original Compact* or *Contract* between the People of *England* and the Ancestors of those Kings, according to which they were to govern, and upon the non-performance of which, they were liable to forfeit or lose their Crowns, I think may farther be proved, tho what the particular Heads of it were we cannot now exactly tell, unless they were those mentioned in the Oath, recited in the *Mirror* at the Election of the first *Saxon* Sovereign, (whether he were *Egbert*, or any other) which indeed amounts to a *Contract*; but there was also a *Compact* of the like Nature in the Kingdom of the *West-Saxons* before King *Egbert's* Time as well as after; for how else could the Great Council of the Kingdom proceed against King *Sigebert* or *Edwy*, if there had not been then some known Laws or Constitutions, upon the Violation of which they were judged incapable to govern any longer? And tho the chief Heads of that *Contract* may have been comprized in King *Ethelred's* Coronation-Oath, which I have already given you; [the first Article of which is, to preserve the Holy Church, and all Christian People in true Peace at all Times; the second, To restrain all Violence and Injustice in all sorts of People, (which comprehends any raising of Taxes by the King's Officers contrary to Law); and the third, To observe Equity and Mercy in all his Judgments, by which the King is withheld from taking away any of his Subjects Lives arbitrarily, as also from pardoning notorious Offenders against the State at his meer Pleasure; so that the Religion, Estates and Lives of his People were by this Oath well secured:] I say, tho these are the chief Heads of this *Contract*, yet that this was much more Antient than the Ceremony of a Coronation, may appear from hence.

THAT Kingly Government in this Island was never Absolute nor Despotical, but always limited by Laws; and if limited, then those Laws must have been the Bounds or Conditions of that Limitation; and if there was from the beginning, or first Institution of the Government, a constant certain great Council ordained, whose Business it was to observe, that the King did not transgress the due Bounds of his Power; that Council (so long as the Kingdom continued Elective) had likewise Authority to call him to Account for his Male-Administration.

BUT since the Preaching of Christianity did no ways alter the Original Constitution of Government in all those seven Kingdoms above-mentioned, it follows, that there must have been an *Original Contract* precedent

precedent to the entrance of that Religion: And it did not commence from the Coronation of our Kings, as some have imagined, and consequently from their taking an Oath at that Time to observe the Laws of the Kingdom; because both the one and the other was much later than the Preaching of the Gospel it self: for this Ceremony of a Coronation, as Mr. *Selden* learnedly proves, began no earlier in the *West* than with *Charles the Great*, his receiving his Imperial Crown from the Hands of the Pope; and this Ceremony he also shews us, was borrowed from the *Greek Emperors*, who about *Justinian*, or his Successor *Justin's* Time, first introduced their Unction and Coronation by the Patriarch of *Constantinople*, as he there makes out from a Passage of the Learned *Onuphrius* in these words, *Constantinopoli vel sub Justiniano, vel post ejus statim Obitum, Electioni Imperatoris additum, ut quam primum Imperator renuntiatus esset, à Patriarchâ Constantinopolitano in magna Bizantii Basilica Oleo Unctus, Diademate Aureo redimeretur.*

AND therefore what we find in our *Saxon* Chronicles, or any other Historians, concerning the Coronation of our *English* *Saxon* Kings, must all of them have commenced since that Time.

NOW the Emperor *Charles's* Coronation above mentioned, falling out in the Year 800, it is plain that the Coronation of our Kings could not be antienter than that Time, which was near 450 Years after the Arrival of the *Saxons* in *England*, and settling Kingly Government here, and above 200 Years after the Preaching of Christianity; so that this Coronation Oath seems to have been only a constant Renovation or Confirmation of this *Original Contract*, at every new King's first Accession to the Throne, and must have had (if at all) its Original long before that Time.

AND this also appears from the Instance of King *Sigebert* above-mentioned, who was deprived of his Kingdom for the Breach of this *Contract*, above forty Years before there was either any Emperor or King formally Crowned in these *Western* parts of *Europe*.

TO all which we may farther add, that if our *Annals* and *Historians* may be credited, it does not appear that several of our *Danish* Kings, tho they were solemnly Elected, were ever Crowned at all: For as for King *Cnut*, whose Election is mentioned in *Florence of Worcester*, and other Authors, to have been by many of the Bishops and Nobility at *Southampton*, Anno Dom. 1015. yet are they all (except Abbot *Brompton's* Chronicle, which relates, that he was Crowned by *Living A.Bp of Canterbury*) silent as to his Coronation, only that upon their swearing Fealty to him, it is said he likewise swore to them, *Quod secundum Deum & seculum, fidelis esset eis Dominus*, i.e. that according to the Laws of God and Man, he would be a faithful Lord to them. So likewise after the Death of *Edmund Ironside*, the Author of *Encomium Emmae*, says expressly, that he was Elected King by the whole *English* Nation; but that he was not admitted without a new *Compact*, both *Florence* and *Roger Hoveden* inform us in these words, *viz.* That when they had again accepted of him for their King, and had sworn Fealty to him; he likewise again pledged his Faith to them in this Form, *Accepto pignore de manu sua nuda, cum juramentis à Principibus Danorum*, i.e. they received a Pledg or Promise from his bare or naked Hand, together with the Oaths given by the chief Men of the *Danes*; who it seems swore on the King's behalf, that he would observe the Conditions he had made before with them.

BUT

* Pag. 345.
† Pag. 138.

Seld. Tit. Hon.
c. 3. fo. 131.

Ibid. fol. 112.

De Comitibus
Imperatoris;
c. 2.

BUT as for the Coronation of his Son *Harold Harefoot*, that is expressly denied by the said Author of *Encomium Emmae*; for he says that *Elnoth* (or *Agelnoth*) Arch-bishop of *Canterbury* flatly refused to crown him, because he said he had taken an Oath not to anoint him King so long as the Children of Queen *Emma* were alive; and that laying down the Crown and Scepter upon the High Altar, he flatly forbade all the Bishops to crown *Harold*, which so incensed him, that he thenceforth despised his Episcopal Benediction.

BUT whether this Author (who yet lived in that very Time) might not write this out of Hatred to *Harold's* Memory, as well as out of Love to Queen *Emma* and her Children, I will not take upon me to determine, since no Historian besides himself makes any mention of it; for the antient History of *Ramsay* Abby, written some time after the Conquest, and now lately publish'd by Dr. *Gale*, says expressly in the Title to Chapt. 94. That *Harold* was Consecrated (i.e. Anointed) King.

BUT that the *English* Nation before the Conquest, believed that their Kings were obliged to govern them by Law, (i.e. according to the original Compact) and that their Allegiance to them was then looked upon as wholly due on that Account, our *Annals* seem to justify, *Anno Dom. 1014*, when the *English Wives*, or *Wife Men*, both of the Clergy and Laity, after the Death of *Sweyn* King of *Denmark*, sent over a Message to King *Ethelred*, being then retired into *Normandy*, whereby they assured him, "That no Prince was dearer to them than their own natural Lord; always provided, *Gif He in rihtlicor healdan wolde thonne He er dyde*, (as it is in the *Saxon*) i.e. if he would govern them more rightly (i.e. according to Law) for the future than he had done before: whereupon he promised to be a faithful Lord to them, (i.e. a Prince keeping his Oath and Promise) and redress all their Grievances, if on their parts they would return to their Allegiance. And thus by giving mutual Assurances, he came Home and contracted a new Friendship or League with his People.

HAVING now got over these great Points of the manner of Succession, and Deprivation of our *Saxon* Kings; I shall next as briefly as I can run through all those Orders and Degrees of Men that did constitute this Common-Weal.

Etheling. THE first Degree of Men beneath that of Kings, was that of *Etheling*, or Prince of the Blood Royal, being derived from the *Saxon* word *Ethel*, which signifies Noble, and *Ing*, which being added to it, signifies one derived from Royal Blood, as appears by the Terminations of Names in the *Saxon* Genealogies, set down in our *Annals* under *Anno 449*. and in several other Places, and was common not only to the King's Eldest Son, but to all others nearly related to the Blood Royal; and was a meer honorary Title, without any Power or Jurisdiction annexed to it that I know of, unless the King was at any time pleased to bestow it. Nor can I here omit giving you the Names of two other principal Offices or Dignities of the Kingdom, the one of which was Military, the other Civil, the former in *Saxon* was called *CYNINGS HOLD*, in Latin *Princeps Militie*, i.e. General of all the King's Forces in times of War: and thus we find King *Alfred* in his Will bequeaths a Legacy to Earl *Ethelred* his Son-in-Law, whom he denotes by this Title, *Ethelredo Principi mee Militie*.

THE

THE other, viz. the Great Civil Officer, was that of *Chancellor*, so called from the barbarous Latin word *Cancellare*, from his cancelling or striking out what he pleased in Men's Grants and Petitions. And as for his Power, we find it thus expressed in *Ingulf*, (upon K. *Edward the Elder's* having made his Cousin *Turketule* Chancellor) *Quocumq; negotia temporalia, vel spiritualia Regis Judicium expectabant, illius consilio* (tam sanctæ fidei, & tam profundi ingenii tenebatur) *omnia tractarentur, & tractata irrefragabilem sententiam sortirentur*: from whence we may observe, that the King did not only in that Age determine Civil, but Spiritual Causes too in his own Person, and had his Chancellor for his Assistant in his Judgments; which being so given, *irrefragabilem sententiam sortirentur*, i.e. they obtained an uncontrollable Sentence, beyond which there then lay no Appeal: and this I suppose was done in that great Court we now call the King's Bench; for as for the Court of Chancery in Causes relating to Equity, Sir *Edward Coke* tells us in his 4th Institutes, that there are no Precedents of it before the Reign of King *Henry VI*.

BUT that it was the business of the Chancellor to draw up the King's Charters, and also to sign them, before the Conquest, you will find at the end of the last Charter of King *Edward the Confessor* to the Abbey of *Westminster*, in the first Volume of Sir *H. Spelman's* Councils, where *Elfgar* a Notary signs it, *vice Reynaldi Regis Edwardi Cancellarii*.

THE next Degree was that of *Ealdorman*, which was not only Titular as to the Person, but an Office, and signified, as you will find all along in our *Annals*, those great Magistrates under the King, who being called in Latin *Subreguli, Principes & Consules*, in some of our Antient Charters; and sometimes in *Saxon*, *Cynings*, i.e. petty Kings, had the subordinate Government of Cities, Counties, and often too of whole Provinces, in all Affairs both Civil and Military, and were of much greater Power before King *Alfred's* Reign than afterwards; for whereas before his Time they had the chief Authority in all Places belonging to their Jurisdiction, they seem after the word *Eorle* came in use with the *Danes*, to have lost much of their Power, tho they still retained the Title. And it is observed by Sir *Henry Spelman* in his Glossary, that he who was called the *Ealdorman* of the County, signified in the Laws of King *Athelstane* something between the Earl and the Sheriff, and therefore seems to have been him who under the Earl governed the County or Province, and was his Deputy or Judge in the County Court in his Absence. For in those Laws the Value of an Arch-bishop and Earl's Head, is set at fifteen thousand *Thrimfæs*; whereas the Bishop's and *Ealdorman's* was but at eight thousand.

YET notwithstanding this Title did not cease to be esteemed very honourable many Years after that Time; for we find in *Camden's Britannia*, that the Tomb of *Ailwin*, founder of the Abby of *Ramsay*, was inscribed with the Title of *Ealdorman* of all *England*; which, as Mr. *Selden* says, could only mean, that he was somewhat like the Antient Chief Justiciary of *England*, or Chief Director of the Affairs of the whole Kingdom, or Viceroy, *Regie dignitatis confors & nominis*, or half *Cyning*, as the * Book of *Ramsay* has it.

NOT but that this word was also of a much more inferior Signification, seeing we find frequent mention in the Laws of *Edward the Confessor*, as well as in those Kings immediately after the Conquest, of *Aldermannus Hundredi*, seu *Wapentachii*, as also of *Aldermannus*.

Hist. Ingulph. fol. 26. Ed. Oxon.

Page 8.

Gloss. tit. Ealdormanus, fol. 25.

Huntingtonshire. Titles of Henry, Chap. 5. fol. 505.

Vid. Lib. de Ramsay publish'd by Dr. Gale.

Spelm. Gloss. Tit. Aldermannus.

mannus Civitatis, vel Burgi, whence the Title of our present Aldermen of Cities and great Towns are derived, (tho of a far different Signification, as well as a much later Institution :) and this I suppose happened by reason of the Paucity of words in the Saxon Tongue, which called Grave Men, distinguished by any Office or Dignity, by the Title of *Ealdormen*, because they were at first bestowed on Men of elder Years; tho afterwards, as the *Auctuary* to King Edward's Laws informs us, they were not so stiled *propter senectutem, cum quidam Adolescentes essent; sed propter sapientiam*. Therefore I cannot forbear taking notice, that whereas Bede speaking of K. Oswald's sending (*ad Majores natu Scottorum*) to the Elders of the *Scots* for Bishops, King Alfred in his Translation of Bede, calls them, the *Ealdormen* of the *Scots*, that is, the Great or Chief Men of that Nation. I must here beg the Reader's Pardon, for a Mistake I have committed in the rendering of that Passage into *English* in the ensuing History; for not having the Saxon Version by me, but only a *Latin* Copy, when I wrote it, nor having then consulted Mr. *Selden*, to whom I confess my self much beholden for this Criticism; I have there translated the words *Majores Natu, Scottish* Bishops, because I thought it most proper for them to be sent to about an Affair concerning Religion.

I have no more to say on this Head, only that I have left this word *Ealdorman*, so often used in our *Annals*, untranslated: for tho I grant he is frequently stiled *Dux*, or *Comes*, in Latin, yet it would not bear being rendered Duke or Earl in *English*, because that those Titles are not only very different, but were unknown in our Saxon Tongue, till many Years after that Government was settled in *England*.

I come now to the Title *Earl*, or *Eorle*, which being altogether *Danish*, was not commonly used here till the Reign of King *Cnut*, tho we now and then find it mentioned in our *Annals* before his Time; but as for its Power and Authority, it being much what the same with that of *Ealdorman* abovementioned, I think I need say no more of it, only that neither of them were then Hereditary, nor descended to Sons or Brothers, tho they often continued in the same Family, when the King was pleased so to confer it: And both the Title and the Office were liable to be forfeited upon any great Male-Administration, as you will find in divers Instances in this Book.

THE next Title and Office I shall mention, is, that of *Heretoch*, which was wholly Military; and, as Sir Henry Spelman in his *Glossary* supposes, was the same with that of the *Holde*, or Commander in War, mentioned in the Laws of King *Athelstan*; because his *Weregild* is made equal to that of a *High-Gerife*, viz. four thousand *Thrymsa's*.

THIS *Heretoch* seems to have been somewhat like our Lord-Lieutenant of a County at this Day; and was chosen for some extraordinary Occasion, as upon a sudden Invasion or Expedition against the *Scots* or *Welshmen*: Which being over, their Commission also ceased, but they themselves were still had in high Esteem and Honour, if they had prudently and courageously discharged that great Trust. And as the same Author observes, in some Antient Charters, (I suppose whilst the *Ealdorman* exercised the whole Power of the County, as well Civil as Military) the same Title of *Ealdorman* signified the latter Dignity; of which he gives us this Instance, from a Charter out of the Antient Book

Cap. 35. tit. Geref.

Hist. Ecclef. Lib. 3. Cap. 3. & Vid. Lib. 1. Cap. 13.

Eorle.

Heretoch.

Tit. Holde.

of the Church of *Worcester*, where Earl *Ælfhere* is stiled *Mercna Heretogan*.

BUT in the Time of *Edward the Confessor* (and I suppose also before) they were certainly distinguished, as appears by the Thirty fifth Auctuary of that King's Laws; where after the Offices of the *Ealdormen*, and *Greve*, the Duty of *Heretochs* is thus described, which I will give you here in *English*. "And there were other Powers and Dignities constituted through all the Provinces and Counties of the whole Kingdom, which were by the English called *Heretochs*, to wit, Noble, Wise, Faithful, and Stout Barons. These sate our Armies in Battel Array, and raised others as they thought fit for the Honour of the Crown, and Service of the Kingdom. They were elected by the Common-Council for the publick Benefit of the Realm in all Provinces and Counties at a full *Folk-mote*, as the *Sheriffs* of the same also were, and ought to be: And in every County there was always one *Heretoch* thus elected, to conduct the *Militia* of his County, according to the King's Orders, for the Honour and Profit of the Crown of the said Kingdom, whenever there was Occasion.

FROM whence we may observe, That before, as well as sometime after the Conquest, when this Auctuary was made, the King had not the Nomination either of the *Heretoch* or *Sheriff*, which were then the two Great Officers of the County, the one Military, the other Civil.

HAVING thus dispatched the Military, I proceed to the Civil Magistrate, viz. the *Sheriff*; in Saxon, *Scire-Gerefa*, (or more contractedly *Sheriff*. *Greve* in the Laws of King Edward) who is called by *Ethelwerd*, *Exactor Regius*, (i. e. the King's Receiver). This Officer, as *Asser* shews us in his Life of *Alfred*, before that King made his new Reformation of the Kingdom, was appointed by the *Ealdorman*, and therefore called *Vice-Dominus*, and was much what the same with our *Vice-Comes*, or *Sheriff*, at this Day: But whether he had the Title of *Sheriff* before, as well as after that Alteration by King *Alfred*, I will not determine.

BUT it appears by both these Latin Titles, that he was the Officer, who instead of the *Ealdorman*, or Earl, sat as Judge in those we now call the County-Court, and *Sheriff's* Tourn. But these being so well known at this Day, I shall not further enlarge, only that this Officer was also to answer to the King's *Exchequer* for all Fines, Amerciaments, and other Duties arising out of the County; the third Penny of which the Earl had granted him by the King, *pro sustentatione Dignitatis*.

AND now I come at last to that great extensive Dignity of a *Thane*, *Thane* called in Saxon *Thegne*, being derived from the old word *Theonian*, to serve; because they that had this Honour conferred on them, were at first the King's Officers or Servants, and in our Antient Latin Charters, subscribed by the Name of *Ministri Regis*, and are called in the Version of our Saxon *Annals*, as also in *Florence of Worcester*, *Ministri Regii*; not that they were really always the King's Domestick Servants, tho they were so originally; on whom he likewise bestowed several Lands in lieu of those Services, (Wages in Money being not then in use) which Lands descended to their Heirs, if the King pleased.

THIS Title of *Thane* was of two sorts, the one Spiritual, the other Temporal; the former were called in Saxon, *Messe-Thegnes*, i. e. *Mess-Thanes*, Priests, or Parsons of Churches, and other dignified Clergy-

Tit. de Heretochis.

Lib. 3. An. 787.

Clergy-

Clergy-Men; of whom I shall now say nothing, but that they were then of so great Note, that in our Saxon Laws they are ranged before the *Werold-Thegnes*, i.e. Temporal *Thanes*, and their *Weregilds* rated at the same Value with them, viz. two thousand *Thrymsla's*.

"AND tho the word denoted a Servant or Minister in general, (and so divers had the Title as it were merely Officiary and Personal) yet as Mr. Selden informs us, those that were the King's immediate Tenants of fair Possessions, which they held by personal Service, as of his Person, (or as we say by *Grand-Serjeanty*, or Knight's Service in chief) were, I conceive, the *Thanes* that had the Honorary Dignity, and were part of the greater Nobility of that Time; howsoever those Officiary Dignities of *Holde* and *Hightgerene*, had then precedence of them: that is, they were all the King's Feudal *Thanes*, and the Land held so was called *Tainland* or **Thaneland*, as afterwards the Lands held that made a Baron were called a *Barony*, as also they are called to this day. This Title continued all the Saxon times until the coming in of the *Normans*, and it was in some use also after that Time, and then was succeeded by that of *Barons*. This Title being of *Norman* Extraction, we rarely meet with it before the Conquest.

* Vid. Notas
ad Eadmerum
pag. 170.

THERE were also besides these Chief *Thanes*, others who were called middle or under *Thanes*, being the same with the less sort of *Barons*, or Lords of Mannors, who holding of other great Lords, and not of the King, were those that after the Conquest were called *Vassalors*, inferior to whom there were likewise a third Sort, who seemed to have been made up of the least or meanest Degree of Gentry or Freeholders, which were then all one; none but the Gentry or less Nobility then enjoying Lands by Freehold Tenure. And in this sense is to be understood that Law of King *Cnute*, whereby it is appointed, "That if the Master of a Family (who by that Law was to have all his Household under his Pledg) were accused of suffering any of them by his Privy to escape, being guilty of any Crime, he was then to wage Law with five other *Thanes*, (i.e. in Latin *Nobilibus*) himself making the sixth. Now it was impossible that there should be so many Chief *Thanes*, who held immediately of the King in any one Hundred or Tything, out of which those *Thanes*, or Gentlemen that were to make this Purgation, were to be taken.

Cap. 52.

BUT of all these *Thanes*, or less Nobility, I shall speak more at large by and by, when I come to consider the Members that composed the *Mycel-Gemot*, or Common-Council of the Kingdom, of which these made up the great and principal Part.

Sithcund-
Man.

AND next to them I find another Title, tho not commonly used, yet as antient as the Laws of King *Ina*, as also mentioned in several other King's Laws, viz. a *Sithcund Man*, who if he refused his Service in the Army, or a Military Expedition, he forfeited his Land.

THIS Name Mr. Somner in his *Glossary* derives from *Sith*, or *Gifseth*, Comes, vel Socius, a Ruler or Governour, and *Cund*, *Kind*, as it signifies the Condition and Quality of any one; and *Mon*, *Man*, that is, a sort of Comes, Governour, Judg, or Prefect: he was esteemed equal to a *Thane*, by the valuation of his Life in *Aethelstan's* Laws.

THIS Comes is not to be taken in that Sense, as if he was a Count or Lord, (as now understood) being only a Comes, or Companion in respect of those of his own Rank or Degree, and interpreted by Mr.

Lambard

Lambard by *Custos-paganus*, and so seems to have been the chief Man or Captain in a Town or Village, and was to head all those he brought with him from thence into the Field; and therefore the Penalty was the more severe on him if he ran away, lest he should infect others by his bad Example.

Lamb. Explicit.
Verb. pag. 5.

SINCE I have been so large in this Introduction, I have chosen but slightly to mention these Dignities and Offices; for they having been so learnedly and fully handled by Mr. Selden in his *Titles of Honour*, as also by Dr. Brady in his first Part of the *Saxon History*, and by Dr. Howel in his Discourse of the Polity of the *English Saxons*, I shall refer the Reader to them for his farther Satisfaction, and will only speak of two Degrees of Men more, of whom it seems (being below their Notice) they give us but a short Account.

THE first is that of *Ceorle*, or Country-man, (from whence our word *Carle* or *Churle* is derived); indeed he could not be possessed of what was called *Bockland*, or Free-land conveyable by Deed; but however he was as free as his Person and Property as the greatest *Thane* of them all. And therefore we find in the Laws of King *Alfred*, divers pecuniary Penalties enacted against those who should commit Adultery with a Country-man's Wife, or should endeavour to vitiate the Chastity of his Servant or Slave; or should break the Peace by fighting, either in his House or Yard. And as for his Person, by the last of those Laws it is appointed, what Satisfaction in Money shall be paid by any who wound or maim him, even to the Nail of his little Finger. And this Law as equally extended to him, as to those of the greatest Quality. And because the Nobility or Gentry were too apt to abuse these poor Countrymen who were their Tenants and Vassals, the thirty first Law of King *Alfred* ordains, what Satisfaction a Man was to make for any ways injuring and misusing a *Ceorle's* Man, by binding him, beating him, or cutting off his Hair; Frolicks I suppose, too often then in fashion among some ill-natured domineering Gentlemen; which made this merciful and good King provide such a necessary Law for their future Security.

AND further to prove their Freedom, it is likewise enacted in the Laws of King *Ina*, that if a *Ceorlesman* should refuse going out to War, he was to forfeit thirty Shillings; which shews, that he was such a Man as was to have Weapons of his own for the Defence of himself and Service of his Country: Which is also required by the Laws of *Edward the Confessor*, in Title *Greve*. And therefore Dr. Brady is very much out, in limiting the Title of *Freemen*, mentioned in King *Edward's* Laws, only to such as were Tenants by Military Service; for that Law says no such thing, but only that all the Freemen in the whole Kingdom, according to their several respective Estates, Goods, and Possessions, and to their Fees and Tenements, ought to have Arms, and keep them ready for the Defence of the Kingdom, &c. Where you may observe, that all Estates, Goods and Possessions, of what kind soever, do hereby capacitate Men to keep Arms, and consequently give them the Title of *Freemen*; and therefore are not limited to Tenants by Knights Service alone. As also appears from the Assize of Arms appointed by King *Henry* the Second.

Complut. Hist.
King Edward's
Laws, pag. 65.

* LL. Edwardi
Cap. 35.

Vid. Hoveden.

Socmen.

Cap. 12.

Cap. de Brev.
de Redo.

THE highest Degree of these *Ceorles*, were those called *Liberi Socmanni*, i. e. *Free Socmen*, so called from *Soc*, which in the Saxon Tongue signifies a *Plow*. Of these we find no mention till the Laws of *Edward the Confessor*, where the *Manbote* (i. e. Satisfaction for a Servant slain) is by *Danelage* (i. e. the Danish Law) due from a Villane or Villager, and a Socman twelve *Ores*; from a Freeman three Marks: Not that this *Socman* here, put as distinct from Freeman, was really a Slave, but only as Freeman were then taken properly for *Gentlemen* or *Freeholders*; for that these *Sockmen* were free as to their Persons, tho' not Lands, appears by the old *Natura Brevium*, where it defines a *Socman* to be such a Tenant, who holds of the King, or any other Lord, Lands and Tenements by *Villain or base Services*; and was privileged in this manner, that none could eject him from those Lands and Tenements, so long as he could do the Services belonging to the same.

THIS I have taken notice of, because Dr. Brady, in his Preface before his *Norman History*, as also in divers other Places of his Works, has laboured all he can to make the Condition of the common People of this Kingdom (before the Conquest, as well as after) to have been little better than that of Slavery, and seems to repine very often that it is not so still, as I could easily shew if I would go about it.

BUT certainly those could not be Slaves who had Slaves under them, and were entrusted with the highest Badg of Freedom, not being forced or pressed thereunto, viz. a voluntary Service in War, which the greatest were alike subject to with these for the Defence and Safety of the Kingdom, and which was part of the old Oath of Fidelity that was taken, as well before as after his pretended Conquest.

BUT before I dismiss this Subject, I cannot omit taking notice, that the Laws or Rules of Gentility were not so strictly observed under the *English Saxon*, as afterwards they were under the *Norman Kings*; for Mr. Selden hath given us a Law of King *Athelstane*, which he took from an Antient Manuscript in the Library at St. James's, in these words, *Si Villanus excrevisset, ut haberet plenarie V. Hidas terre sue proprie, Ecclesiam & Coquinam, Timpanarium, & Januam & Sedem & Sundernotam in Aula Regis. deinceps Tani Lege dignus sit.* Which is also confirmed by Mr. Laxibard, in his *Itinerary of Kent*, concerning the same Law, and is there set down in *Saxon*, which I shall here translate thus; That "if a *Ceorl* or a Country-man so thrived, that he had fully five

"Hides of his own Land, a Church, a Kitchen, a Bell-house, a Borough-gate with a Seat, and any distinct Office in the King's Court, then was he thenceforth of equal Honour or Dignity with a *Thane*. Where by the Church, the Kitchen, the Bell-house, the Borough-gate, with a Seat, &c. Mr. Selden understands, "The State or Fashion of a Lord of that Time, in having a Church for his Family and Tenants, in keeping a Court for them, (which may well be meant in the *Burk-gate settl*, or *Town-gate with a Seat*) and in keeping a House or Entertainment competent to that Dignity, which may be understood in "the *Cycean* and *Belhuis*, i. e. *Kitchen* and *Bell-house*. The Bell-house may denote the Hall, which was the place of ordinary Diet and Entertainment in the Houses of Lords. It may well so signify, if the *Saxons* used the like Reason in imposing the Name on the Lord's Hall, as some say the *Italian*, *Spanish*, and *French* have done, in calling it *Tinello*, *Tinello*, and *Tinel*; which in our Laws also is re-

tained

"tained in *Tinel le Roy*, for the King's Hall. They would have it "therefore so named, because the *Tin*, or tinkling of a Bell at the "Times of Dinner and Supper were signified by it.

BUT *Sundernota*, mentioned in the Latin Copy of this Law, seems to denote the distinct Office which he was to hold in the King's Court to make him equal to a *Thane*. And it is also observable, that by the same Laws of King *Athelstane* abovementioned, such a *Ceorlsmān* so advanced, and having five Hides of Land, (*ad Utvarum Regis*) that is, as Mr. Selden in the same place interprets, held by Knights Service, *Si occidatur, reddentur 2 Millia Thrymsarum*; so that his *Wiregyld* shews him to have been every way equal to a *Thane*.

BUT the most considerable Observation that may be made from this Law, is, that V. Hides of Land were at that time reckoned a sufficient Estate to constitute a *Thane*. But as to the Quantity of Land that then went to make a Hide, it was sometimes more and sometimes less, according to the Goodness or Quality of the Soil; but was certainly no more than what one Plow could well manure, together with Pasture, Meadow, and Wood, competent for the Maintenance of that Plow, and the Servants of the Family. So that the Estate of such a *Thane* could not be much more than what an ordinary Gentleman has at this day.

NOR can I here pretermitt what follows in the same Law above recited, where after having shewn us by what means an Under *Theyn* might come to be a Chief *Thane*, and from thence attain to the Dignity of an *Earl*, it thus proceeds. "And if a Merchant so thrived, that "he had passed thrice over the wide (or broad) Sea, by his own Cuning, (or Craft as it is in the *Saxon*) he was thenceforth a *Thane's* "Right-worthy, i. e. was every way equal to him. Where you may observe that Wealth and Industry conferred Nobility in the *Saxon* Times as well as at this Day.

I come now to the lowest Rank of Men, viz. that of *Slaves*, who *Slaves*, were called in Latin *Servi*, and in *Saxon* *Freortorlings*; and there were two sorts of them, viz. such as were *Personal*, possessing no Estates, but all that they earn'd was their Lords, by whom therefore they were maintained. The others were *Prædial*, such as were of Servile Condition and Original, but possessed their small Holdings and Goods at the Will of their Lord, doing all those Servile Countrey Works that were set them; and from thence in the more modern *Norman* Dialect were called *Villains*, from those Villages where they lived and wrought: But before as well as after the Conquest, that the Latin word *Villanus* did not signify a Villain or Servant, I could prove from many Instances, both out of Records and Histories, if I thought it would not be too tedious in this Place.

AS for the Original of these Slaves among the *Saxons*, there is some doubt about them; some supposing them to have been derived from the remainder of those meaner sort of *Britains*, who were either taken Prisoners, or else never forsook the Land, and so their Lives being saved, they were made servile by their Conquerors; or else such as were descended from those who came over in the nature of Slaves to the *English Saxons* that first landed here: but it is not much material how they began, since they might proceed from both, or either of these Originals:

17d. Afric.
Gloss. Saxonie

Vid. LL. Edwardi Confess.
Cap. 35.

Tit. Honour,
Ch. 5. fo. 515.

Apud Lambard in Itinerary.
Cantii,
pag. 552, 553.

nals; nor had their Lords Power of Life or Death over them, for if they killed any of them, they were to pay the Value of their Heads to the King.

THESE Slaves, if they were set free at any time by their Masters, were what the Romans called *Liberti*, and in Saxon *Freolstan*; but being then resolved into the Body of *Ceorles*, or Countrey-men, they did not. as among the Romans, constitute any new Order of Men.

HAVING now gone through all the Sorts and Degrees of Men, who either lived in, or were maintained out of the Countrey; I shall in the next Place say somewhat of another distinct Body of Men, called in Saxon *Burb-witan*, or *Burb-wara*, that is, Citizens or Townsmen, who had Privileges peculiar to themselves, and living in Cities or great Towns, were governed by their own particular Magistrates called *Ealdormen*, or *Portgerefan*, i. e. *Port-Reeves*, assisted by the Chief Men of the Place, called in Saxon, *Yldist-Burb-wara*, who were much the same with what we now call *Aldermen* or *Common-Council* Men; for as for the Title of *Mayor*, it came not in use here till long after the Conquest.

BUT as for these Magistrates and Members of Cities and Towns, I shall speak more by and by, when I come to treat of the constituent Parts of the Great Council of the Kingdom.

FROM the different Orders of Men, we shall now descend to speak of the different Courts where these Persons abovementioned, (all except the Villains) were bound to appear, and there either to do or receive Justice; for which it will be necessary to look back to the Reign of King *Alfred*, who after the first Invasion of the *Danes*, when he began to resettle the Kingdom, found his Subjects so far corrupted by a long and hazardous War, that all Places being full of Robberies and Murders, there was an absolute necessity for the making of more severe Laws to restrain them; so that (omitting the Division of Counties or Shires, which I shall speak to hereafter) he Canton'd his Kingdom, *ist*. into *Tribings* or *Lathes*, as they are still called in *Kent* and other Places, consisting of three or four Hundreds; in which the Freeholders being Judges, such Causes were brought as could not be determined in the Hundred Court: concerning the Proceedings in which Court of the *Tribing* or *Lathes*, you may see divers Precedents in Sir *William Dugdale's* * *Origines Juridicales*.

NEXT to which there was also the *Hundred-Court*, in Saxon *Hundred-Gemot*, and in Latin *Centuriata*, "Because it originally consisted of an hundred Hides of Land, as an Hide usually of an hundred Acres, or else because *super decem Decanos, & centum Friburgos judicabat*, that is, it had Jurisdiction over ten Decennaries, or an hundred *Friboroughs*."

THIS Court before the Conquest was held twelve times a Year, and afterwards was increased by *Henry I.* to once a Fortnight, and then by *Henry the Third* reduced to once in three Weeks.

"IN this Court antiently, *Unus de melioribus qui vocatur Aldermanus*, one of the principal Inhabitants, called the *Alderman*, together with the Barons of the Hundred (*id est*, the Freeholders) was Judge, as may seem by the *Regist* of *Ely*, which saith, that *Aigelwynnus Aldermannus venit ad Ely, & infra Cimeterium ad Aquilonalem portam Monasterii*.

Burb witan,
i. e. Citizens
and Towns-
men.

Vid. Ælfric,
Gloss. Saxonic

Different
Courts.

1. The Court
of Tribings
or Lathes.
*Lambard. de
præcis Anglor.
Legibus. Fol.
135.*
* Chap. 12.
Fol. 26.

2. The Hun-
dred Court.

*Dugdale's Ori-
gin. Juridic.
Cap. 11.*

[Ex Regist. de
Ely, in Bibl.
Cotton. sub
Effigie Tit. A. 1. F. 6. b.

"*Monasterii, tenuit placitum cum toto Hundredo*: And the Witnesses of Ibid. Fol. 5. b.
"Contracts and Purchases, then were *Testimonio Hundredi*. Here, & Fol. 7. a. &
"not only Temporal Causes, but Ecclesiastical were handled; the Fol. 13. b.
"Alderman, or principal Judge, being such a one as *Dei Leges & homi-
"num jura studebat promovere, who studied to promote the Laws of God
"and Man*, the Bishop or Arch-Deacon sitting therein, with the said
"Alderman: Which Jurisdiction so continued until the beginning of
"William the Conqueror's Reign, that he by a special Precept did in-
"hibit, * *Quod nec Episcopus, nec Archidiaconus de Legibus Episcopalis* * Cart 2. R. 2.
"amplius in Hundredo placitum teneat. m. 12. n. 5.
per inspect.

BUT the lowest of these Inferior Courts, was that of the *Decennary*, or *Tything*, which yet was the greatest Bridle upon the Inferiour sort of People; "For by virtue of this Law of King *Alfred*, every English Free-
"man, as *Inglulph* tells us, ought to be in some Hundred or Tything,
" (I mean, whosoever was of full twelve Years of Age); and if any
"one should be suspected of Larceny or Theft, he might in his own
"Hundred or Ward, being either condemned, or giving Security, (in
"some Manuscripts it is being acquitted) either incur or avoid the de-
"served Penalty. *William of Malmesbury* adds to this, "That he that
"could not find Security, was afraid of the Severity of the Laws;
"and if any guilty Person, either before his giving Security or after,
"should make his Escape, all of that Hundred and Tything should incur
"the King's Fine.

HERE we have the Original of *Decennaries*, or *Fribourgs*, in which Vid. Leges
every Man was to be bound for others as well as himself, viz. Masters Edward, cap.
for their Servants, Husbands for their Wives, and Children, before they 27.
had attained the Age of Fourteen; as also the Householder for his
Guests. All which ten Persons being thus bound one for another, were
united under one Head, called a *Tythingman*, and in some places a *Borsholder*; for *BORGH* signifies a *Surety* or *Pledg*, and *FRI* is all one as
Free. From whence comes our word *NEIGHBOURS*, that is, those
that are *Near-Pledges*.

BUT that this Law concerning the *Decennaries* or *Tythings*, was not
only made for the meer Vulgar or ordinary sort of People, but that the
Chiefest of the Nobility, and even the Arch-Bishops and Bishops them-
selves were alike subject to it, will appear by that Law of *Edward the
Confessor*, confirmed by King *William I.* whereby all Arch-Bishops,
Bishops, Earls and Barons, and all those that had Courts of *Sac. Soc.*
and *Theam*, &c. swore to keep their Knights, and all other Servants
there mentioned in their *Fritthborg*, (i. e. *Franc-pledge*) for whom these
Lords or Masters themselves were to be Sureties: so that if any of them
offended, their Lords were obliged to do right in their Courts. And
by the Laws of *Cnut*, every Thane or Gentleman of Estate, was to
have his Family under his own Pledg; and if any of them were ac-
cused, he was to answer for him in the Hundred Court, i. e. was to
compel him to appear. And the Lord was also to be answerable for
him, if he escaped; so that all the Privilege that Noblemen and Gen-
tlemen had above the common Men, was, that they were not bound
one for another, so as to be part of any Decennary or Tything; but each
of them was Head of his own *Friburgh*, and his Family was as it were
a distinct Tything of it self.

I observe this, to let the Reader understand, that how severe soever this Law was, it was no Badg of Slavery or Subjection upon the common People, for even the best Men in the Kingdom were alike subject to it: Neither was it brought in, or increased, in Rigour by the *Norman* Conquest, as some, with greater Prejudice than Truth, have maintained; since the *Normans* as well as the *English*, were all under one and the same Law as to this Point.

THE Laws of this Court of the *Tithing*, were these;

FIRST, That if any one offended, and failed to appear, the other Sureties were bound to have him forth-coming to Justice.

SECONDLY, But if the guilty Party fled, he should not be any where received without a Testimonial from the *Tithing* from whence he came: So that a Man being out of any *Tithing*, if he were received in any Town, the whole Town was in the King's Mercy. But by the Laws of King *Edward*, the *Decennary* was allowed one and thirty Days to bring the Offender to Justice, that so he might make Satisfaction, either by his Goods or Body.

THE third was, that if he could not be found, then the *Tithingman* or *Borsholder*, taking with him two of the best of his own *FRIBURGH*, and of the three neighbouring *FRIBURGH*s nine, (to wit, of each the chief *Tithingman*, and two others of the best Note) and there before the King's Justice (if he could) he was to purge himself by Oath of the Offence and Flight of the Criminal: But if he could not, he with his own *FRIBURGH* was to restore the Loss out of the Goods of the Party, if they were sufficient, or otherwise out of his own, and those of his *FRIBURGH*.

LASTLY, If the Neighbouring *FRIBOURGS* would not be their Compurgators, then they were to swear for themselves, that they were therein no ways Guilty; and that so soon as ever they could find him, they would bring the Offender to Justice, or else discover where he was.

THERE were many other particulars concerning this Matter which I pass over, that I may not be thought too prolix; but these are the most material.

The Rise of Court-Barons.

Vid. Leges Edw. Conf. apud Lamb. F. 132. a.

BUT besides this Caution concerning *Pledges*, they were also the first Foundation of *Court-Barons*, who were under the *Thane*, or *Baron*, (i.e.) the Lord of the Mannor, (as their Head) and he was to undertake for every one of his Tenants, and to satisfy for the Offences of each Man.

BY these *Friburghs* or *Pledges*, together with their *Borsholders*, were all Civil Actions, as of Debt, Trespass, Detinue, or the like, (which arose betwixt any of their Township) determined; but when there was a Cause that concerned Men residing in several Seigniories, then it was transmitt to the next superior Jurisdiction, viz. the *Hundred-Court*, (in some Places called the *Wapentake*.)

THERE still remain behind two very considerable Courts, both held by the Sheriff; "The former of which was antiently called *Sciremote*, (i.e. the meeting of the Inhabitants of the Shire) and was held twice in the Year, long before the *Norman* Conquest, as appeareth from sundry Testimonies; but since that, the *Shireeve's Turn*, from the French word *Tour*, in Latin *Vice*, and in English *Turn*. Herein sat together the Bishop of the Diocess, and the Earl or Eolderman, in

The Sciremote, or Sheriff's Turn.

Vid. Dugd. Juridical Orig. c. 12. fol. 22. * Leges Edw. Conf. (penes Lamb.) cap. 5. fol. 20.

"in Shires that had Eoldermen; and the Bishop and Shireeves in such Counties as were committed to Shireeves, for many Ages in the Saxons Times, as from these Laws from King *Edgar* to *Canutus*, cited in the Margin, doth appear, to the end they might determine as well of what concerned Ecclesiastical as Civil Matters: the words of this last King's Law run thus; *Ex t omni Comitatu, bis quotannis conventus agitor, cui quidem illius Diocesis Episcopus & Senator interfundo: quorum Alter Jura Divina, humana alter populum edoceto.*

"IN every County let there be twice a Year an Assembly of the People, whereat the Bishop of the Diocess and the Earl shall be present, the one to direct in Divine, the other in humane Matters.

"WHICH so continued (the Bishop and Earl sitting therein together) until King *William* the Conqueror in a full Convention of his Arch-bishops, Bishops, Abbots and Temporal Lords, commanded, that Ecclesiastical Matters should thenceforth be handled by the Bishops in Courts of their own, and not any more be discuss amongst Secular Affairs.

IN this Court (as well as in that of the County) according to the Laws of King *Henry I.* these Persons following were to be present, as may appear by this Clause, *Inter sint autem Episcopi, Comites, Vicedominii, Vicarii, Centenarii, Aldermanni, Praefecti, Praepositi, Barones, Vavassores, Tungrevii, & ceteri terrarum Domini diligenter intendentes, ne minorum Impunitas, aut Gravium pravitas, vel Judicium subversio solita miseres laceratione confinant.*

AGANTOR itaq; primo debita vera Christianitatis Jura; secundo, Regis placita; postremo Cause singulorum dignis satisfactionis expleantur. Scil. Ecclesiastical Causes and Pleas of the Crown in the Turn; but Private Causes in the County Court, *Vid. Coke's 4th. Instit. 259, 260.* where you will find that,

THE *Tourn* is a Court of Record holden before the Sheriff, the Antient Institution thereof was before *Magna Charta* to hear and determine all Felonies (Death of Man excepted) and Common Nuisances: See the Stat. *Mag. Chart. c. 17.* and the Exposition of the same in the 2d. *Instit.*

THE Stile of this Court is, *Curia Visus Franc. Domini Regis apud B. coram Vicecomite in Turno suo, &c. ibid.*

THE reason of which is, because in this Court the *Pledges* or Sureties of every *Decennary* or *Tithing* were entred before the *Court-Leets* were taken out of it, and granted to particular Lords of Mannors, which Sir *H. Spelman* in his Glossary supposes to have been done in the Reign of King *Alfred*; but since I find nothing concerning these *Court-Leets* till after the Conquest, I shall defer the farther treating of them to that Time.

I have no more to say of this Court, but that it was also called the *Folcmote*, and in which, by *Edward* the Confessor's Laws, all Freemen were to take the Oath of Allegiance or Fidelity to the King, as appears by the Law it self; *Omnes Procures Regni, milites & Liberi Homines totius Regni BRITANNIE facere debent Fidelitatem Domino Regi in Pleno FOLCMOTO coram Episcopis Regni, &c.*

YOU will likewise find in the same Law (just preceding this) an extraordinary Assembly of this *Folcmote* upon any sudden Danger, which met on ringing of the Bells, called in English *Motbet*; and there they were to consult how to prevent the Danger.

Leges Canuti. (ibid.) c. 17. fol. 103. a. Selden's Tit. of Monast. part 2. cap. 5. and Sect. 5. fol. 628. 120. f. Vid. Jani Angl. &c.

f. Cart. 2. R. 2. per Inspe. m. 12.

LL. Henry I. cap. 7.

Page 250.

Verb. Lat.

vid. LL. Edw. 1. c. 25.

THE

The County Court.

vid. Dugdale ut Supra. ibid.

* Leges Edwardi Senioris apud Lamb. c.

xi. fol. 51. a. Videlicet etiam Leges Canoni

cap. 17. apud Lamb. fol.

108. a.

Cap. 39. apud Bromp. Col.

924. & apud Lamb. fol.

108. a. n. 18. Vid. Spelm.

Gloss. vocab. Conitatus Curia.

* Vid. Lib. rub. in Scacc.

fol. 26. inter Leges Hen. 1.

Glanvil. Lib. 1. Cap. 4.

vid. Dugdale Origin. Jurid.

Selden's Tit. of Honours, chap.

5. fol. 509, 510.

* Lib. 3. cap. 3.

" THE second of these Courts was called the County-Court, and was also very Antient, and to be held once every Month by the Shireeve, as from K. Edward the Elder's * Laws appeareth—*Præpositus quisq; ad quartam circiter quamq; septimanam; frequentem populi concionem celebrato: cuiq; jus dicitur æquabile, Liteq; singulas (cum dies conducti advenirent) dirimit.*

" EVERY Shireeve shall convene the People once a Month, and do equal Right to all, putting an end to Controversies at Times appointed.

" TO this Court were antiently Appeals made from the Hundred-Court, as appears by the Laws of Canutus—*Et nemo naminum capiat in Comitatu vel extra Comitatum, priusquam ter in Hundredo suo rectum sibi perquisierit: si tertia vice rectum non habeat, eat quarta vice ad Conventum totius Comitatus quod Anglicè dicitur Scyremot, &c.*

" No Man by a Distress shall compel another to the County-Court, unless he have thrice complained in the Hundred-Court; But if he have not Right the third Time, he may then sue in the County-Court, which is called the Scyregemot.

" AND besides (says Sir William Dugdale) * Regis placita & Causa singulorum debita; vera Christianitatis jura, were first determined here; where interesse debent Commissarii, Episcopi, Comites, & Ecclesie potestates, (and the Presbyter Ecclesie, as well as quatuor de Melioribus villa, were obliged to attendance) qui Dei Leges, as well as Seculi negotia, justâ consideratione definirent.

AND a little after he further proceeds thus, " Now let us see of what things the Sheriff here antiently held Plea: —*Ad Vicecomites pertinent ista (saith Glanville) Placitum de Recto, de liberis Tenementis, per Breve Domini Regis, ubi Curia Dominorum probatur de Recto defecisse; Placitum de Nativis, sed per Breve Domini Regis.*

" ID est, It belongeth to the Shireeve to hold Plea in this Court upon a Writ of Right concerning Freehold, in Cases where the Lord of the Mannor (wherein the Land lieth) hath not done Justice; as also to hold Plea concerning Bondmen, but by the King's Writ.

I shall say no more of this Court, but refer the Reader to the said Book (from whence I have taken most of those things I have here given you concerning all these Courts); wherein he may find at large how great the Power of this Court was, not only before but after the Conquest: And I have also reserved the treating of these two Courts by themselves, because tho the 3 former are supposed by some to be of K. Alfred's Erection upon his new Reformation of the Kingdom, but these two were not so; for notwithstanding Ingulf tells us, that this King Alfred first divided the Provinces of England into Counties, yet we find Mr. Selden Learnedly makes it out, " That Alfred was not the first that divided the Kingdom into Shires or Counties; for (saith he) before Alfred's Time, those Provinces had their Ealdormen in them:

" Thus we read of Ethelwulfus Barocensis Page Comes, and Ceorle Domnanie Comes, and Eanulf Somersetenensis Page Comes; for the Earldoms of Barksbire, Devonshire and Somersetshire under King Ethelwulf, Father to King Alfred, are remembered in Asserius Menevensis, that lived in King Alfred's Time. Two of them are also in * Ethelwerd, a Writer of the Saxon Times, besides Offric Dorsetum Dux, for Eolderman of Dorset; Ealchere or Alchere was at the same Time Ealdorman of Kent, and Auda or Wuda of Surrey, as we have it in Hoveden,

" Huntingdon,

" Huntingdon, and in that Asserius also. And Ingulphus hath the Character of King Ethelbald's Foundation of Crowland, whereunto the Comites of Leiceſter and of Lincoln both subscribe.

TO which I may also add divers Examples that you will meet with of the same kind in the following History, out of the Saxon Annals.

HAVING thus dispatched these inferior Courts, I come now to the chiefest, (next to that of the Great Council of the Kingdom) viz. that which was called Curia Domini Regis, " Because oftentimes (as Sir Wil. Dugdale informs us) the King himself sat here in Person, having several Justices, a latere suo residentes, as * Bracton expresseth it; and in his Absence, the Ealdorman, or Chief Justiciary of all England, supplied his Place.

CONCERNING this Court, tho we have not many Memorials left of it before the Conquest, yet it was certainly at that Time in Being, since it seems to have been then the Great Court of all Appeals, as well Criminal as Civil, long after the Conquest, before the Court of Common-Pleas was taken out of it: for here it was that K. Alfred is supposed to have re-heard and examined the false Judgments of his inferior Judges in the Hundred, and County-Courts; and here it was also that he condemned above forty of them to be executed in one Year, for their erroneous Sentences in Matters of Life and Death, as you will find in the Mirror of Justices. Cap. 5.

I need say no more of this Great Court, whose Power now resides in that of the King's-Bench and Common-Pleas, neither the Chancery nor Exchequer having then any Being; the former of which commenc'd long after the Conquest, and the latter was erected by King William the First.

I have but two Observations to make concerning our Antient English Saxon Courts of Justice; the FIRST of which is, that strict Union there then was as well in the Folk-mote and County-Court, as in the Hundred-Court, between the Ecclesiastical and Civil State; in both which the Bishop and the Sheriff sitting together, all Causes both Spiritual and Secular were equally, and at one time, dispatched to the great Ease and Satisfaction of the Subject, who were taught by the Bishop in the Folk-mote what was their Duty towards God and the Church, as they were by the Ealdorman or Sheriff what Common Laws they were bound to observe, in order to their Honest and Peaceable Living one among another: a Custom, which when reading of Books was not generally in use among the Laity, was absolutely necessary for the acquainting them with their Duty; in imitation of which I suppose our Common Charges at Assizes and Sessions are continued to this Day.

THE SECOND is, the great Ease the Subject must needs find in having Justice administred to him in smaller Actions, in the Court of Decenary or Tything, even at their own Doors; or else in Appeals and greater Actions at the Court of the Tithing or Lathe; from whence they might remove it to the County-Court; and if they thought themselves aggrieved there, then they might bring it before the King himself, or his chief Justiciary, in the Great Court abovementioned. An Admirable and an Excellent Constitution this! whilst the Laws of England were few, easy and plain, before the Partiality and Corruption of Countrey Juries came in, and the bandying and Factions of Rich and Powerful Men in

the Countrey against each other, together with the vast varieties of Determinations of Cases in Law, had rendered those inferior Courts not only perplexed, but unsafe and vexatious to the Subject.

The Great Council, or Parliament.

I come now to the Supream Court of the whole Kingdom, called in Saxon the *Wittena-Gemot*, or *Mycel-Synoth*; in Latin *Magnum*, or *Commune Concilium Regni*, the Great or Common-Council of the Kingdom, consisting of the King and the three Estates, which we now call our *Parliament*; which Court the Author of the *Mirror of Justices* expressly tells us, "That King *Alfred* ordained for a perpetual Custom, that twice in the Year, or oftner, in Time of Peace, if Business so required, they should assemble at *London* to treat of the good Government of God's People, and how Folks should be restrained from Offending, and live in Quiet, and should receive *Right* by certain Antient Usages and Judgments, &c. From whence you may observe, that in this Author's Time, (*viz.* that of *Edward I.*) it was held for Law, "That the great Council of the Kingdom antiently met of Course twice in the Year, without any expresse Summons from the King; and this it seems was afterwards altered to thrice in the Year, *viz.* at the three great Feasts of *Christmas*, *Easter*, and *Whitsontide*, when the King met his Estates with great Solemnity, wearing his Crown upon all solemn Days of Entertainment; and when the Feasting was over, they fell to dispatch the publick Affairs, as Sir *H. Spelman* well observes.

Vid. Vol. 1. Council. An. 851. Fol. 347.

THESE stated Councils which were then held *ex More* (as our Historians term it) *i.e.* according to antient Custom, continued long after the Conquest, as shall be farther shewn hereafter: but if this Council happened to meet at any other extraordinary Time, then the King's special Summons was requisite, as you may find in *Inglulf* under *Anno Dom.* 948. where he tells us, King *Edred* summoned the Arch-bishops, Bishops, and all the *Proceres*, and *Optimates* (*i.e.* Chief Men of the Kingdom) to meet him at *London* at the Purification of the *Virgin Mary*. Whence we may observe, that this Summons was thus issued, because this Council was extraordinary, as not being held *ex more*, at any of the usual great Feasts abovementioned.

CONCERNING the Original of this great Assembly, since Sir *Robert Filmer* in all his Works, and particularly in his *Patriarcha*; and Dr. *Johnston* in his *Excellency of Monarchical Government*, "Would have this (as well as all our other Liberties and Privileges) to have been only Royal Abatements of Power, and gracious Indulgences and Condescensions of our Kings for the Benefit and Security of the Subject; who were pleased to condescend to call some Persons of each of the three Estates (it being left to their Discretion whom to summon, and whom not); and tho many of our Kings have made use of such great Assemblies to consult about important Affairs of State, and by their Consent and Approbation, to make Laws as well as (at their Prayers and Petitions) to redress their just Grievances, yet they owed their being to our first Monarchs, since till about the time of the Conquest there could be no General Assembly of the Estates of the whole Kingdom, because till those Times we cannot learn it was entirely united into one; but it was either divided into several Kingdoms, or governed by several Laws.

I confess this looks at first like a specious Hypothesis, and may serve perhaps to prevail upon some ignorant and unwary Readers, who will not,

or

er cannot give themselves the trouble of searching to the Bottom, to find out the Truth of things. But I desire the Favour of those who believe and maintain this Opinion, to answer me these few Queries.

FIRST, How it came to pass that in all the Kingdoms of *Europe*, erected out of the Ruines of the *Roman Empire*, (as well as those that were not, but yet had been constituted according to the same *Gothick Model*) the like General or Great Council of Estates, consisting of the same Degrees and Orders of Men, were to be found in every one of those Kingdoms? To begin with *Sweden* and *Denmark*, and then go on to the Kingdom of *Germany*, now called the *Empire*, and so into *France*, and from thence into *Spain*, among all the petty Kingdoms that then composed that Monarchy (taking *Portugal*, if you please, into the Account); you will find that the Estates of all those Kingdoms (as representing the whole Body of the same) consisted of the Clergy, Nobility, and Deputies of Cities and great Towns; which is briefly comprized by this single Verse of *Gonterus*, an old *German Poet*, concerning the Estate of the Empire in his Time,

Praelati, Proceres, missiq; potentibus Urbes.

SECONDLY, How it happened, that in all the Kingdoms of the *English-Saxon* Heptarchy, the first Founders of which came out of *Friseland*, *Westphalia*, *Holstein* and *Jutland*, the like Great Councils, consisting of the King, the Clergy and Nobility, came to be instituted in each of them? For as to the Representatives of Cities and Towns in *England*, since the Framers of the abovementioned Hypothesis deny their appearance here, I shall say nothing as yet.

THIRDLY, Whether it be probable, that without a General Agreement of Laws and Manners with those People of *Germany*, from whence these *English-Saxons* came, they should by a sort of Natural and Unaccountable Sympathy, fall of themselves into the very same Political Form and Constitution?

FOURTHLY, Whether Princes were above a thousand Years ago, so much more Ignorant of the Arts of Government, and so little Ambitious of Riches and Power, that they should all agree within a Century of Years, to set up one uniform Model of Government, and admit the People into a share of their Power, especially into that Grand Prerogative of laying Taxes; which most Princes now do all they can to pervert by their own absolute Will?

FOR as to that of understanding their Subjects Grievances, they might either not take notice of them at all, or else, if they would, might have found out a more easy Method to come to the Knowledge of them, than by Summoning the Clergy, Nobility, and People of a whole Kingdom at once, to acquaint them therewith.

FIFTHLY, How it came to pass, that in all those Countries (so long as they continued *Elective*) the States exercised the same Power of *Deposing* their Kings for Tyranny or Male-Administration? Does this look like a precarious and dependent Power? And,

LASTLY, Whence happen'd it, that in *France* and *England* (and I believe I could shew the same in other Countries too) the Estates of the Kingdom met twice in the Year, according to Custom, at a certain Time and Place, without any Summons from the King?

NOW

NOW when the Gentlemen who maintain the Hypothesis above-mentioned, shall return a fair and satisfactory Answer to these Queries, I shall not only willingly submit to their Judgments, but give them my Thanks for their better Information; but till then I think it is much more agreeable to good Sense, as well as Matter of Fact, to maintain, that those Orders and Degrees of Men that did constitute the Great Councils, were more Antient than Kingly Government, nay Christianity it self among them, as appears by those Testimonies I have produced out of Bede and other Authors; from all whom it plainly appears, that the first Princes in all those Governments were originally elected, of which I hope I have given undeniable Instances, out of our own as well as Foreign Histories: and certainly that which gives Being to a Thing, must be prior in Nature to that which is produced from it.

HAVING now done with the Original, I shall next proceed to the Constituent Parts of this *Mycel-Synoth*, or *Wittena-Gemot*; the last of which words is derived from the Saxon word *Wites*, or *Witen*, i.e. *Sapientes*, or *Wise-Men*; and tho Dr. Brady in his Glossary will have this word mostly to signify Noblemen, or Great Lawyers, yet I do not find he brings any good Authority for his so doing: For granting it is true, *Wite* signifies a *Wise-Man*, however it no ways proves that all Wisemen must be Lawyers, much less that those Lawyers were Noblemen; and since he himself does not extend this *Wisdom* only to *Knowledge* in the Laws, I need not say any more to it.

AS for the rest of his Authorities in this Page, whereby he would prove that divers things were done by the Decrees of these Wisemen or Lawyers, they sufficiently answer themselves; since it appears even by his own shewing, that these *Sapientes* were the Bishops, Abbots, Aldermen and *Thanes*; and when he makes it out that every one of these Orders of Men were Noblemen, or Lawyers, I shall come over to his Opinion.

AS for what he says in the next Page, where he gives us the Interpretation of those words of Bede, *Principibus, & Consiliariis*, by *Ealdormannum* and *Witum*; they are yet less to the purpose, since a Man might be a very good Counsellor, and yet at the same Time no great Lawyer.

BUT the Author's seeming stabbing Proof is out of *Asser*, in his Life of King *Alfred*, "Who admiring the Ignorance of his Earls and Prefects, commanded them either forthwith to lay down their *Places* of *Judicature*, or else to apply themselves *SAPIENTIE Studijs*, to the Study of *Knowledge*, or of the Law. Here we see again (says he) who had the Title of *SAPIENTES*, namely the Judges, that is, the *COMITES, PRÆPOSITI, & MINISTRI*, or *Thegnes*; for these last were the Seminary of Nobility, or Great Officers, Civil, Military, and Ecclesiastick amongst the Saxons.

NOW I desire the Reader to observe, that admitting we should take the word *Studia SAPIENTIE* here, for the *Knowledge* of the Law, does it therefore follow, that all that studied it must be Lawyers by Profession? when it is very certain that the Study of the Law was not then, nor long after, a Trade, as it is now; since all the *Freeholders* or *Thegnes*, afterwards called *Barons*, were (as well as *Ealdormen*) required to have a competent Knowledge of the Laws of their Country; or else how could they either plead their own, or try each others Causes in the Hundred

"and County-Courts (as they are in the * *Laws of K. Henry 1.* recited * *Cap. 1.* to have done) before the Profession of Counsellors came up? Or how could they sit, and judge Causes in the County-Court, or *Falc-mote*, when every *Thegne*, or Gentleman in the County, was capable of being chosen *Sheriff*, and of sitting Judge in those Courts, many Ages before the Office of an *Under-Sheriff* was heard of?

AND as for the *Antiquary* to the 35th Law of *Edward the Confessor*, *Id. ibid. Lamb. fol. 147.* wherein the *HERETOCHS* are called *BARONES, NOBILES, & insignes SAPIENTES*, there can be nothing urged less to purpose; for then (according to the Doctor) they must have had all great Titles, and have been chosen Generals in War, and Leaders of Armies; and Pray why? because they were *SAPIENTES*, i.e. *Great Lawyers*. But the Doctor had the good luck to find once in his Life, that *Studia Sapientie*, for want of a better Expression, signified the Study of the Law, and therefore the word *SAPIENTES* and *WITES*, where-ever he meets with them in our *Saxon Laws*, or Great Councils, must (forsooth) signify Lawyers or Judges: And his Design in it is evident, that he might thereby confound the *Law-makers* with the ordinary Counsellors or Advisers, whom those *Law-makers* might often employ in the drawing of the Laws; but he is indeed at last so modest as to tell us, "That at this day the Judges, and King's Counsel, and other great Lawyers that sit in the Lord's House, are assistant to the Parliament when there is occasion. But that he would here as well as elsewhere insinuate, that no body else had any more right to appear there than they; you may see more plainly in his Notes to his * *Compleat History of England*, where upon the words *Sapientes* or *Witen* made use of in the *Saxon Laws*, he says, "That if they only signified Men skilled in the Laws, then were none of the Temporal Nobility present at the making of those Laws, unless perhaps they were the Lawyers meant by that word, as being many of them *Judges* and *Justiciaries* at that time. But yet he is at last forced (with Justice) in the same place to acknowledg, upon the words, "that *Witan, Sapientes*, or *wise Men*, must be taken for, or meant of the Bishops and Nobility, or else they were not present at the making of these Laws; which no Man can believe, that considers how many Ecclesiastical Laws there are amongst them, and Laws relating to the Worship of God, and a holy Life, that were never made without at least the Advice of the Bishops.

IT is well my Lords the Bishops were concern'd here, or else sure he would never have been so free as to make the word *Witan* signify not only great Lawyers, but Divines too: and thus by the same liberty of paraphrasing, *Studia Sapientie* may signify the Study of Divinity.

BUT enough of these Trifles; for the Author himself hath some Lines above in the same Notes, granted as much as I can desire, because he confesses, "That in our *Saxon Laws*, the *Sapientes* or *Witan* were divers times taken for the whole Baronage, or Nobility, as I may so say: And in this sense it is used in the 49th Chapter of the Preface to *Alured's Laws*. And I desire the Doctor to shew me any Instance out of the *Saxon Laws* or *Annals*, if he can, where the words *Witan*, or *Wittena-Gemot* are used in any other sense. But what was the true meaning of that word *Baronage* we shall reserve to another place; it suffices at present to let you see he owns they were somewhat more than

great Lawyers; and that it comprehended others besides Noble-men by Birth, I shall prove by and by.

IN the mean time I shall shew, by what Words and Phrases the *Witena Gemot*, consisting of these *Wites*, is called in the Latin Version of our Annals, as also of our Historians who have wrote in the same Language.

IN the first of these it is rendered *Concilium PROCERUM*, how truly, I have said somewhat in the Preface: by *Florence o. Worcester* in his Version of the same *Annals*, it is commonly render'd *Concilium PRIMATUM*, and sometimes, but more rarely, *PROCERUM*. But

when this Author would distinguish the Laity from the Clergy at these Assemblies, he words it thus, *ARCHIEPISCOPOS, EPISCOPOS, ABBATES, & Anglie OPTIMATES*; sometimes thus, *EPISCOPOS, & DUCES, nec non & PRINCEPES, & OPTIMATES Gentis Anglie*.

AS for the Signification of all these Words, I shall give it you anon; only thus much may be agreed upon, that besides the Arch-bishops, Bishops, and Abbots, the chief or best Men of *England* were present and assisted at these Councils, and who, as appears by the Subscriptions to several *Saxon* Councils and Charters, were either the *Ealdormen*, who writ themselves in Latin, sometimes *Sub-Reguli*, but more often *Duces*, or *Comites*, of whom we have already spoken enough: But this I would have remembred, that the Office of *Ealdormen* not being then hereditary, it was bestowed for Merit; and Nobility by Blood was no necessary Condition to it, since their Places in this great Assembly were only *ratione Officii*, and not by Right of Inheritance as at this day.

THE next Order, whose Subscriptions we find at the Conclusion of such Councils and Charters, are the *Thanes*; the highest Degree of which was called *Thanus Regius*, the King's *Thane*, because he held immediately of him; and tho I grant it answered the Title or Dignity of the greater Barons after the *Norman* Conquest, yet however neither *Mr. Selden*, nor any other Learned Antiquary that I know of, does any where exclude the two other Degrees of *Thanes*, viz. the *Middle* and *Lesser*, from appearing, and having places in those great and general Councils, as well as the chief *Thanes* themselves.

AND besides these, we find at the end of several Charters, others who write themselves *Milites*, who, I suppose, ought to be rendered Knights; but whether they were *Thanes* that held by any *Military Tenure*, or such as held their Lands in *Allodio*, that is, freely, under no Services, I will not here take upon me to determine.

THESE are the only Degrees mentioned at the end of those Councils and Charters above-mentioned.

BUT perhaps it will now be told me, that according to my own shewing, there were no *Commons* summoned to these Assemblies; since neither in the Titles before those Councils, nor at the Conclusions of them is there any mention made of this Order of Men now called *Commons*, distinct from that of the Bishops and great Noble Men; and therefore from hence *Dr. Brady* in his Answer to *Mr. Petyt*, will have none but Bishops and great Noble-men to have had any thing to do there: and to make this seem the more plausible, he renders that great Council, where *Plegmund* Arch-bishop of *Canterbury*, together with King *Edward* the Elder presided, viz. *CONCILIVM MAGNUM EPISCO-*

PORUM,

PORUM, ABBATUM, FIDELIVM, PROCERUM, POPULORVM IN PROVINCIA GEWISORM, &c. in these words, A great Council of the Bishops, Abbots, Tenants in Capite or Military Service, Noble-men, and People in the Province of the *West-Saxons*.

AND here, before I go any further, I would desire the Doctor to answer these two Questions.

FIRST, By what Authority he here translates the word *Fideles*, Tenants in *Capite*, or Military Service? since I am sure he is not able to prove from any History or Record, that this *Tenure* had any being in *England* at that time.

SECONDLY, How he can make it out, that the word *Proceres* always signifies great Noble-men by Birth? without which Supposition all he is able to say on this Subject will fall to the Ground.

BUT the Doctor thinks he has a great Advantage from what Arch-bishop *Parker* says in the same Page; *EDWARDUS REX SYNODUM PRÆDICTAM NOBILIVM ANGLORVM CONGREGAVIT, CUI PRÆSIEBAT PLEGmundus, i. e.* King *Edward* called the forefaid Synod of the *English Nobility*, wherein *Plegmund* presided. Here he thinks he hath a strong hold, and therefore says, "That this Author tells us the meaning of the long Title of this Synod, which just before he had mentioned, viz. that the Bishops, Abbots, FIDELES, Proceres, & POPULUS, were all NOBILES, NOBLE-MEN, that is, the Ecclesiasticks and Laicks, or the Bishops, and Lay-Nobility, and not the *Vulgar*, *Commons*, or ordinary sort of People."

SO then, according to the Doctor's Construction, all the fore-going Relation of the Members of this Council was a jumbled heap of Tauologies, of *Noble Tenants in Capite*, *Noble-men*, and *Noble People*.

BUT I must needs acknowledg that he is so far in the right, that by these words *Nobilium Anglorum*, are not meant the *vulgar*, mean or ordinary sort of People, or the *Mob*, (as they are now contemptuously term'd) for certainly they had never any thing to do in those August Assemblies: Nor does *Mr. Petyt*, or my self maintain any such thing; and yet for all this I think we may affirm, that all the Members that appeared there, were not Noble-men, or Great Lords only, in the sense they are now taken.

FOR to begin with the word *Nobilis*, which the Doctor so much insists on, it is his own too narrow Conception of that Title which has been, I think, one main Cause of the greatest part of the Quarrel between *Mr. Petyt* and him; for in all the Counties of *Europe*, except *England*, it is very well known, that the word *Nobilis* includes not only Noble-men of Title, such as Dukes, Marquesses, &c. but also all Gentlemen of Families who are well born, and do not exercise Mechanick Trades. Thus *Nobilezza* in Italian, and *Noblesse* in French, comprehends the less as well as the greater Nobility. So likewise the word *Adelmen*, among the *Germans*, comprehends all sorts of Noble-men, as well those of Title as others, which is owned by *Sir H. Spelman* in his *Tit. Adelingi. Glossary* in these words, *Anglorum Legibus Adelingos dici pro Nobilibus in genere, qui omnes nobiles Adelmen vocant, à Saxonico Adel, nobilis.* And so it was here in *England* long after the Conquest, as well as before, when Knights and Gentlemen were reckoned *inter Nobiles minores*, before the Title of Noble-men began to be appropriated to the higher Nobility or Peers only; which is also owned by *Dr. Brady* in his Preface

to

Dr. Brady's Introduction. fol. 6, & 7.

Vid. Antiquit. Britan. Match. Parkeri Archiep. Cant.

“ to his *Compleat History*, where he tells us of Lands held by Knights Service, as well in the Hands of the lower sort of *Noblesse*, as of the “ greater Noble-men.

AND this being so, I shall easily prove, that all the rest of the words insisted upon by the Doctor, do not signify *only* great Lords and Noble-men by Birth: To go on therefore to the next word *Proceres*, that neither this does signify *only* Men Noble by Birth. *Isidore* (an antient *Spanish Author*) in his *Origines*, says thus, *Proceres sunt Principes Civium*, that is, the chiefest of Subjects or Citizens. And the Learned *Du-Fresne* also tells us in his Glossary, *Proceres appellabantur, qui in Civitatibus precipuos Magistratus gerebant*; that those were called *Proceres*, who were the chief Magistrates or Rulers in Cities; and certainly these could scarce ever be Noble-men by Birth.

AND as for the word *Primates*, it signifies no more than Principal or Chief Men, however born; and that it was understood no otherwise among our *English-Saxons*, appears from *Ælfric's* Glossary above-mentioned, at the end of *Somner's Saxon Dictionary*, where he renders the words *Primates, vel Primores Civitatis, seu Burgi*, by *YLDEST BURH-WARA*, i. e. the Chief Magistrates in a City or Town, who were then Persons of very considerable Note in the Nation, as I shall prove further by and by.

I come now to the word *Optimates*, which signifies no more than the better sort of Men, and not always Noble-men and great Lords, much less as confined to the *King's Thanes*, or *Tenants in Capite* only; since the same *Du-Fresne* in his Glossary defines *Optimates* to be *Vassalli Barones, qui ab ullo Domino ratione Homini nude pendent*, that is, the Feudatory Barons that merely depend on any Superiour Lord by reason of their Homage; which tho' spoken in relation to *France* five or six hundred Years ago, yet was certainly used in the same sense, and no otherwise in *England*, as well before as after that time, and did include all the Inferiour as well as Superiour *Thanes*, such as were the only Freeholders in those Ages.

BUT for the word *Principes*, he that understands any thing of the Latin Tongue, knows, that it doth not always signify Princes, or Men Noble by Birth, but any Chief or Principal Man, remarkable by Place, Office or Dignity; and therefore we often read in *Livy*, and other Latin Authors, of *Principes Civitatis*: and in the above-cited Laws out of *Tacitus, de moribus Germanorum*, it is plain, that the word *Princeps*, or *Principes* in the plural, signified no more than chief or considerable Men among the *Germans*, by reason of their Office, or present Dignities, without any respect to their Birth. And in this sense, I suppose, every Member of Parliament may at this day be reckoned *inter Principes*, among the most considerable or chief Men of the Kingdom.

BUT the Doctor lays a great stress upon a Passage out of two Manuscript *Malmesburies*, one in the *Bodleian Library*, cited by Sir *William Dugdale*, and the other in the Treasury of the Records of the Church of *Canterbury*, cited by Sir *Henry Spelman*, who both report of this very Council, that *Edward the Elder* “ *Congregavit Synodum Senatorum Gentis Anglorum, cui presidebat Plegmundus, &c.* i. e. convened a Synod “ of the *Senators* (in *Saxon* the *Aldermen*) of the *English Nation*, that “ is, such as were usually called to such Councils, which were only the “ *Nobiles* and Great Men.

IN

IN Answer to this I must refer the Doctor again to good old *Livy*, where he will find that the *Roman Senators* were not all Noble by Birth, for they were *tam Patricii, quam Plebei Ordinis*.

BUT when Mr. *Petyt* cites *William of Malmesbury*, for calling a *Saxon Wittena Gemote, Generalis Senatus & Populi Conventus*, to distinguish the lesser Nobility from the greater, the Doctor replies, “ There “ is no heed to be taken how our old Monks and Historians styled “ the *Saxon Wittena Gemotes*, or their great and *Common-Councils*, for “ the same Authors expressed them sometimes one way, sometimes “ another; nor were they ever exact and curious in observing and noting the *Title*, or the *Constituent Parts* or *Members* of them.

FROM whence I cannot but observe the Doctor's great Partiality for his own Opinion; for whenever *William of Malmesbury* in the Manuscript above-cited, mentions the word *Senatores*, it must with him immediately signify nothing less than Great *Noblemen*, or what we now call *Peers*; but when the same Author mentions the lower degree of Men (whom we now call *Commons*) as a distinct Order from the Great Lords, or *Senators*, then presently he is with the Doctor, “ a trifling “ old Monk, very little curious in observing the *Constituent Parts* or “ *Members* of our *Saxon Great Councils*.

HAVING thus shewn some of Dr. *Brady's* erroneous and inconsiderate Glosses concerning the *English-Saxon Nobility* before the Conquest, which he vainly supposes to have been the same as it is at this day; I shall now endeavour to settle some truer Notions relating to those Great Councils, which as to the *Lay-Members*, besides the *Ealdormen* above-mentioned, I conceive, consisted of the whole Body of *Thanes*, or *Freeholders*, who were then all *Gentlemen* either by Birth or Estates; for I have already proved from the Laws of King *Athelstan*, that a meer *Georl's Man*, if he had purchased five Hides of *Thane Land*, did thereby become equal in all respects to a *Thane*.

NOW if the word *Thane* before the Conquest signified the same with the word *Baro*, which came into common use after that time, as Sir *Henry Spelman* and Mr. *Selden* both grant it did; and Mr. *Camden* in his Introduction to his first Edition of his *Britannia* in 4^o, is yet more express as to this word *Baro*, as you may see by this remarkable Passage; *Verum Baro ex illis nominibus videatur quæ tempus paulatim meliora, & molliora reddidit, nam longè post tempore, non milites, sed qui LIBERI erant DOMINI, & Thani Saxonibus dicebantur Barones vocari cœperunt, nec dum magni honoris erant, paulò autem postea (viz. some time after the Conquest) ad honoris pervenit, ut nomine Baronagii Angliæ omnes quodammodo Regni Ordines continerentur*: tho' it must be confessed that Mr. *Camden*, because he found this Passage had given some Offence to the higher Nobility, he in his next Edition in *Folio*, restrained it by adding the word *Superiores* before *Ordines*, as if none but the higher Barons might be thought to have once made part of the Baronage of the Kingdom. And likewise Sir *Henry Spelman* in his Glossary under the Title of *Barones Comitatus, i. e. the Barons of Counties*, (who are frequently mentioned in the Laws of our first *Norman Kings*) has this remarkable Passage, and he being so great a Man, I shall not offer to abridge it.

Id. ibid.

Spelm. Gloss.
tit. Barones
Comitatus.

HOC Nomine, scilicet, Barones Comitatus (saith he) contineri videntur Antiquis paginis, omnis Baronum feodaliū species, in uno quovis Comitatu degentium: Proceres nempe & Maneriorum Domini, nec non liberi quique; Tenentes, hoc est, fundorum proprietarii, Anglicè FREEHOLDERS. — Notandum autem est, liberè hos Tenentes, nec tam exiles olim fuisse, nec tam vulgares ut hodiè deprehenduntur: nam Villis & Dominia, in minutis hereditates nondum distrahebant Nobiles; sed (ut vidimus in Hiberniâ) penes se retinentes, agros per precarios escolebant & adscriptitios. Vid. LL. Edw. Confess. cap. 15. Quod per Hundredum colligerentur (46 Marcæ) & Sigillo alicujus Baronum Comitatus sigillarentur, & ad thesaurum Regis deportarentur. In Domeſd. habiti sunt Barones Comitatus; Magnates & Nobiles, qui in Curia præſunt Comitatuū, hoc est, ipsarum Curiarum Judices, quos Hen. 1. LL. suarum, cap. 30. esse liberè Tenentes Comitatus demonstrat. Regis (inquit) Judices sunt Barones Comitatus, qui liberas in eis terras habent, per quos debent causæ singulorum alternâ prosecutione tractari. Which I shall give you thus in English. "Under this Title of Barones Comitatus, seems to be contained in our antient Writers all sorts of Feudal Barons dwelling in any one County, viz. the chief Men and Lords of Mannors, as also all free Tenants, that is, Proprietors of Lands, in English, FREE-HOLDERS. And it is also to be considered, that these free Tenants were not antiently so mean and pitiful, as they are accounted at this day: For Gentlemen had not as yet parcell'd out their Townships and Lordships into small Estates, but (as we see in Ireland) keeping them themselves, by their hired Servants and Villains, husbanded their own Lands. In the Laws of Edward the Confessor, cap. 15. it is appointed, that 46 Marks should be collected out of the Hundred, and sealed up with the Seal of one of the Barons of the County, and be lodged in the King's Treasury. In Doomſday Book, those Noblemen and Gentlemen are called Barons of the County, who presided in County-Courts, that is, who were Judges of those Courts, whom Hen. 1. in the 30th Chapter of his Laws, shews to be the free Tenants of the County. The King's Judges, says he, are the Barons of the County, who have Freehold Lands in them, by whom the Causes of each of them ought to be tried and adjudged in their respective turns.

AND there also immediately follows in the same Law of Henry the First, another Clause, "whereby Villains, and all such mean and beggarly Fellows, called there Cōſetti or Perdingi, are not to be reckoned amongst the Judges of the Laws; for they neither in the Hundred, nor in the County, forfeit their own Money, nor that of their Masters. THIS, I think, is sufficient to prove, that all such base and indigent People, such as Dr. Brady calls Tag, Rag and Bobtail, were excluded from having any thing to do in these inferior Courts; and if so, then much more to be sure were they shut out of the most August Assembly of the Kingdom, the Witten-Gemot, Mycel-Synoth, or what we now call the Parliament.

AND this I have brought to shew, that I do as much disown the Thoughts of introducing any Degrees or Orders of Men, (less than those of Quality or Estates) into the Great Councils of those Times, as the Doctor himself does.

BUT

BUT in the first part of his *Compleat History* he asserts, that not only the King's *Thanes*, but also all the Middle and Lesser *Thanes* were both after, as well as before the Conquest, Military Men, who held their Lands by Military or Knight's Service, which he would prove from the *Heregeat*, or *Heriots*, that by the Laws of King *Cnut*, were to be paid to their Lords by their Heirs, in Horses and Money, and certain Arms. Well, let this for once be admitted, but I would then have the Doctor never to urge Military or Knight-Service, as a Badg of the *Norman Conquest* any more; and in the next Treatise which he shall please to publish, I would desire him to make it out, that none but the King's *Thanes*, (who were all one with his *Tenants in Capite*, after the Conquest) had any Place in the Great Council of the Kingdom, for without this, he does nothing: yet thus much I must say for him, that in the beginning of his Answer to Mr. Petyt, he seems to be somewhat more good-natured, making the *Saxon Wittena Gemotes* more large and diffusive; for in them he owns, "were Arch-Bishops, Bishops, Masse-*Thegnes*, or Dignified and Great Clergy-Men, Aldermen, or Comites, King's Gereves or Prepositi, King's Thegnes, *Thanes*, or Ministers, his Counsellors, Judges or Magistrates. Where tho he confounds the King's Judges and Counsellors, (whose Presence there was not absolutely necessary, as not being any constituent Parts or Members thereof) with the Bishops, Aldermen, and *Thanes*, without whose Consent no Laws could be made; yet he grants us enough in reckoning other *Thanes* and Magistrates to have had Places there, besides the King's, and who I conceive had a Right to appear there without any particular Summons to each of them; and sure all these were not *Tenants in Capite*.

NOW having laid down, and I hope established a true Notion what sort of Men then constituted the greater part of the *Wittena-Gemotes* of those Times; I come to the next Degree or Order of Men, who then most properly represented the Commons of England, viz. the Deputies of Cities and Great Towns: and tho I confess these are not ordinarily mentioned in any of the Antient *Saxon* Laws or Charters, yet that they were comprehended sometimes under the Title of *Procuratores*, I am very well satisfied, as appears from the *Annals* of *Winchelmcomb*, wherein there is a Charter of *Kenwulf* King of the *Mercians*, bearing date *Anno Dom. 811*. where all the Orders of Men summoned to be present at that Assembly, are thus particularly recited by that King, viz. *Merciorum Optimates, Episcopos, Principes, Comites, PROCURATORES, meſq; propinquos, nec non Cuthredum Regem Cantuariorum, atq; Suthredum Regem Oriental. Saxon. cum omnibus qui Teſſes noſtris Synodalibus conciliabulis aderant.*

NOW I would be gladly informed by any Man, well conversant in Antiquity, what the word *Procuratores* could here signify after *Comites*, unless it were the Deputies or Representatives of the Cities and Towns of *Mercia*?

THE like word is also found in a Charter of King *Athelstan's*, dated *Anno 931*. of certain Lands granted to the Abbey of *Abington*; which Charter is entred in the great Register that belonged to that Abbey, and is now in the *Cottonian Library*, and concludes thus, *Hæc Charta in Villa Regali quæ Etwelope nuncupatur, Episcopis, Abbatibus, Ducibus, patria Procuratoribus, Regiâ dapſilitate orantibus perſcripta eſt.*

Compleat Hiſt.
Fol. 69, 70.

Answer to Mr.
Petyt's Rights
of the Commons
in Folio. p. 10.

Deputies of
Cities and
Great
Towns.
Procuratores.
|| In Bibl. Cotton.
Tibet. C. 4.

Claudius. B. c.
Cap. 50.

BY

BY which *Patriæ Procuratoribus* abovementioned, I know not what else can be understood, but the Deputies or Representatives of the Cities and Chief Towns, who then sent Members to those General Councils.

THO of what sort of Men these *Procuratores* or Deputies of Cities and Towns then consisted, I confess it is hard at this distance of Time to determine; when the Original Records of those Councils wherein they appeared are lost, and that we have so obscure a mention made of them in the *Saxon* Laws and Charters. But if I may take the Liberty to guess, there were not so many Citizens chosen for each City as at this Day; but only their Chief Magistrates, Rulers, or Aldermen, (which were single Persons, and not many, for there was then but one Alderman in a Town) or else such as were called *Port-Gerefas*, (now *Port-Reves* in divers Places) who might appear for them of Course, or be constantly Chosen on purpose: but if the Charter of King *Athelstan* abovesaid be true, (as I see no reason to question its Authority) it appears, that the ordinary Boroughs were then represented by two Burgesses in Parliament, as at this Day.

BUT that these, as well as the Magistrates and most considerable Citizens might then all pass, and be included under the General Name of *Witan*, or *Wites*, called in Latin *Sapientes*, I have the Authority of the Learned *Du Fresne*, who in his Glossary assures us, that antiently among the Lombards, *Sapientes in Italia appellabantur Civitatum Primarii, quorum consilio Republicæ gerebantur, i. e.* that among the Lombards in Italy, the Chief Citizens were called *Wise-Men*, by whose Council publick Affairs were transacted: and for this he cites *Hieron. Rubens*, who in his History of *Ravenna* under *Anno 1297.* hath this remarkable Passage concerning these *Sapientes*; (says he) *Sed longè antè, illud nomen obtinuit in aliis Longobardarum civitatibus, ut colligere licet ex Ottone, & Acerbo Morena in Historia Rerum Lundevetium*; which Authority tho fetch'd as far as *Italy*, is very pertinent to prove the same Title to have been in use among the *English Saxons* of the same Age with the Lombards, since (as *Grotius* hath learnedly proved in his Preface to his *Gothic History*) the Lombards were but one Stirp or Tribe of those Antient *Goths*, from whom (as I have already proved in the beginning of the third Book of this Volume) the *English Saxons* were also derived.

BUT that these Citizens of Cities, in those Times, might deserve the Name of *Wites* or *Sapientes*, as well for their Prudence as Riches, appears from the Charter of *K. Edward the Confessor*, in the great Chartulary of the Abby of *Westminster*, now to be seen in the Cottonian Library, which begins thus, *Edward Cing gret Willem and Leodan, & Elfy Porte-Reven, and alle mine Burh-Thanes on LUNDEN Frindlic*; this tho *Saxon*, yet being so near the *English* of our own Times, I need not translate, only I desire the Reader to take notice, that the Citizens of *London* were then so considerable, as in this Charter to have had the Title of *Thanes*, as they were often called *Barones de London* in our Antient Historians after the Conquest.

AND as for the City of *Canterbury* in those Times, it had not only a Chief Magistrate, called in Latin *Præpositus*, in *Saxon* *Port-Gerefa*, as *Mr. Somner* in his Antiquities of *Canterbury* informs us; but also in the same Place he has given us a *Saxon* Deed, written some Years before the Conquest, and containing an Exchange of certain Lands and Houses in that

Tome 3. pag. 700.

Fauflina. A. 3. fol. 97.

Pag. 64, 65.

that City, made between the Family, (*i. e.* Monks of the Cathedral Church) and the *Crihtan* of that City, being Merchants or Chapmen; and you have already seen, that a Merchant having thrice passed the Seas, was accounted equal to a *Thane*: and can any one then reasonably doubt, that Persons of that Wealth and Dignity were not capable of being chosen Representatives of their Cities, in the *Saxon* Great Councils?

NOR can I forbear citing, before I close up this Subject, that remarkable Authority out of * *Sulcardus's* Manuscript Chartulary of the Abby of *Westminster*, where there is entred a Charter of King *William the First*, bearing date *An. Dom. 1071.* And after the King had subscribed his own Name to it with the Sign of the Cross, there are added many of the Bishops, Abbots, and Temporal Nobility; and then instead of *cum multis aliis*, this Clause is subjoined, viz. * *Multis præterea illustrissimis Virorum personis, & Regni Principibus diversis Ordinis omissis, qui huic Confirmationi piissimo affectu Testes & Fautores fuerunt: Hii autem illo tempore à Regi potestate è diversis Provinciis & Urbibus, ad Universalem Synodum pro causis cujuslibet Christiane Ecclesie audiendis & tractandis, ad præscriptum Celeberrimum Canobium, quod Westmonasterium dicitur, convocati.* *i. e.* " Besides many other very Eminent Persons and Chief Men of the Kingdom of divers Orders being omitted, who with most pious Affection, were Witnesses and Approvers to this Confirmation; and these were summoned at that Time by the Royal Authority, from divers Provinces and Cities, to the General Synod held at the Famous Abby of *Westminster*, for the hearing and determining of the Causes of each Christian Church.

THIS is an Authority which seemed so convincing, that *Sir William Dugdale* hath made use of it in his *Origines Juridicales*, to prove the Antiquity of the Commons of *England* in Parliament; yet *Dr. Brady* in the Conclusion of his Answer to *Mr. Cook's Argumentum Antinormanicum*, " accuses that Gentleman of being both Ignorant and Mistaken in the meaning of Cities and Provinces, and the Persons that came from them, whom he indeed would have to be not any Representatives of Counties and Cities, but only Deans, Arch-Deacons, and other dignified Persons and Church-Officers, as well of the Laity as Clergy, who were summoned by the King to this Synod, from Provinces and Cities, to advise and inform the King of the Conveniency of the Places, whither the Bishops Sees then about to be removed from Villages to Cities, were to be transferred.

BUT since there is not one word in this Charter said of any such Thing, and that *Sir Henry Spelman* in his Glossary renders the word *Provincia* for a County, and not a Bishop's See; I my self not now having leisure to pursue such Niceties, shall refer the Curious for their farther Satisfaction to the eighth Dialogue of *Bibliotheca Politica*, where they may read whatsoever he has said against it sufficiently answered.

THESE are the only Authorities I shall make use of at this Time, to prove that the Cities and Boroughs had then their Delegates or Representatives in the *Saxon Witen-Gemotes*.

I will now conclude this Point with the Judgment of that Learned Antiquary *Mr. Lambard*, who certainly understood the Constitution of this Antient Government, as well at least, if not better, than *Dr. Brady*; and he tells us,

* In Bib. Cotton. Fauflina. A. 3.

* In the Margin of the book there is this Note in a more Modern Hand, Nota hic, hos omnes convocari à Rege sua Auctoritate, ad causas Religiosis tractandas, tam nobiles de clero quam Principes Regni, cum aliis inferioris gradus; convenio quorum videtur esse Parliamentum: from whence it appears, that this Notator took this Assembly for a Parliament of those Times.

Bibliothec. Politic. pag. 567, 568.

Archiclon. p. 256, 257, &c.

" THAT whereas in the beginning of *each* Law, (*viz.* those made by the Saxon Kings he there mentions) all the Acts are said to pass from the King and his *Wife Men* both of the Clergy and Laity, in the Body of the Laws, each Statute being thus, *And it is the Advice of our Lord, and his Wife-Men*: So as it appears that it was then a received Form of Speech, to signify both the Spirituality and the Laity (that is to say, the greater Nobility, and the less, or Commons) by this one word *Witan*, i. e. *Wife-men*.

" NOW as those written Authorities do undoubtedly confirm our Assertion of the Continuance of this manner of *Parliament*, so is there also unwritten Law or Prescription, that doth no less infallibly uphold the same. For it is well known, that in every Quarter of the Realm, a great many Boroughs do yet send Burgesses to the Parliament, which are nevertheless so ** antient*, and so long since decayed, and gone to nought, that it cannot be shewed, that they have been of any Reputation at any time since the Conquest, and much less that they have obtained this Privilege, by the Grant of any King succeeding the same. So that the Interest which they have in Parliament groweth by an antient Usage before the Conquest, whereof they cannot shew any beginning: which thing is also confirmed by a contrary Usage in the self-same thing; for it is likewise known, that they of *Antient Demesne*, do prescribe in not sending to the Parliament, for which reason also they are neither Contributors to the Wages of the Knights of Shires, neither are they bound by sundry Acts of Parliament, tho the same be generally penn'd, and do make no Exceptions of them. But there is no antient Demesne, saving that only which is described in the Book of *Doomsday*, under the Title of *Terra Regis*, which of necessity must be such as either was in the Hands of the Conqueror himself, who made the Book, or of *Edward the Confessor*, that was before him. And so again, if they of *antient Demesnes* have ever since the Conquest prescribed not to elect Burgesses to Parliament, then (no doubt) there was a Parliament before the Conquest, to the which they of other Places did send their Burgesses.

I shall here crave leave to add one Record, tho after the Conquest, in Confirmation of what Mr. Lambard hath here learnedly asserted; for that several Boroughs claimed to send Members to Parliament by Prescription in the beginning of the Reign of *Edward the Third*, appears by a *†* Petition put in to that King *An. 17 Edw. 3.* wherein the Burgesses of the Town of *Barnstaple* in *Devonshire*, set forth, that it being a free Borough, had by Charter from King *Athelstan*, among other Privileges, a right of sending two Burgesses to all Parliaments for the said Borough; upon which the King and his Council ordered a *Writ of Inquiry*, which certainly would never have been done, if Dr. Brady's Notion were true, that the Cities and Boroughs never sent any Representatives to Parliament but once in the 49th of *Hen. 3.* and then no more till the 18th of *Edward the First*, which was but a little above 50 Years to the time of this Petition, which being within the Memory of so many then living, the King and his Council would never have ordered a *Writ of Inquiry* about such a vain and idle Pretence.

FROM all which, I think, it may safely be concluded, that this Learned Antiquary above-mentioned, I mean Mr. Lambard, did not without good Authority believe, that not only the Great Lords or Peers, but

* Of which sort are Garton in Surrey, bifstles several Boroughs in Devonshire, Cornwall, and other Counties.

† Rot. Par. 17 Ed. 3. pars 1. m. 20.

but also the Inferiour Nobility, and Representatives of Cities and Towns, were included under the word *Witan*; and likewise that those Places claimed that Privilege by Prescription.

I shall therefore desire the Doctor, that when he writes next upon this Subject, he will please to crave in Aid some Gentlemen of the Long Robe of his Opinion, to help him to answer this Argument of Mr. Lambard from general Prescription; as also what hath been already said concerning this matter in the same Dialogue of *Bibliotheca Politica* above-mentioned, beginning at pag. 483, and ending at pag. 593, inclusively: and if he can then with his Assistances prove all our antient Lawyers to have been mistaken in this memorable Point, I shall own my self to have been so too. But I desire this may be taken notice of, that no Prescription whatsoever in Law can be laid of later Date, than the first Year of King *Richard the First*, which began almost fourscore Years before the 49th of *Hen. 3.* when he fancies the Commons were first summoned to Parliament.

BUT that I may be as brief as I can, I shall reduce what I have further to say upon this Head, to a few Queries. As,

FIRST, Whether in all the Kingdoms of *Europe* of the *Gothic* Model, beginning with *Sweden* and *Denmark*, and ending with *Scotland*, there can be shewn any of them wherein the Cities and Great Towns, either had not, or at least not till of Modern Times, their particular Representatives in the Common Councils, or Assemblies of the Estates in those Kingdoms?

SECONDLY, Why in *England* alone, whose King was not more Absolute than in other Neighbouring Kingdoms, and which was framed after the same *Gothic* Constitution, its Cities and antient Boroughs (which were in those Times very considerable for Strength, Trade and Wealth, and guarded by so many Laws made in the *Saxon* Times) should not be thought considerable enough to have any Delegates in the Common Council of the Kingdom, till so long after the Conquest, as the 49th of *Hen. 3.* which (if we may believe the Doctor) was also intermitted from that time for above the space of twenty Years, till the 18th of King *Edward the First*?

BESIDES which, I would also propose these farther Queries concerning the Antiquity of the Commons in general. As,

FIRST, If *Clerus* and *Populus* signify in our Antient Authors the Clergy and Laity, which the Doctor asserts, and I will not oppose; then I would ask him, why (the same word *Clerus* including the inferiour Clergy, *viz.* Deans, Arch-deacons, &c. as well as the superiour, *viz.* Arch-bishops and Bishops, &c. assembled in our Great Councils or Synods) the word *Populus* must not be allowed the same Latitude of Signification, and extend to the Gentry, or less Nobility, together with the chief Citizens and Burgesses, by a like Parity of Reason? unless he can make it out, that *Clerus* must be understood in a very comprehensive sense, and *Populus* in a very contracted and narrow one, only to mean Great Lords and Noblemen of the higher Rank.

SECONDLY, I would desire to know of him what the words *Populus* and *Populi* shall signify, when put after and distinct from the words *Proceres*, *Optimates*, *Senatores*, or *Senatus*, &c. when these words occur in several antient Charters of our *English-Saxon* Kings, as well as

Histo:

Historians that make any mention of the Great Councils, unless they mean the *People* or *Commons* distinct from the *Great Lords*? Of which I shall here set down a few Instances out of many, both from Charters, Laws and Historians.

THE first whereof is found in the Charter of King *Ethelred*, containing a Grant and Confirmation of several great Privileges to the Monastery of *Wolverhampton*, which concludes in these words, *Hec Decreta sunt Sigerici Archiepiscopi in placito coram Rege Ethelredo, & Eboracenſi Archiepiscopo, & omnibus Episcopis, Abbatibus Regionis Britanniae, seu Senatoribus, Ducibus, & Populo Terræ.*

THE next is, the third Charter of King *Edward the Confessor* to the Abbey of *Westminster*, made in a Great Council of the Kingdom, which was held in the last Year of his Reign, and concludes thus, *Hanc igitur Chartam meæ Donationis & Libertatis, in die Dedicationis prædictæ Ecclesiæ, recitari jussit, coram Episcopis, Abbatibus, Comitibus, & omnibus Optimatibus Angliæ, omniq; Populo audiente & vidente.*

NOW from both these Charters it seems evident, that by the word *Populus*, the Representatives of Cities and Boroughs are here meant and understood, who were present at the sealing of them, as well as the greater Nobility, viz. the Senators, Ealdormen and Earls, and the lesser Nobility, viz. the *Thanes*, or Freeholders, included under the Title of *Optimates*, since the meer *Vulgar* or *Mob* could never be admitted into the Place of the Great Council as Witnesses to the solemn reading and sealing of those Charters.

MY third Instance shall be that famous Law concerning the Grant of Tithes by King *Ethelwolf*, *Anno Dom. 855.* which is cited in the *Laws of *Edward the Confessor*, and confirmed by King *William the First*, under the Title *de Apibus, & de aliis minutis Decimis*, wherein it is thus expressed, *Hec (scilicet, these Tithes) concessa sunt à Rege, Baronibus, & Populo.* Here it is plain, that the word *Populus* must signify a distinct Order or Degree of Men from that of the *Barones*.

THIS Law of King *Edward the Confessor* being urged by Mr. *Petyt* in his Rights of the Commons asserted, the Doctor passes over in silence; but when the ingenious Author of *Argumentum Anti-Normanicum*, makes use of the same Authority, the Doctor can no longer contain himself, but in his Answer to that Book, tells him (after an insulting diminutive Reflection upon his Person) that, "He thinks this Law was made in King *Edward's* days, and was piping-hot when the Conqueror came in, but (he says) it will prove otherwise upon Examination of it, and also doubtful, whether there was ever such a Law or not made by a *Saxon* Monarch or King. For after the Law hath enumerated the manner of Tithing in very many things both great and small, requiring an exact Tenth to be paid for most of them; it says, That he which detains the Tenth, if need be, may be forced to Payment by the Justice of the Bishop and King; and then immediately follow these words, *Hec autem prædicavit Beatus Augustinus, & concessa sunt à REGE, BARONIBUS & POPULO: Sed postea Instinctu Diaboli multi eam (viz. decimam) detinuerunt, &c.* These things St. *Augustine* preached up, and they were granted by the King, Barons and People, &c.

THE rest of the Latin he there cites being not to the Point in Dispute, I pass over; yet I cannot but observe, that from hence the Doctor believes

believes he hath got a notable Advantage over him, for he thus proceeds.

"HENCE 'tis evident, that these Concessions of Tithes were made in the time of St. *Augustine*, Arch-bishop of *Canterbury*, sent hither from *Rome* in the Reign of *Ethelbert* King of *Kent*; for the words, *& concessa sunt à REGE, BARONIBUS ET POPULO*, can relate to no other than the words immediately preceding, *hec enim prædicavit Beatus Augustinus.* And the words next following them do all to prove the same; *sed postea Instinctu Diaboli, Multi eam detinuerunt, &c.* which was after they were granted by the King, Barons, and People: so that this was at most but the Confirmation of a Law made by King *Ethelbert*; and how, and by what words the Legislators were expressed near 500 Years after the Law made, and how they were rendered in *Latin* after the coming in of the *Normans*, transiently and without Design to give an Account of them, cannot be of much Value to prove who they were; and that the Laws of King *Edward* were made, or at least translated into *Norman Latin* after the Conquest, appears by the words, *Comites, Barones, Milites, Servientes, Servitium, Villanus, Catalla, manuteneve*, all *Norman* words, and not known here till their coming hither. He that will assert any thing from a single uncouth Expression in one Case, and upon one Occasion only, brings but a slender Proof for what he says.

THESE are the Doctor's own words which I have transcribed almost *Verbatim*, that I may do no prejudice to the Force of his Argument, which in short depends upon this single false Supposition, viz. that the Compiler or Drafter up of King *Edward's* Laws, imagined that this Law concerning Tithes was made by King *Ethelbert*, and was afterwards confirmed by King *Edward* near 500 Years after the Law was made, when none could tell by what words the first Legislators were expressed.

BUT if this now should happen to prove otherwise, all that the Doctor has said on this Subject will by an unlucky Mischance fall to the Ground.

AND I shall shew here, that first of all his Argument is not cogent, that because the words, *& concessa sunt à Rege, Baronibus & Populo*, immediately follow those foregoing, viz. *Hec enim prædicavit B. Augustinus*; therefore this Law could be made by no other than K. *Ethelbert*, since the words are put indefinitely, without mentioning any King in particular.

FOR St. *Augustine* might preach up Tithes, and yet the Law whereby they were given to the Clergy might be made many Years after; and that this was so, will appear by a brief History of the Matter of Fact. For first there is not, (nor I believe ever was) any Law extant of King *Ethelbert* concerning Tithes, nor is so much as mentioned by any Writer or Historian that I know of: the first Law, or Canon we find for the payment of them, being that of the Council or Synod of *Canthelthe*, held under King *Offa*, *Anno Dom. 536.* and which, either because it was only an Ecclesiastical Canon, or else because it was not made in a General Council of the whole Kingdom, was not of any Universal Obligation, (at least as a Temporal Law) before that famous Grant of Tithes made by King *Ethelwolf* upon his going to *Rome*, and confirmed as a General Law at a Council held at *Winchester* after his return,

turn, *Anno Dom.* 855. and at which not any of the Bishops and Great Lords were present, but an infinite Number of other faithful Subjects, (or Commons as we now call them), I shall shew more at large by and by; and to this, and not to any Law of King *Ethelbert's*, I doubt not but the Compiler of these Laws of King *Edward* had respect, when he tells us that Tithes were granted *A REGE, BARONIBUS, & POPULO*, that is, by the King, Barons, and People of all England, and not by those of one petty Kingdom, (as *Kent* was in the Time of King *Ethelbert*) whose Laws could never oblige the whole *English* Nation; and therefore the words that follow, viz. *sed postea, &c.* must also refer to the Time of making this Law by King *Ethelwolf*, and not to this imaginary Grant of King *Ethelbert*, which the Compiler of these Laws knew nothing of.

THIS being so, I think all the rest the Doctor says signifies but little; for he is much mistaken notwithstanding he so positively affirms, that all those words he there mentions, were not known here till the coming over of the *Normans*; since he might have found, if he had pleased, the words *Comes* and *Miles* in the singular Number in the Subscriptions of divers Charters and Laws before the Conquest, and the word *Comites* in the Body of the very Charters themselves; for which I shall only refer him to the first Volume of Sir *Henry Spelman's* Councils, as well as those in *Monasticon Anglicanum*.

Baro.

AS for the word *Baro*, I grant it did not come into Common or Legal use till after the Time he mentions; yet that it was sometimes used before, I shall refer him to *Asserius* his *Annals*, which however it was continued by another Hand till the beginning of the Reign of *K. Edward the Elder*, yet that it was wrote before the Conquest, there is no doubt to be made of it; and in the very last Page of those *Annals* he may find the Names of the *Barones Normannorum*, (as he calls them) who are there related to have been slain.

Villanus.

Compleat Hist.
p. 67.

AS for *Villanus* used for a *Coorle's* Man, or Country-Man, you may see an Example of the use of that word in King *Athelstan's* Law above-cited: and the Doctor himself mentions *Terra Villanorum*, i. e. Lands of Villanes or Villagers before the *Norman* Times.

AND as for the rest of the words, viz. *Servientes, Servitium, Caltalla, and Manuteneere*, I confess they are not to be met with in the *Latin* Versions of the *Saxon* Laws made before the Conquest; but I would fain know why they might not have been in use before that Time, tho they are not there mentioned? I am confident no impartial Reader will grant that a Negative Argument is any good Proof to the contrary.

BUT should I own that the words (*Barones*, and all the rest of them there cited by the Doctor) were not commonly in use till after the Conquest, yet that would do him but little Service; for admit that this Law was only briefly recited by the Collector of them in the Form there set down, it will be all one, for the People or Commons were represented in the Time of *Henry the First*, (when these Laws were drawn up in the Form we now have them) or else they could never have been mentioned in this Law as a distinct Order of Men, by a Writer who certainly lived long before the 49th of *Henry III.* since this Law is found thus worded in *Roger Hoveden's* Copy of King *Edward's* Laws, which was written by him (being Secretary to King *Edward*) above a hundred Years before the Commons (according to the Doctor's Hypothesis)

thesis) were ever heard of: So that unless he can prove that *Henry III.* was before *Henry II.* I think he will but *Ethiopem lavare*.

BUT indeed if this single uncouth Expression (as the Doctor calls it) had been found in one Case, and upon one Occasion only, I confess it might have been as slender a Proof as he would have it: but when I have not only given him frequent Instances of the use of this word in our Antient Charters and Laws, as contradistinct from all the rest of the Orders abovementioned, I think that Pretence will stand him in little stead; and if these are not yet sufficient, I will superadd a few more from our Antient Historians to the same purpose.

FIRST, From *William of Malmesbury* and *Henry Huntingdon*, who both agree almost in the same words, concerning the Deposition of *Sigebert* King of the *West-Saxons* for Tyranny and Cruelty, *Anno 754.* *Huntingdon* expresses it thus, viz. *Sigebertus Rex in principio secundi Anni Regni sui, cum incorrigibilis Superbia & Nequitia esset, congregati sunt PROCERES & POPULUS totius Regni, & provida Deliberatione Omnium expulsi sunt à Regno.* *Kinewulf* vero *Juvenis egregius de Regia stirpe, ELECTUS est in Regem.*

SECONDLY, From *Ailred* Abbot of *Rievall*, who in his Life of *Edward the Confessor*, giving an Account of the manner of that King's being Elected in his Mother's Womb, tells us, that *Ethelred* his Father having convened a Great Council for the appointing a Successor, proceeds thus; *Fit Magnus coram Rege Episcoporum, Procerumq; Convventus, Magnus Plebis Vulgusq; Consensus.* Wherein he makes a plain Distinction between the Assembly of the great Noble Men, or *Proceres*, from the Consent of the Commons here, called *Plebs* and *Vulgus*.

Decem-Scrip-
tores, fol. 272.

AND tho I grant with the Doctor, this Story of King *Edward's* Election in his Mother's Womb to have been but a Fiction; yet it is certain, that this Abbot then spoke according to his Belief of the manner of Electing a King in those Times, and truly sets down the Parties whose Presence and Votes were necessary for the compleating of such an Election, or else he must have spoke as much by way of Prophecy concerning this Matter, as King *Ethelred* and the Estates of the Kingdom had done about *K. Edward's* being Elected in his Mother's Womb. And the Reader may remember that these Authors above-cited, lived and wrote many Years before the 49th of *Henry III.* when the Doctor supposes the Commons were first summoned to Parliament; and therefore could not be corrupted with the Notions (not to say Prejudices) of those who wrote after that Time.

BUT I know the Doctor has a Subterfuge, as he thinks for these plain and full Authorities, and that is, that by the *Populus, Plebs* and *Vulgus* mentioned as you have heard, the King's *Thanes*, or less *Barons* as they were called after the Conquest, who were all Tenants in *Capite*, are hereby only to be understood; and that no other but they had any Right to be present, and vote in the Great Councils of the Kingdom; and this he has endeavoured to make good in his Answer to Mr. *Pety's* abovesaid Treatise.

BUT since the Doctor's Authorities do there relate to the Times after his Conquest; (concerning which I shall not now say any thing) I will content my self at present with asking him only these two Questions:

FIRST,

FIRST, How he will prove, that none but the Persons he there mentions, appeared in those Councils, since we cannot trace any Footsteps in our most Antient Laws or Historians of his *Tenants in Capite*, being the only Constituent Parts of the Saxon *Witena-Gemotes*?

AND it was indeed very unlikely they should, if we consider the many Free-Tenants who before the Conquest held in *Allodio* without any Military Services; and this, as Sir Henry Spelman well observes, "was opposed to *Feud* or *Fee*, in the Antient Version of King *Canutus* his Laws, where it is called in Saxon, *Bockland*; and in the Laws of King *Alfred*, *Terra Hereditaria*, and seems to be the same with our *Fee-Simple*, which might be made over to Strangers without any Licence from the Lord of whom such Land was held.

OF which sort of Men there is also frequent mention in *Doomsday* Book, under the Title of *Alloarii* and *Allodiarii*, and of whom it is there also often said, *Potuit ire cum terrâ quo voluit*, or *potuit se vertere ad alium Dominum*. Of these there were certainly many more before the Conquest than afterwards, when I own the greatest part of the Kingdom was in a few Years parcel'd out into *Knights Fees*.

SECONDLY, I desire to be informed how our Great Councils could consist of such a multitude of Persons, as I find in Antient Charters and Historians to have appeared at those Assemblies, not only before, but long after the Conquest? But of the Period before that Time, (and which I treat of in this Volume) I shall give these remarkable Instances.

THE first is out of an Antient Manuscript in the Cottonian Library, concerning the League between *Alfred* and *Godrun* the Dane, which begins thus, *Circa Annum Salvatoris nostri DCCCLXXVI. in Magno Concilio sue Mycel-Gemot, Aluredus Rex Anglorum & Godrunus Rex Anglo-Danorum, & Omnes Anglige Sapientes, & omnis populus qui in Anglia mansit, Pacis agenda sive fœdus constituerunt, & Juramento confirmaverunt pro seipsis & Junioribus suis Ingenitis*. Wherein this is worth observing, that by the *Anglige Sapientes* here mentioned, the greater *Wites* or *Noblemen* are understood, and by *Populus*, the Representatives of the inferior People or Commons.

THE next is, that at the end of King *Ethelwolf's* Charter of Tythes, Anno 855. where you will find after the Subscriptions of the Bishops, Earls and other Great Men, or *Thanes*, to this Law, these following Parties are mentioned, *Aliorumque Fidelium infinita Multitudo, qui omnes Regium Chirographum laudaverunt, Dignitates verò sua Nomina subscripserunt*.

FROM whence you may observe, that tho only the Dignified Persons subscribed their Names, yet all the rest of this Multitude had a Right to approve, and give their Consents to what was there transacted: But it cannot be imagined, that this Charter would ever take notice of the Approbation of the meer Rabble without, however they might shew a Joy and Satisfaction at what was there done by their Hollowing and Shouting.

AND this I conceive to be the Reason why these Councils often met in the open Air, when the Weather would permit, because no one Room could easily hold them; as appears by the Conclusion of King *Edgar's* Charter to *Ely Abby*, bearing date at *Wulfamere*, An. Dom. 970. *Apud Wulfamere (says the Record) non clam in angulo, sed sub Dio, palam evidentiſſimè, scientibus totius Regni mei Primatibus*; who were not only

Charter antiq.
in Turri
Lond. B.

only *Primates Regis*, the King's Tenants in *Capite*, but *Primates Regni*, the principal or most considerable Men of the Kingdom.

I could give several more Instances to prove, that our Antient *Witena-Gemotes* consisted of a much greater number than the Doctor's *Tenants in Capite*, which in the time of his Conqueror were not five or six hundred Persons, and might not be half that number in the time of *Edward the Confessor*. But since the rest of my Authorities fall out in the following Period, I shall reserve them to the next succeeding Volume. These are sufficient, I think, to make out that long before the time the Doctor allows, the Commons had their Representatives in the Great Councils by those of their own Order; but whether by Knights, Citizens and Burgesſes, as now at this day, I do not affirm.

BUT to pass from Charters to the Laws themselves, that prove the *English-Saxons Witena Gemotes*, to have then consisted of a great multitude of People, I shall only instance in the famous Charter of *Athelwolf's* concerning Tythes, Anno Dom. 855. which being confirmed into a Law at the Common-Council at *Winchester*, there is both in the Copy of this Charter in *Ingulph*, as also in that in Sir *H. Spelman's* first Volume of Councils, this Conclusion (after the Subscriptions of Arch-bishops, Bishops, Earldormen, and others) in these words, *Aliorumq; Fidelium infinita multitudo, qui omnes Regis Chirographum laudaverunt, Dignitates verò sua nomina subscripserunt*, i. e. there were besides a great multitude of faithful Subjects, who all approved of the Royal Subscriptions; but the Dignities, i. e. the dignified Persons alone subscribed their Names.

NOW I would fain be satisfied from the learned Doctor, or any other who shall next undertake this Controversy, who this *infinita Fidelium multitudo* were, that are here said to have approved of this Charter, unless they were the whole Body of the inferior Nobility, or Freeholders of the Nation, together with the Deputies of Cities and Boroughs, on whose behalf the Dignities are said to have subscribed their Names? since it had been very ridiculous for this Charter to have mentioned the Assent or Approbation of the *Mob*, or meer Vulgar that only looked on at this Assembly, or to have taken particular notice that these had not subscribed their Names, but only the Persons of great Dignity.

I come next to consider in whom the Legislative Power, or that of Enacting and Repealing Laws, did then as well as now consist.

Dr. *Johnston* in his Excellency of Monarchical Government, Chap. 24. and other high Assertors of the Royal Prerogative, think they have done enough to prove, that the Power of enacting Laws resided wholly in the *English-Saxon* Kings; and for this they cite the * Titles or Prefaces to several Laws, wherein the King by the Advice of his Bishops, and *Wites*, or Wise-men, strictly charges and commands such and such "Laws to be observed; and sometimes he does it in his own Person "without mentioning any of them, as may be seen in the Preface to the Laws of King *Cnut*, and other Places.

I shall not dispute the Truth of any of the Authorities these Gentlemen produce, but freely confess that the King, as Head of the Body Politick or Common-weal, is often mentioned, as if he himself made such and such a Law; as we say at this day the Statutes of King *Charles* the First,

* Vid. LLcg.
Regum Inz,
Ælfredi, Æ-
thelstani, Ed-
gari, &c.
Vid. Spelm.
Concil. vol. 1.
fol. 552.

First, or Second, tho every body knows that those Laws were enacted with the Consent and Authority of Parliament.

SO under our *English-Saxon* Kings, tho the King's Authority gave Sanction to the Law, and he might *propter Excellentiam Personæ*, frequently bid and command in his own Person, yet it was still in such a manner as was consistent with the settled and received Constitution of the Kingdom, which I dare maintain hath not been altered in this Point since that time. Some few Authorities of this sort I will here set down, collected out of the same Books these very Gentlemen have made use of, to which I will also add some antient Charters of indisputable Credit.

THE first shall be from the Laws of King *Ina*, which you may see Tom. i. fol. 219. in the Preface to Sir Henry Spelman's Councils, where in a *Mycel Synod* several Ecclesiastical as well as Civil Laws were made to these ends, viz. *ad Concordiam publicam promovendam, per Commune Concilium, & Assensum Episcoporum, Principum, Procerum, Comitum, & omnium Sapientum Seniorum, & Populorum totius Regni.* And as for the Conclusions of * Pag. 193. King *Alfred's* Laws, which * Dr. *Johnston* urges for the King's sole Power in making Laws; they rather make against than for his Opinion, for he there shews us, that this King having commanded his Laws to be written, those that he liked not, he with the Council of his *Wites* rejected, and those he liked, he bad, or commanded to be holden; where I desire the Reader to take notice, that he neither rejected nor commanded these Laws, but *MID MINRA WITENA GETHEAT*, in Saxon, that is, with the Consent of his *Witena*, or Council of *Wise-men*, whose Consent and Approbation was certainly necessary in those Laws, as appears by these very words at their Conclusion, which the Doctor himself hath thus translated out of Saxon; I *Alfred* King of the *West-Saxons*, shewed all these (Laws) to all my *Wites* (i. e. Council of Nobility, or *Wise-Men*) and they said they all liked (or were pleased) they should be holden.

AND that the Saxon word *GETHEAT* signifies somewhat more than bare Counsel or Advice, you may see in the Title to King *Athelstan's* Laws, which is thus, *Hæc sunt Judicia quæ Sapientes Exoniæ, Consilio Adelftani Regis instituerunt, & iterum apud Furesham, & tertiâ vice apud Thundresfeldium, ubi hoc definitum simul & confirmatum est.* Vid. Chronic. Brompt. fol. 848.

HERE you may observe, that the *Sapientes*, the *Wites*, or *Wise-men*, are said to institute or make these Judgments or Laws by the Advice of the King, and not He by theirs.

THIRDLY, I will present you with the Title of King *Ethelred's* Laws, (as you may see in the same Author) and there we meet with these words, *Hoc est Concilium quod Ethelredus Rex, & Sapientes sui condixerunt ad Emendationem & Augmentum Pacis, omni Populo apud Wodestocam in Mercena Landa, id est, in terra Mercenorum.* Brompt. ut supr. col. 893, 894.

FOURTHLY, To another Body of Laws made by the same King *Ethelred*, you will find this Title, *Hæc sunt Leges quas Ethelredus Rex, & Sapientes sui constituerunt apud Venetyngum, ad Emendationem Pacis & Felicitatis Incrementum.* Idem fol. 893.

BY these two last Titles prefix to King *Ethelred's* Decrees, the Reader may please to take notice, that *Concilium* in the first of them does not there signify barely *Advice* or *Counsel*, (tho if it did only do that it

it would make but little to these Gentlemen's purpose) but it must (and can do nothing else here than) intend and mean the Laws and Statutes which were made in this Great Assembly, not by King *Ethelred* alone, but by him and his *Wise-men*: this you find in both of them; for what is called *Concilium* in the former, the latter Title calls *Leges*, and were all enacted by the joint and unanimous Consent of the King and his Great Council.

I shall now proceed to give you a few Instances from antient Charters: And the first is that out of the great Register of *Abingdon* above-cited, which being thus, *Ego Eberht Rex Occidentalium Saxonum cum Licentia & Consensu totius Gentis nostræ, & Unanimitate omnium Optimatum, &c.* Bibl. Cotton. sub Effig. Claud. B. 9. cap. 31.

FROM whence I shall observe, that as antient as the time of King *Egbert*, the whole *English-Saxon* Nation, as well as the chief Men of it, are said to give not only their Consent, but their Licence to this Charter, without which the Authority of the King, and the Unanimity of these chief Men would have signified little.

THE second Charter is that of King *Cnute* to the Abbey of *Briardri-cesworth* (afterwards called *St. Edmundsbury*) now in the Office of the King's Remembrancer of the *Exchequer*, the beginning of which runs thus, * *Ego Cnute Rex totius Albionis Insule, & aliarum Nationum plurimarum, in Cathedra Regali promotus, cum Concilio & Decreto Archiepiscoporum, Episcoporum, Abbatum, Comitum, aliorumque omnium Fidelium elegi sanciens.* * Rot. Cart. 4. E. 3. m. 24. n. 58. + The same Expressions as to the exalting part, as well as all the Parties that gave their Assent, you may also find in K. Edward the Confessor's last Charter to the Abbey of Westminster. vid. Si. Hen. Spelman's 1st vol. of Councils, ad finem.

THIS Charter is the more remarkable, because made by a Prince who came in partly by Force, and therefore one might have thought he would have exerted a more absolute Power in making Laws by his sole Authority; and yet we find him so far from pretending to do that, that he grants this Charter not only by the Consent, but by the Decree of the Arch-bishops, Bishops, Abbots, Earls, and all his other faithful Subjects; which word (in the Latin, *Fideles*) tho Dr. *Brady* understands it only of Military Tenants in *Capite*, yet I doubt not but it is there to be taken in a much larger sense, and must comprehend all the lesser *Thanes*, or Freeholders above-mentioned, as also the Deputies or Representatives of Cities and Towns: of which *Fideles* Sir Henry Spelman understands *omnes qui in Principis alicujus ditione sunt, vulgè subjecti: Hi sunt qui in Historiis dicuntur Fideles Regis.* And also in the same sense it is to be understood in the Oath of Fidelity taken antiently in the Court-Leets, as the same Author shews us, *Tu Spelm. Gloss. f. 225. col. 1. J. S. jurabis quod ab ista die in antea, eris Fidelis & Legalis Domino nostro Regi, & suis Heredibus; & Fidelitatem & Legalitatem ei portabis de vita & membro, & de Terreno honore, & quod tu eorum Malum aut Damnum nec noveris, nec audieris, quod non defendes (id est, prohibes) pro posse tuo, &c.*

AND tho I grant this word (*Fideles*) is after the Conquest frequently used for a Military Tenant or Vassal, yet does it likewise even then often extend further than to Tenants in *Capite* only, as I am able to prove from the very Authorities he gives us in his own Glossary, under the Title *Fideles*, were it now worth while to dispute that Point. But in the mean time it lies upon him to make out, that the *Fidelium Multitudo* mentioned in King *Athelwolf's* Charter above-cited, and the *Omnium*

nium Fidelium in these, were no other than his Tenants in Capite, which when ever he does, (to make use of his own Phrase) *Erit mihi Magnus Apollo*.

I could also give you some Instances to the same Effect out of the Saxon Annals under the Years 994, and 1002. in both which it is said expressly, *THA GAREDDE SE KING AND HIS WITAN*; that is, it was Decreed by the King and his Wives or Wisemen, to make Peace with the Danes, and to raise a Tax for that end.

SO that to conclude, I think this Dispute about the King's Authority in making of Laws, may easily be reconciled to that which the two Houses of Parliament now exercise, that is, the King makes the Laws, yet by and with the Assent of the Lords and Commons, as is declared in the Year-Book of Edward the Third. And if such their Assent be absolutely necessary, can any Man in reason deny their Authority to be Essential in the making of these Laws?

AND therefore Bracton understood well enough what he wrote, when he tells us, *Cum Legis Vigorem habeat Quicquid de Consilio & Consensu Magnatum, & Reipublice Communi Sponsione, Autoritate Principis precedente, justè fuerit Definitum & Approbatum*; i. e. "That whatsoever hath been rightly decreed and approved of by the Advice and Consent of the Chief Men, and the General Agreement of the Common-Wealth, the Prince's Authority preceding, carries thenceforth the Force of a Law.

WHEREBY it appears that in this Great Man's Time, the King gave his Consent to Laws first, by ordering them to be drawn up by his Council, and proposed to the Parliament when they met; and that it was in their Power either to accept or refuse them, as we see it is in Charters and Acts of Pardon at this Day, when they are Passed and Confirmed by both Houses; and for this see the Preface to the Statute of Westminster the Third.

AS for the Judicial Power of this *Witena-Gemote*, in Banishing great and notorious Offenders against the King and Kingdom, whose Crimes were either not directly Treason according to the strict Letter of the Law, or else their Persons being too great for any other less Court of Judicature; you may find divers Examples in our Annals and Histories, viz. under the Years 1048, 1052, 1055. But I do not find any great Lord or Nobleman condemned to Death, or attainted by Authority of this Council, till long after the Conquest.

HAVING now shewn the Antient Authority of the Estates of the Kingdom to have been always necessary and concurrent, (I do not say co-ordinate) with that of the King, and also what other Powers they constantly then used; in the next Place I come to observe the near Connection and Union of both Church and State in their *Mycel-Synods* or *Witena-Gemotes*; which lets us see what kind of Supremacy our English-Saxon Kings then exercised in Church Matters, as also who they were that at that Time made Ecclesiastical as well as Civil Laws: and I shall give it you in the Words of a very Learned Lawyer lately deceased, I mean, Mr. Joseph Walsington, since I own I am not able to mend what hath been wrote by so excellent a Pen: his words are these.

IN the second Place, (for in the precedent Pages he had given some Instances before the entry of the Saxons, (which being not to my present

present Design I omit) "to make appear in some Measure how the Law stood in those Times with respect to the King's Supremacy;") "I will exhibit (says he) a very few Instances of the Saxon Times, during the Heptarchy. The Reader may consult many more at his Leisure.

"NO marvel if we find this People submitting to nothing in Religion, but what was ordained by themselves; *De Majoribus Omnes*, Tacit. de Morib. German. Cap. 11. "was one of their Fundamental Constitutions before they came hither, and it is continued here to this Day. And Matters of Religion were amongst their Majora, even before they received Christianity.

"ACCORDINGLY Edwin King of Northumberland, *habito cum Sapientibus Consilio*, renounced his Paganism, and he and they embraced the Christian Faith. This is described in Bede and Huntington, to Vid. Bede Eccl. Hist. l. 2. c. 13. Hunting. l. 3. f. 188. "have been done in such an Assembly of Men, as the Parliaments of those Days are generally mentioned to consist of.

"AFTER the Christian Religion had spread among the Saxons, the Bishops and Clergy frequently held Synods without the Laity for Church-Visitation, and made Constitutions for the Regulation of the Clergy, which they obeyed and submitted to by reason of their Oath of Canonical Obedience: but as nothing transacted in those Assemblies of the Clergy bound the People, so can no Instance be produced of the Clergy's being bound by any Act of the King, not assented to in the Provincial Synods of those Times.

THESE Synods may easily be distinguished from our *Mycel-Synods* or *Witena-Gemotes*, not only by the Matters transacted in them, but by the Persons that therein presided, and subscribed them, viz. the Pope's Legate, or else the Arch-Bishop of Canterbury or York, and the Bishops, Abbots, &c. without the Names of any Temporal Persons present thereat, when they were meer Ecclesiastical Synods; but if they were mixt as well for Temporal as Ecclesiastical Matters, both the King and Arch-Bishop are said to preside, otherwise the King alone: and before the Union of the Heptarchy into one Kingdom, these Synods were commonly held in the Dominions of that King who was then most Powerful, so that the lesser or weaker Princes were fain to appear therein in Person, or by their Deputies; but if they did not appear there, nor yet send any Deputies, those Councils were looked upon as to all Temporal and Ecclesiastical Matters, no other than particular Synods, or Councils of those Kingdoms wherein they were held, or whose Kings consented to them; for which I could give you several Instances were it not to avoid being tedious; but for this I refer the Reader to the first Volume of Sir H. Spelman, as also to divers Charters in *Monast. Anglican.* and *Inguif*; some of which are taken notice of in this Introduction, and the following History. This I thought fit to superadd, the better to explain what our Learned Author hath said upon this Point.

BUT notwithstanding he there further observes, "That the Clergy themselves, both as to Doctrine, Discipline, and Ceremonies, were bound by the Publick Laws of the Kingdom, enacted in the Great Councils of the Nation; concerning which he gives us these ensuing Instances.

"IN the Year 673. *Concilium Herudfordiæ celebratum est sub initio primi Anni Lotharii Regis Cantia, presidente Theodoro Cantuariæ Archiepiscopo*. At this Council (says Matthew Westminster) were present

Mat. Westm. fol. 122, 123.

" present *Episcopi Anglie, & Reges, & Magnates Universi*: where Theodore proposed *decem Capitula*, out of a Book of Canons before them all, which were there assented to, and subscribed. The first was concerning the Observation of *Easter*; the ninth, that the Number of Bishops should be increased, *crecente Fidelium numero*. The rest were concerning Bishops, Bishopricks, Monks, Marriage, Fornication, &c.

Spelm. Concil.
Vol. i. pag.
152, 153.

" THE Presence of the Bishops and all the Magnates, makes this Assembly appear to have been a Parliament of those Times. What Orders of Men were comprehended under the word Magnates, is not material to our present purpose. The Great Councils that made the Laws, and without whom no Laws were made, are frequently so described by our Ancient Historians.

BUT without all peradventure these Magnates were Laymen, and that is enough for my Point.

THEN the same Author goes on in these words, " In the Year 692. Ina King of the West-Saxons, enacted many Constitutions for the Government of the Church, as *De Formula vivendi Ministrorum Dei. De baptizandis Infantibus. De Opere in die Dominico. De Immanitate Fani, &c.* The Preface to which Law runs thus, *Ego Inas Dei beneficio Occiduum Saxonum Rex, suasu & Instituto Cenredi Patris mei, & Hedda & Erkenwaldi Episcoporum meorum, Omnium Senatorum meorum, & natu Majorum Sapientum Populi mei, in magna Servorum Dei frequentia, religiose studebam tunc animorum nostrorum saluti, tunc communi Regni nostri conservationi, ut legitima nuptiarum fœdera, &c.* Here the King, his Bishops, all his Senators, the *Natu majores & Sapientes* of his People, (which are Descriptions of the Laity in the Parliaments of those Times) and a great Number of God's Servants, (by which the Clergy are meant) make Ecclesiastical Laws. This was a Parliament, as appears not only by the Presence of the Laity, but by many Temporal Laws enacted at the same Time.

Ibid. fol. 182,
183, &c.

" IN the Year 694. *Concilium Magnum* Beanceldæ celebratum est, presidente Withredo Rege Cantia, nec non Bertualdo Archiepiscopo Britannia, cum Tobia Episcopo Rossensi, Abbatibus, Abbatissis, Presbyteris, Diaconibus, Ducibus, Satrapis, &c. All these pariter tractabant, anxie examinabant de statu Ecclesiarum Dei, &c. Here the King's Legislative Power in Ecclesiastical Matters exerted it self, not Personally, but in this Great Council. They do all Enact, *Statuimus, decernimus, precipimus*. For when the King himself is spoken of, the singular Number is used, *Nullus unquam habeat Licentiam accipere alicujus Ecclesie vel Familie Monasterii Dominium, quæ a meipso vel Antecessoribus meis, &c.*

Ibid. p. 185,
187.

" A Council was held at Berghamstede, Anno quinto Withredi Regis Cantia, i.e. Anno Christi 697. Sub Bertualdo Archiepiscopo Cantuariensi, presentibus Gysmundo Episcopo Rossensi, & omnibus Ordinibus Gentis illius, cum Viris quibusdam militaribus. In quo de moribus cavetur ad Ecclesie cognitionem plerumque pertinentibus. These Ordines Gentis illius, seem by the Preface to these Laws, to be meant of the Ordines Ecclesiastici Gentis illius; but withal, that they cum viris utique militaribus humanissime & Communi Omnium Assensu has Leges creverere. So that these Ecclesiastical Laws were enacted by the Assent of the Viri Militares, as well as of the King and the Clergy.

Ibid. p. 194.

" A

" A Council was held at Cloveshoe, sub Cuthberto Dorobernia Archiepiscopo, presentibus (prater Episcopos, Sacerdotes & Ecclesiasticos quamplurimos) Adelbaldo Merciorum Rege cum suis Principibus & Ducibus, Anno Dom. 747. In quo decrebatur de unitate Ecclesie, de statu Christiane Religionis, & de Concordia & Pace, &c.

Spelm. Concil.
P. 242, &c.

" In the Year 787. *Concilium Legatinum & Pananglicum* was held at Calcuith, in which many Canons were made de fide primitus suscepta retinenda, aliisque ad Ecclesie regimen pertinentibus. This Council was held coram Rege Alfwaldo, & Archiepiscopo Eanbaldo, & omnibus Episcopis & Abbatibus Regionis, seu Senatoribus & Ducibus, & Populo Terra. After these Ecclesiastical Laws had been thus enacted by Alfwald King of Northumberland, the Legats carried them into the Council or Parliament of the Mercians, where the glorious King Offa, cum Senatoribus Terræ, una cum, &c. convenerat. There they were read in Latin and Teutonic, that all might understand, and all promised to observe them; and the King and his Princes, the Arch-bishop and his Companions, signed them with the sign of the Cross.

Spelm. Concil.
vol. i. f. 291,
292, &c.

" MANY Instances of this kind might have been added, as particularly that of the Council at Hatfield, Anno 680, wherein the Canons of five General Councils were received, which was a Witenagemot, a *Conventus Sapientum*; but I spare time, and am endeavouring only to open a Door.

" BY these Instances it is apparent, that the same Body of Men that enacted the Temporal Laws of the Kingdom did in the very same Councils make Laws for the Government of the Church. Indeed, the whole Fabrick of the English-Saxon Church was built upon Acts of Parliament; nothing in which the whole Community was concern'd, was enacted, decreed, or established, but by that Authority. For who so reads impartially the Histories of those Times, and compares them with one another, will find, that as most of those ancient Councils, commonly so called, were no other than (to speak in our Modern Language) Parliaments; so not any thing whatsoever in Religion, obligatory to the People, whether in Matters of Faith, Discipline, Ceremonies, or any Religious Observances, was imposed, but in such Assemblies as no Man can deny to have been Parliaments of those times, that has not a Fore-head of Brass. For the Presence not of the Kings only, but of the Dukes, Principes, Satrapæ, Populus Terræ, &c. shews sufficiently, that neither the Kings and the Clergy, without the concurrent Authority of the same Persons that enacted Temporal Laws, could prescribe General Laws in Matters of Religion. I do not dispute what Orders of Men among the Saxons were described by Dukes, Principes, &c. but sure I am, that they were Laymen, and as sure, that they assented to, and confirmed those Laws, without whose Assent they were no Laws: so that the Kings of those Times had no greater Legislative Power in Ecclesiastical Matters than in Temporal.

" THE tearing the Ecclesiastical Power from the Temporal, was the great Root of the Papacy: It was that mounted it to this height; those Powers never were distinct in England, nor most other Nations, till that See got the Ascendant. And it is a strange Inconsistency to argue one while, that whatever the Pope de facto, formerly did by the Canon Law, that of Right belongs to our Kings; and another while, " that

" that the several Acts that restore the *Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction to the Crown*, are but *declarative*. It shews how little the *Supremacy* is understood by Modern Assertors of it, and how little they are acquainted with the Antient Government of *England*.

" THE third Period of Time to be considered, shall be from the uniting of the several Kingdoms of the *Saxons* under one Monarchy to the *Norman Conquest*.

" IN this Division we find a Letter from Pope *Formosus* to King *Edward the Elder*, wherein the Pope complains, that the Country of the *West-Saxons* had wanted *Bishops* for seven whole Years: Upon the Receipt of this Letter, the King calls *Synodum Senatorum Gentis Anglorum*, who being assembled, *singulis tribus Gewisiorum* (i. e. *West-Saxonum*) *singulos constituerunt Episcopos, & quod olim duo habuerunt, in quinque divisèrunt*.

Spelm. Concil.
387, 388.

" THE *Ecclesiastical Laws* of King *Edward the Elder*, and *Guthrum the Dane*, begin with this *Premium*: *Hæc sunt Senatus-consulta ac Instituta, quæ primò Aluredus & Guthrunus Reges, deinde Edwardus & Guthrunus Reges, illis ipsis temporibus tulere, cum pacis sedus Daci & Angli ferierunt. Quæque postea à sapientibus (Tha Witan) sapiùs recitata atq; ad Communem Regni utilitatem aucta atq; amplificata sunt*. The Titles of some of these Laws are, *De Apostatis, De Correctione Ordinariorum*, (i. e.) *Sacris Initiatorum, De Incestu, De Jeuniis, &c.* all of *Ecclesiastical Cognizance*, or at least of after-times so reputed. These are called *Senatus-consulta*, than which a more apposite word could scarce have been used for Acts of Parliament, and were assented to by the *Witen*; from which word the *Saxon Term* for Parliaments, *Witena-Gemot*, is derived.

Spelm. Concil.
390, &c.

" A *Concilium celebre* was held under King *Athelstan*, in quo *Leges plurimæ, tum Civiles, tum Ecclesiasticæ, statuebantur*. It's true, the Civil Laws are omitted, and Sir *Henry Spelman* gives us an Account only of the *Ecclesiastical Laws* made at this Assembly, which conclude, *Decreta, Actaq; hæc sunt in celebri Gratanleano Concilio, cui Wulfelmus interfuit Archiepiscopus, & cum eo Optimates & Sapientes ab Athelstano evocati frequentissimi*.

Spelm. Concil.
396, &c.

" KING *Edmund* held a Council *Anno 944*. where many *Ecclesiastical* as well as *Secular Laws* were made, as *De Vita castitate eorum qui sacris initiantur; De Fani instauratione; De pejerantibus; De iis qui barbara facitarent Sacrificia, &c.* And this Council is expressed to have been *Conventus tam Ecclesiasticorum, quam Laicorum; celebris tam Ecclesiasticorum, quam Laicorum frequentia*.

Spelm. Concil.
fol. 419, &c.

" I will give no more Instances before the Conquest, tho numbers are to be had which lie scattered up and down in the *Monkish Histories*, which being compared with one another, will sufficiently disclose what I assert. For sometimes *Laws* that concert *Temporal Affairs*, as well as *Ecclesiastical*, are said to have been made by such a *King* in one Author, which very *Laws* another *Historian* tells us were made in the *Great Council*, for which yet they have no uniform, appropriated Expression, Term, or Denomination: Just as we in common Par- lance say, King *Edward the Third*, or King *Henry the Seventh* made such a Law, which yet every Man understands to have been made in Parliament, because else it were not a Law.

SO far have I made bold with the words of this Learned Gentleman: I shall now, by way of Confirmation to what he hath said, observe, from Mr. *Lambard's* Edition of his *English-Saxon Laws* (which was a different Copy from that, from whence Sir *Henry Spelman* published his Councils) that our *Saxon Laws* both *Ecclesiastical* and *Civil*, were made by one and the same Authority, as appears by the Preface to the Laws of King *Edmund*, which we find runs thus, *Edmundus Rex ipso solemnî Paschatis Festo, frequentem Londini tam Ecclesiasticorum quam Laicorum Cætum celebravit, &c.* So likewise in the Laws of King *Edgar*, the Preface of which is thus, *Leges quas Edgarus Rex frequenti Senatu, ad Dei Gloriam, & Reipublicæ utilitatem, sancivit*. In the *Saxon Original* thus, *MID HIS WITENA GEHEAHTE GERÆD*, that is, with the Council of his Wife-men he established. The Laws of King *Cnut* likewise begin thus, *Consultum quod Canutus Anglorum, Dacorum, & Norwegiorum Rex, ex Sapientium Concilio sancivit*. (Note, the words in the *Saxon* are the same as above.)

Id. fol. 62.

Id. fol. 97.

I could illustrate this further by several more Instances out of the same Volume, were I not afraid of having already trespassed too much upon you; only I desire you would please to take notice, that in each Body of these above-mentioned Laws, the *Ecclesiastical* precede, and then the *Civil* or *Temporal* follow, tho being both made at the same time, in the same Council, and by the joint Authority of the same Parties.

BUT now to add one thing more from the said Author, Mr. *Walshington*, which is, "That *Bishopricks* and other *Ecclesiastical Dignities* were in the *Saxon Times* (commonly) conferred in Parliament; we have the Testimony of *Ingulphus*, who was Abbot of *Crowland* in King *William* the Conqueror's Reign; à multis annis retroactis nulla erat Electio Prælatorum merè libera & Canonica: sed omnes Dignitates tam Episcoporum, quam Abbatum, Regis Curia pro sua complacentiâ conferabat: that is, says he, that for many Years past, there was no Election of Prelates absolutely free and Canonical: But all Dignities both of Bishops and Abbots, were conferred by the King's Court (i. e. the Great Council of the Kingdom, as I shall prove by and by) according to their good Pleasure.

AFTER which, the Person so elected, being first consecrated, the King invested him with the *Temporalities*, per traditionem *Baculi & Annuli*, as you will find in the same Author.

AND that this Custom was very antient will appear by the Election of *Wilfrid* to be Bishop of *Hagulstade*, *Anno 666*. for *Stephen Heddi* expressly tells us in his Life, *Reges deinde Concilium cum sapientibus sue Gentis post spatium inierunt, quem eligerent in sedem vacantem, &c. Responderunt Omnes uno Consensu, Neminem habemus meliorem & digniorem nostræ Gentis, quam Wilfridum Presbyterum & Abbatem*. Then the two Kings (i. e. of *Northumberland*) after some time held a Council with the Wife-men of their own Nation, to consider whom they should choose to fill up the vacant See, &c. and they all unanimously answered, We have none fitter nor more worthy in our Nation, than *Wilfrid* the Presbyter and Abbot; and thereupon being presently elected, he was consecrated Bishop.

THE next Authority of much what the same time you may find in an antient Manuscript-Life of *St. Erkenwald* in the *Cottonian Library*, *Claudius A. 5.* where are these words, *Contigit autem Episcopus Londonicæ sedis, Cedda*

e e migravit

Lamb. Archæologia, f. 57. & dein.

In vitâ Wilfridi, cap. 11. edit. per Rev. Dom. Dr. Gale fol. 46.

migravit ad Dominum, consensu verò Sebbæ Regis, & vocabulo univærsæ plebis, vir Domini Erkenwaldus in Cathedrâ Pontificali sublimatus est, i. e. but it happened, that Cedda Bishop of London deceasing, Erkenwald, that holy Man, by the Consent of King Sebbæ, and the Nomination of all the People, was promoted to the Episcopal Throne.

BUT long after this, as a Nameless Author of the Manuscript-Life of St. Dunstan informs us, he was made Bishop after this manner, viz. *Postea, Anno 958. factus est magnus sapientum Convventus, in loco, qui vocatur Bradanforde, & eo omnium ex electione ordinatus est Dunstanus ad Episcopum Wigornensem.* To wit, that afterwards, scilicet, in the Year 958. a Great Council of the Wise-men of the Kingdom, was held at Bradanforde, and there by the Election of them all Dunstan was advanced to be Bishop of Worcester, &c. and then the King finding how well he discharged that Trust, the same Author tells us, that he committed to him the Church of London, then void by the Death of its Pastor, or Bishop.

THIS Nomination of the King's must be understood in the same sense with that which went before, as well as with what immediately follows, viz. that Brihtelm, Arch-bishop of Canterbury, being deprived, a little after he retired to his Monastery, and then Rex, scilicet, Edgarus, ex Divino respectu, & Sapientum Consilio, constituit Dunstanum ad summam prædictæ Ecclesiæ Sacerdotem; King Edgar, both from a Divine respect, and from the Counsel of his Wise-men, constituted Dunstan chief Bishop of that Church.

THE next Example we have, is that of St. Wulfstan, Bishop of Worcester, who (as it is related by a Monk of that Church in his Manuscript-Life of that Saint, about Anno 1170.) being sent for on purpose to be made a Bishop, he gives us the manner of his being elected thus, *Sanctus ergo ad Curiam exhibitus, jubetur suscipere Donum Episcopatus; contra ille niti, & se tanto honori imparem (cunctis reclamantibus) clamitare, adeo concors populus in unam venerat sententiam, ut non peccaret qui diceret in tot corporibus in hoc duntaxat negotio unam conflatam esse Animam.* This holy Man being called before the Great Council, (for so Curia in this place is certainly to be understood) he was commanded to accept the Gift of a Bishoprick; but he endeavoured all he could to wave the Acceptance of it, alledging, that he was altogether unfit for so great an Honour; but the whole Assembly not admitting his Excuse, they all unanimously came to this Resolution, that one should not have told a Lie who had said in this particular Affair, that one Soul had animated so many Bodies.

SO that it was not without very good Cause, that Matthew Paris tells us concerning this Bishop's Election, there concurred *Plebis Petitiò, Voluntas Episcoporum, Gratia Procerum, Regis Autoritas.*

HAVING thus given you so many good Authorities from antient Manuscripts and approved Historians of the Power of those Great Councils in the Election of Bishops, I shall only add a few more from our Saxon Annals.

THE first is under Anno 970, which relates, that then Oskytel, Arch-bishop of York deceased, who had been by the Consent of King Edward the Martyr, and all his Wise-men, consecrated Arch-bishop of that See.

THE next is under Anno 994. and there we read, that Sigeric the Arch-bishop deceasing, Ælfric Bishop of Winchester was elected in his

Bibl. Cotton.
Viceilius D. 17.

Mat. Paris.
fol. 20.

room on Easter-day at Ambresbury, by King Æthelred, and all his Wise-men; from whence it appears, that not only the King, but the Great Council of the Kingdom had a share in this Election.

I could give you also several Instances in the said Annals of divers Abbots elected in the same Assemblies to the greater Monasteries; but I hope what I have done already is sufficient to my present Purpose, and therefore shall leave it to the Reader's Judgment to consider, whether, when these Annals and Historians inform us, that Rex constituit such and such a Man to be Bishop or Arch-Bishop of such or such a See, it is not to be understood in the same Sense as we have already observed from Mr. Washington's said Treatise; that when this or that King is said to have made such or such a Law, it is still to be understood as made in Parliament?

I shall now say somewhat of the same Great Council's Power in the Deprivation of Bishops, of which I shall not trouble you with many, but they shall be such Examples as are of undeniable Authority.

THE first is from Osbern in his Life of Arch-Bishop Dunstan, lately printed in the first Volume of Anglia Sacra, concerning the Deprivation of Arch-Bishop Brihtelme abovementioned in these words, *Bryhtelmus post paucos suscepti Pontificatus dies, cogitans quod ad tantam rem minus esset Idoneus, jussus à Rege & Omni populo discedere, discessit, atq; ad relictam nuper Ecclesiam non sine Verecundia rediit, i. e.* "Bryhtelme within a few Days after he had received his Bishoprick, not thinking with himself that he was fit for so great a Charge, being commanded by the King and all the People to quit it, departed, and returned to the Church he had lately left, though not without Shame.

BUT that John of Wallingford was very well satisfied, that this Arch-Bishop was deprived by the Lay, as well as Spiritual part of the Great Council, appears by his Chronicle, where having set forth his unfitness by reason of his too great Easiness and Softness of Temper, he proceeds thus, *Rex Edgarus eadem via quâ ascenderat, fecit eum descendere; nam Concione super hoc eodem facta, objecit Bryhtelmo plura Capitula, nimiam ipsius remissionem morum argumenta, & conditione & Assensu Baronum suorum ad curam Solius Dorcastriæ Ecclesiæ relabi fecit,* that is, "King Edgar made him to go down the same way he got up; for a Council being called for this very Matter, he objected several Articles against this Bryhtelme, shewing his too great Easiness and Remissness in Discipline; and thereupon by the Appointment and Assent of his Barons, he caused him to retire to the Cure of his former Church of Dorchester. By which it is evident, that this Author (living in the Reign of Henry the Third) was very well satisfied that the Temporal as well as the Spiritual Barons, were concerned in this Deprivation.

I was likewise from the Authority of the Saxon Annals, as also of William of Malmesbury, about to have here also added the Deprivation of one Siward, who is reported by the Annals, An. 1043. "to have been privately Consecrated to the See of Canterbury, with the King's good liking, by Arch-bishop Eadfige, and who then laid down that Charge: and of which Siward, William of Malmesbury farther tells us, that he was afterwards deprived for his Ingratitude to Arch-Bishop Eadfige, in denying him necessary Maintenance: but since there is no such Person as this Siward in the Catalogues of the Arch-bishops of Canterbury,

Lib. 1. de Pont.

Vid. Ang. Sa-
cra, Vol. 1.
Pag. 107.

Canterbury, and that upon a more nice Examination, I find in the Learned Mr. Wharton's Treatise, *De Successione Archiepis. Cantuar.* that this *Sivard* (who was also Abbot of *Abingdon*) was never Consecrated Arch-Bishop, but only *Chorepiscopus*, or Substitute to Arch-bishop *Eadsige*; who was then unable to perform his Function by reason of his Infirmities: which upon a review of this Passage in *William of Malmesbury*, I find also confirmed by him, in calling him no more than *Successor Designatus*, and who being put by for his Ingratitude, was preferred no higher than to be Bishop of *Rocheſter*; but this is denied by the abovesaid Mr. Wharton, who says expressly, that this *Sivard* Abbot of *Abingdon*, and Substitute to the Arch-bishop, was never Bishop of that See, but died at *Abingdon* of a long Sickness before Arch-Bishop *Eadsige*. So much I thought fit to let the Reader know, because in this History under *Anno 1043*, being deceived by the express words of the *Annals*, I have there made this *Sivard* to have been Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*, and deprived for his Ingratitude to his Predecessor, which I am (upon better Consideration) now convinced to have been a Mistake.

I shall conclude with our *Saxon Annals*, which under the Year 1052. relate, that Earl *Godwin* having in a Great Council held at *London*, purged himself and his Sons of the Crimes laid to their Charge; and being thereupon restored, Arch Bishop *Robert* the *Norman*, his Enemy; (having just before fled away into his own Country) was not only by a Decree of this Council banished, but also deprived of his Arch-bishoprick; and *Stigand* then was advanced to that See in his stead, which certainly was done by the same Authority as deprived the former: and if so, then I think none can deny but that Power might also have deprived any other inferior Bishop; and yet we do no where find there was any Schism in *England* among the Clergy at that Time, because these two Primates of the Church had been deprived without their own Consent, by the Lay, as well as Spiritual part of the Great Council.

HAVING now finished all I had to say concerning the Power of the King, and the *Witena-Gemote* in Ecclesiastical Matters, I would not be thought to assert that they have the like Authorities in Matters of *meer Spiritual Cognizance*, since I am very well satisfied of the Primitive Institution of the Episcopal Order, from the first Preaching of Christianity in the Time of the *Romans*, to the Restoration of it in this Island upon the Conversion of the *Saxons*; which is not liable to be abrogated by any Temporal Power, and which has been continued among the *Britains* or *Welsh*, without any Interruption from thence, even to our own Times.

BUT as for the Ecclesiastical Power, it was at first settled under the two Arch-bishops of *Canterbury* and *York*, who had then no Jurisdiction or Preheminence the one over the other; the former being Primate of the Southern, as the latter was of the Northern parts of *England*: only I cannot but observe, that the Church of *St. Martin's* without the City of *Canterbury*, was (till after the Conquest) the See of a Bishop, called in Latin *Core Episcopus*, "who (always remaining in the Country) supplied the Absence of the Metropolitan, that for the most part followed the Court; and that as well in governing the Monks, as in performing

Vid. Lambard's Perambulation of Kent, Pag. 34c.

"performing the Solemnities of the Church, and in exercising the Authority of an Arch-Deacon;

AND no doubt had also the Episcopal Powers of Ordination and Confirmation, or else he could have been no Bishop. I observe this to let you see, that the *English* were not then so strictly tied up as not to allow of more than one Bishop in one City.

BUT since I have chiefly designed to speak of Civil Affairs, I shall not here meddle with the Ecclesiastical Authority of the Bishops or their Courts, or the Officers belonging to them, but will leave them to those to whose Province it does more peculiarly appertain.

HAVING thus dispatched what I had to say concerning the Synods and Great Councils of the Kingdom in the *Saxon* Times, I shall in the next Place treat of the *English* Laws before the Conquest; and they *Of the English* of two kinds, *viz.* either the particular Customs or Laws of the *English* several divisions of the Kingdom in which those Customs were in use; *before the Conquest.* or else such Additions to, or Emendations of them, as were made from time to time by the Great Council of the whole Kingdom, concerning the Punishment of Crimes, the manner of holding Men to their good Behaviour, or relating to the Alteration of Property either in Lands or Goods; with divers other particulars, for which I refer you to the Laws themselves, as I have extracted them from Sir *Henry Spelman* and Mr. *Lambard*, their Learned Collections: and some concerning each of these particulars, I have given you in the following Work.

BUT to shew you in the first place the Original of the *Saxon Customs* *The Original of the Saxon Customary Laws.* that settled themselves in this Island before the *Heptarchy* was reduced into one Kingdom; but indeed after the *Danes* had settled themselves here in *England*, we find they were divided into these three sorts of Laws, in the beginning of *Edward the Confessor's* Reign, according to the several parts of the Kingdom wherein they prevailed; as,

1. *MERCEN-LAGE*, or the *Mercian Law*, which took place in *Merchen-Salop* and *Stafford*.

2. *WEST-Saxon-Lage*, or the Law of the *West-Saxons*, which was in use in the Counties of *Kent*, *Sussex*, *Surrey*, *Berks*, *Southampton*, *Saxon-Somerset*, *Dorset*, *Devon* and *Cornwal*; I mean that part of it which *spoke English*, the rest being governed by their own (*i. e.*) the *British* Laws.

3. *DANE-Lage*, or the Laws which the *Danes* introduced here into those Counties where they chiefly fixed, *viz.* in those of *York*, *Derby*, *Lage*, *Nottingham*, *Leicester*, *Lincoln*, *Northampton*, *Bucks*, *Hertford*, *Essex*, *Middlesex*, *Suffolk* and *Cambridg*.

BUT as for *Cumberland*, *Northumberland*, and *Westmoreland*, I suppose they are omitted in this Catalogue, because in the Times not long before the Conquest, the first was under the Power of the *Scots*, and consequently under their Laws, as the two latter were under that of their own Earls, who ruled those Counties as *Feudatary* Princes under the Kings of *England*; tho thus much is certain, that the *Danish* Laws took Place there as well as in *Yorkshire*.

BUT after King *Edward the Confessor* came to the Crown, he reduced the whole Kingdom under one General; for thus says *Ranulph Higden*,

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as he is cited by Sir Henry Spelman in his Glossary, *Tit. Lex. Ex tribus his Legibus, Sanctus Edwardus unam Legem Communem edidit, quas Leges Sancti Edwardi usque hodie vocant.* Brompton says the like, *Iste Supradictus Rex Sanct. Ed. Conf. dictus est Edwardus Tertius, qui Leges Communes Anglorum Genti tempore suo ordinavit; quia proante Leges nimis partiales edita fuerant.* But Roger Hoveden carries them up higher in his History of Henry the Second, for he says, *Quod iste Leges primum inventa & instituta erant tempore Edgari Aui sui; sed postquam Edwardus venit ad Regnum, Consilio Baronum Angliæ, Legem per 48. Annos sopitam excitavit, excitatam reparavit, reparatam decoravit, decoratam confirmavit; confirmata vero vocata est Lex Edwardi Regis, non quia ipse invenisset eam prius, sed cum prætermissa fuerat, & Oblivioni penitus data & Diebus Aui sui Edgari, qui primus Inventor ejus fuisse dicitur usq; ad sua tempora, quia iusta & honesta erant, & profundo Abyssu extraxit, & eam revocavit, & ut suam observandam tradidit.* But the true Reason why it is called the Common Law, is, because it is the Common or Municipal Law of this Kingdom; so that *Lex Communis*, or *Jus Patrie*, is all one with *Lex Patriæ*, or *Jus Patrium*: and it is also called the Common Law in other Countries, as *Lex Communis* Norica, Burgundica, Lombardica, &c. And from this latter they were so called by William the First, in his Confirmation of them.

HAVING now given you the Original of our Laws in General, we will next proceed to shew you what they were in particular, as far as they concern those two great Branches of all Municipal Laws, viz. the Civil or the Criminal: The former of which concerns Lands and Goods, and the latter the Nature and Punishments of Criminal Offences.

TO begin with the former as far as it concerns Lands, I shall satisfy my self with what Dr. Brady hath with great Industry and Exactness extracted in the first part of his *Compleat History of England*, out of those Learned Authors you will find there cited in the Margin, which is as follows.

The Civil Laws.

Dr. Brady's Compleat Hist. Fol. 66, 67.

Gavelkind, Fol. 11.

[1.] K. Edw. Sen. cap. 11.

[2.] Gloss. in verbo Terræ ex Scripto.

Bocland and Folkland, what?

[3.] Spelm. Concil. Fol.

319. An. 800.

Concil. Clovesho. C. 2, 36.

[4.] Somner. ut sup. pag. 12, 13.

[5.] LL. Auri.

Cap. 37.

Bocland and Allodium.

" Mr. Somner says, there were but two sorts of Tenures here in the Saxon times before the Conquest; [1.] *Bocland* and *Folkland*, to which two all other sorts of Land might be reduced. *Bocland*, as [2.] *Lambard* says, was Free and Hereditary, and was a Possession by Writing, the other without. That by Writing was possessed by the Free or Nobler sort; that without, called *Folkland*, was holden by paying Annual Rent, or performance of Services, and was possessed by the Rural People, *Rusticks*, *Colons* or *Clowns*; in those Times these Writings [3.] were called in Latin, *Libelli Terrarum*, *Landbooc's* and *Telligraphia*, and Livery and Seizin was then made and given, by [4.] delivery of a Turf taken from the Land with the Writings: This was called *Terra Testamentalis*, & *hereditaria*, *Land Inheritable*, and devifable by Will, unless the first Purchaser or Acquirer, by Writing or Witness, had prohibited it; and then it could not be fold or disposed of from the [5.] nearest *Kindred*. This *Bocland* was of the same Nature with *Allodium* in *Doomsday*, holden without any Payments, nor chargeable with Services to any Lord or Seignory; and though the Name was almost quite lost, yet the thing remained under the Name of *Allodium*, and the Lands possessed by the *Allodiaris* frequently mentioned in *Doomsday*.

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I have been the more exact in putting down this Passage, because it plainly proves, from the learned Doctor's own shewing, that if the greatest part of the Lands before the Conquest, held by Men of any Quality, were *Bocland*, and that this *Bocland* was the same (as he Compl. Hist. Pag. 66, 67: grants) with Lands held in *Allodio*; (and I have already proved that such Lands were held without any Payments or Services, other than such publick Taxes as were imposed by the Great Council of the Kingdom, that is, *Danegelt*, with such other Duties as all Lands whatsoever were liable to :) then is it also as evident that these Lands, which were far the greatest part of the Lands in the Kingdom, were not held by Knight's Service, and consequently their Owners could not be Tenants in *Capite*, as this Author is pleased in other Places to suppose; and therefore these Tenants in *Allodio* could never be so represented by such Military Persons, as that they alone could either make Laws for them, or lay Taxes on their Estates, without their Consents either by themselves or Representatives in the Great Councils or Parliaments of those Times; and therefore such free Tenants must have either appeared for themselves in Person, or have chosen others to represent them.

AND if any Man doubt whether these Lands held in *Allodio*, were before the Conquest the greatest part of the Lands of the Kingdom; I must refer them for their Satisfaction to Mr. Somners and Mr. Taylor's Treatises upon *Gavelkind*, as also to Mr. Lambard's Discourse of the Customs of *Kent*, at the end of his *Perambulation* of that County; who there fully prove, that the Antient *Bocland* descending to all the Male Issue alike, was not meer *Socage* Tenure, but *Allodial*. 2dly, That this was the general Tenure of all Lands not held by Knights Service before the Conquest; (as well *Gavelkind* as others) and that not only at the Common Law, but confirmed by divers Saxon Kings; as by that Law of King Edmund, *Si quis intestatus obierit, Liberi ejus hereditatem equaliter dividant*: So likewise by the 68th and 75th Laws of King Cnute, as also by those of Edward the Confessor, confirmed by William the Conqueror, Cap. 36. And therefore Mr. Somner in his said Treatise of *Gavelkind*, farther proves, that this was a Liberty left to the *Kentish* Men by William the Conqueror, when all the rest of England changed its Antient Tenure; and Mr. Taylor in his History of *Gavelkind*, Chap. 6, 7, 8. hath proved this to have been a general Custom, not only in *Kent*, but in *Wales* and several parts of *England*.

I shall not any further pursue what the Doctor has said of Lands holden by Military Service before the Conquest, or of the *Herriots* or *Reliefs* that were due upon them, which were payable out of the *Feudal* Lands of the Ealdormen, middle and less *Thanes*; but shall refer you to the Laws of King Cnute, and those of the Confessor, the former of which you will find at the end of his Reign in the ensuing Volume, wherein is set down what the Heirs of each of those *Feudatary* Tenants were to pay to their Lords at the Death of their Ancestors.

BUT that these could not be near all the Lands of *England*, appears by what hath been already said of Lands held in *Allodio*. And I have known some Learned Antiquaries, who have not without good Cause believed that all Tenure by Knight-Service in *England*, was derived from the *Danes* and *Norwegians*, who upon their Conquests and settling here, first brought in that sort of Tenure out of *Denmark* and *Norway*; from whence the *English* Saxon Kings might by Degrees impose it upon several

veral Lands by them granted to their Ealdormen or Earls, and chief *Thanes*, by Military or Knights Service, who likewise granted them to their inferior *Thanes* under the like Tenures; and yet it would have been very unreasonable that such inferior *Thanes* should have so far been deprived of their ancient *Englisch* Freedom, as that the Earls and King's *Thanes* should have it in their Power to make what Laws, and impose what Taxes they pleased upon them as their under Tenants, without their Consent.

AND if meer Tenure alone could have done this, I would fain know why the *Englisch* Kings before the Conquest, by the same reason might not as well have made Laws, and taxed their Tenants *in Capite* without their Consent, as these could have done their Tenants that held under them? But this is altogether false in Matter of Fact, as all the Histories of those Times shew; *Danegelt* it self being first imposed by the Consent of the King and his *Wites*, as appears by the *Saxon Annals*.

A:ro 954.

NOT but that I grant all the Lands of *England* were then held under those three great Services called in Latin *Trinoda Necessitas*, viz. 1. Expedition (that is, the finding of Men to defend the Kingdom in case of Invasion.) 2. The Repair of Bridges; and, 3. Fortifying of Castles; from which even Lands granted to the Church were not exempted, as appears by the Charters to several Monasteries. But these were Services due, and to be performed by the Common Law and Custom of the Kingdom, and did not concern one sort of Tenure more than another.

I have no more to observe concerning this *Bocland*, but that it passed by Deed, called by *Ingulphus*, *Chirographa*, until the *Confessor's* time, and was confirmed by the Subscriptions of the *Fideles*, or Subjects there present, with golden Crosses, and some other holy Marks; only this methinks ought not to be passed over, that the Ceremony of Livery or Seizin of Lands is very antient, as appears by the Charter of *Ceadwalla*, King of the *West-Saxons* (preserved among the Evidences belonging to the Arch-bishop of *Canterbury*) in the Year DCLXXXVII. made to *Theodore* then Arch-bishop of that See, of certain Lands with this Subscription, *Ad cumulum autem Confirmationis, ego Cedwalla Cespitem terre predictæ super sanctum Altare Salvatoris posui, & propria manu, pro ignorantia Literarum, signum sanctæ Crucis expressi & subscripsi*: that is, "For the farther Confirmation thereof, I *Ceadwalla* have put this said "Turf of Earth upon the holy Altar, and for want of Learning, have "with my own Hand made and subscribed the Sign of the holy Cross.

Vid. Camd. Brit. in Cantio.

The like also hath *Camden* out of a Patent made by *Withered* King of *Kent*, to a Nunnery in the Isle of *Thanet*. So much for *Bocland*.

Folkland. Spelman. Gloss. sic. Folkland.

CONTRARY to which was that called *Folkland*, which *Sir Henry Spelman* says, was *Terra popularis, scilicet, quæ jure communi possidetur, vel sine scripto*; that is, Land belonging to the ordinary sort of People, which they enjoyed of common Right, without any Writings or Deeds, as we see in Copy-hold Lands at this day, for which the Tenants have seldom any other Evidences than the Copy of the Court-Rolls of the Mannor; which Copy-hold Lands were antiently either held by *Sockmen* (that is, Free-men holding by the Plow) to perform mean and villain Services, or else by those who were Villains appendant to the Mannor.

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THESE might be ousted of their small Estates at the Will of the Lord, which a Farmer could not be so long as he honestly performed his Services; and these were they, who after the Conquest were called Tenants in *Antient Demesne*, either of the King, or of some other Lord, as you will find in the old *Natura Brevium*.

OF the like sort also, as *Dr. Brady* very well informs us, "were Lands and Possessions mentioned by other Names in our *Saxon Laws*, as *Gaffoland*, *Rent-Land*, or *Farm-Land*, *Fædus Alured*, and *Gutbr*. "c. 2. *Gafogyldehus*, an House yielding or paying Rent, or Gable. "LL. *luc*, c. 6. There are also mentioned *Inland*, or the *Lords Demesnes*, which he kept in his own Hands, and *Neatland*, which is called *Utlund*, or *Outland*, in * *Byrthric's Will*; *Terra Villanorum*, and was let out to Country-men, or Villagers, *Ægder of Thegnes in-landge*, of *Neatland*, i. e. either of the Lords or *Thanes* *Inland*, or *Demefnes*, or else the Country-mans, *Villagers*, or *Villan's Land*, *Gafolland*, *Neatland*, and *Utlund*, as † *Mr. Somner* truly informs us, "were opposed to *Inland*, or *Demefne-Lands*, and were Lands granted out for Rent, or Service, or both, and reducible to *Folkland*; and 'tis very probable they were the same, or of the same Nature; for that in the Laws where they are mentioned, it appears they were always occupied by *Ceorls*, *Churles*, *Country-men*, *Colons* or *Clowns*; by *Ge- bures*, *Boors*, *Rustics*, *Plough*, or *Husbandmen*; or by *Neates*, and *Geneates*, *Drudges*, *Villanes*, or *Villagers*. These three *Saxon* words being almost of the same Signification, tho very different in Sound, "were always applied to the ordinary sort of People, called by us *Folk* "at this day. Thus far the Doctor, which I will not contradict, tho he here makes all *Ceorles Men* to have been meer *Drudges*, which was not so, since those that held Land by *Socage-Services*, were as free as to all things else from the Power of their Lords, as our Tenants are at this day.

BUT I desire by the way, that this may not be unobserved, that I can no where find the word *Colonus* used for a Husbandman or Clown, in any of our antient *Saxon Laws*, tho *Sir Henry Spelman* gives us some Examples of the use of it in the *German Laws*, there signifying *Liberi in Ecclesiastici*, quos *Colonos vocant*, and the King had also his *Coloni*; but this learned Author supposes that these *Coloni* answered our *Sockmen*, who were certainly Freemen and not Villains. Nor did *Villanus* signify a Villain, but a Country-man or Villager in general, till after the Conquest; and then it was not from the *Latin* but *French* Idiôm, that a Villain came to signify a Slave or *Drudg*.

HAVING now given you what I thought fit to say concerning the several Tenures, and ways of Conveyance of Lands in the *Saxon* Times, I shall proceed in the next place to discourse somewhat of the manner of the disposing of their Goods and Personal Estates, which they might do either by Deed or last Will in Writing, as at this day: But if they happened at any time to die intestate, then their Goods were equally divided between the Wife and Children of the Deceased; tho by a Law of King *Edmund*, the Relict, or Widow, was to have half her Husband's Goods, yet by the Laws of *Edward the Confessor*, it was declared, that in case any one died Intestate, then the Children were equally to divide the Goods; which I take to be understood with a *Salvo* of the

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Wife's

Wife's Dower or Portion. As yet therefore the Ordinaries had nothing to do with the Administration, for *Goods* passed by Descent as well as Lands, and upon this Custom the Writ *de Rationabili parte Bonorum* was grounded at the Common Law, as well for the Children as the Wife's Part, according as by the Body of the Writ may appear.

F.N.B. p. 122.

* The Original of Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction, set out by Dr. Littleton, fol. 5.
† Peramb.
Cant. p. 548.

THE antientest Will that Mr. * *Selden* says he hath observed before the Conquest, is, one of King *Edgar's* time, which Mr. *Lambard* † has given us in his *Perambulation of Kent*, and that is of one *Brithric*, a Gentleman, or *Thane*, and his Wife *Elfwithe*, wherein they devised both their Lands and Goods, and also gave his chief Lord and the Lady his Wife several noble Legacies to prevail with him that his Will might stand good. By which it should seem the Lands bequeathed were *Fendal* Lands (held by Knights Service) which could not be alienated without the Lord's Consent. But Mr. *Selden* there further takes notice, "That the Protection or Execution of this Testament, as well as the Probate, were within the Jurisdiction of the Lord's Court; and that especially because divers *Lords of Mannors* have to this day the Probate of Testaments by Custom continued, against that which is otherwise regularly settled in the Church.

Selden ut sup.
fol. 15, 16.
cap. 1.

BUT as for Intestates *Goods*, he says, "The Disposition or Administration of them was in the *Saxon* times in the chief Lord of him that died, in case the Intestate were an immediate Tenant, and died at home in Peace: But in case he were no Tenant, or died in his Lord's Army, then it was (it seems) as other Inheritance, under the Jurisdiction of that Temporal Court within whose Territory the Goods were. This may be proved out of the Laws of that Time, which ordain, that upon the Death of an Intestate, whom they call *CIVILE AWE*, the Lord * is only to have the *Heriots* due to him, which are also appointed by † the Laws of the same time, that by his (the Lord's) Advice or Judgment, his (the Intestate's) Goods be divided among his Wife and Children, and the next of kin, according as to every one of them of right belongs; that is, according to the nearness of Kindred, if no Children, or Nephews from them be: for it must, I suppose, be understood, that the Succession was such, that the Children excluded all their Kindred, and of their Kindred the next succeeded, according to that in *Tacitus* || of his *Germans*, whose Customs were doubtless mixed with our *English-Saxons*; *Heredes*, says he, *successoresq; sint cuiq; liberi, & nullum Testamentum*. But it seems Christianity afterwards brought in the free Power of making Testaments amongst them, *Si liberi non sunt, proximus gradus in possessione, Fratres, Patru, Avunculi*.

* Canuti Leg. cap. 68.
† Eiusdem Leg. cap. 68.

|| De Moribus Germanorum.

* Canuti Legibus, cap. 75.

† Leg. Edw. Consil. cap. de Heretichis.

"BUT this is express'd only in case the Tenant died at home, and in Peace; for if he died in his Lord's * Army, both the Heriot was forgiven, and the Inheritance both of Goods and Lands was to be divided as it ought, which was, it seems, by the Jurisdiction of the Temporal Court, within whose Territory the Death (of the Intestate) or Goods were; for in that case, it is not said, that the Lord's Judgment was to be used, but that the Heirs should divide all; or, as the words in the Confessor's Law are, *habebant & Heredes ejus pecuniam & terram ejus sine aliqua Diminutione, & recte dividant inter se*; wherethe Right of the Heir both to Lands and Goods is expressly designed, but the Judgment that should give it them, not mentioned. Therefore it seems,

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"it remained as other Parts of the Common Law, under the Temporal Jurisdiction, as by the * Civil Law it was under the *Pretors*. * F. S. Instit. de bonorum possessione.
Thus far this learned and great Author.

FROM whence we may make this Note, that the Probate of Wills was a Matter of Civil Cognizance before the Conquest, and for some time after, till, the Canon Law being more generally received in *England*, the Bishops Courts took this Power to themselves, supposed by Mr. *Selden*, in his 6th Chapter of his said Treatise, to be about the time of *Henry the Second*.

WE shall now, in the last place, go on to the Criminal part of the *English-Saxon* Laws, viz. the manner of Trial, Judgment and Execution pass'd and inflicted on Offenders in those Times.

ALL Trials for Criminal Matters were then either in the Court-*Leets*, the *Sheriffs-turn*, or the *County-Courts*, in which last the greater Offenders were commonly tried, and that most antiently by Witnesses and Juries, as at this day: for we find in the *Mirror of Justices*, that King *Alfred* commanded one of his Justices to be put to death for passing Sentence upon a *Verdict* corruptly obtained, upon the Votes of the *Jurors*, whereof three of the *Twelve* were in the Negative. And the same King put another of his Justices to death for passing Sentence of Death upon an *Ignoramus* return'd by the Jury.

BUT the first Law we read of that defined the Number of *Jury-men* to be *Twelve*, was that of *Etheldred I.* above two hundred Years before the Conquest, which says, *In singulis Centuriis, &c. in English* thus, *In every Century or Hundred, let there be a Court, and let Twelve Antient Freemen, together with the Lord of the Hundred, be sworn that they will not condemn the Innocent, nor acquit the Guilty.*

BUT whether there were any such thing as a Grand Jury or Inquest, we do not particularly find, only we may reasonably conclude there was, because in the same *Mirror* we read that a Justice suffered Death for passing Sentence only upon the *Coroner's* Record; and another Justice had the same Punishment for condemning one without any preceding *Appeal* or *Indictment*.

YET the first time that we find any mention of a Jury by *Mens Peers* or *Equals*, is in the Agreement between *Alfred* and *Guthrum* the Dane, in these words in *English*, viz. "That if a Lord or a Baron be accused of Homicide, he shall be acquitted by twelve Lords; but if of inferior Rank, he shall be acquitted by eleven of his Equals, and one Lord.

K. Alured. Concil. Brit. fol. 492.

BUT in Cases very doubtful, and where there was not sufficient Evidence by Witnesses, but only strong Presumptions of Guilt, in the times after King *Alfred*, Trials by *Ordeal* came in, which *Somner* in his Glossary says was derived from *Or* a Negative, or *Privative*, and *Dal*, which signifies *Distinction*, or *Difference*, that is, without any Distinction or Difference, and imports a just, impartial Judgment: it was of two sorts, by *Fire* or *Water*; by *Fire*, when the Person accused carried in his bare Hand a red-hot Iron some few steps; which, if it weighed but one Pound, was called single *Ordeal*, and so double, or treble, according to the Pounds the Iron weighed: or when he walked bare-foot, and blindfold, over and between certain red-hot Plow-shares, placed at a stated distance; if in doing this the Party was burnt, he was pronounced

Guilty;

Ordeal, what, and what the Trial. Somn. Glossar. in verbo Ordeal.

Guilty; if not, he was accounted Innocent. *Water-Ordeal* was either when they cast the accused into Water, and if they did swim, were adjudged Guilty; if they sunk, Innocent: or else their Hands and Arms were put sometimes up to the Wrist, sometimes up to the Elbow in *boiling-hot Water*; if they were scalded, they were esteemed Guilty; if not, Innocent. The Noble and Freemen were tried by *Fire-Ordeal*, the Peasants and Servants by *Water-Ordeal*.

LL. Longob.
lib. 1. tit. 9.
c. 39. Glanv.
lib. 14. cap. 1.
in fine.

Fol. 77.

A great Example of the former you will find towards the latter end of the sixth Book, concerning the putting of Queen *Emma*, Mother of *Edward the Confessor*, to this *Fire-Ordeal* by Plow-shares, upon suspicion of *Incontinency* with *Ailwyn* Bishop of *Winchester*: but indeed this Story is very improbable for several reasons; for first, the Crime she stood accused of could be no more than simple Fornication, which was then as well as now within the Cognizance of the Church, and for which no higher Punishment than the common Penance was inflicted. And further, we find this Queen to have fallen into the King's Displeasure in the first or second Year of his Reign, and being not long after restored to his Favour, we do not read she was ever after questioned: and as for *Robert*, Arch-bishop of *Canterbury*, who is said to have been one of her chief Prosecutors, it is certain he was not consecrated to that See till about seven or eight Years after. Besides all which, Bishop * *Godwin* in his Account of this Arch-bishop, further proves from *Florence of Worcester*, and *William of Malmesbury*, that Bishop *Ailwyn* was dead *Anno 1047*, a Year before ever *Robert* was made Arch-bishop; and therefore this learned Author does wholly deny the reality of this Story. But to return again to our *Ordeal*.

See the Hist.
Anno 1042.

* De Praeful.
p. 89, 90.

THE first mention made thereof as we meet with, was at the Council of *Mentz*, and afterwards in the Council of *Triers*; but we have no Foot-step thereof in our *English Laws*, till it was brought into this Nation by the Council of *Berkhamstead*, under *Bertwald* Arch-bishop of *Canterbury*, *Anno 647*; and it after became inserted into those of King *Athelstan*, tho it was certainly in use before that time.

LL. Athelst.
Can. 23.

I have little more to add concerning this way of Trial by *Ordeal*, but that it was under the Government of the Clergy, who never permitted it to be put in Execution but when they were present. And sometimes it was performed with the great Solemnity of receiving the *Holy Eucharist*, especially if the suspected Person was of their Order and Function; and if the Party was cast, he was to suffer as Guilty.

THIS way of Trial by *Ordeal* continued long after the Conquest, but at last it was forbid by the Pope's Decree; and we have now no Remains of it left, unless it be in the Country Peoples trying of Witches, who being tied with their Thumbs and Toes together, and so flung into the Water, if they sink, are accounted Innocent; if they swim, Guilty: but indeed if this *Ordeal*, either by Fire or Water, was performed by the help of the Devil, one would wonder it should ever be introduced, especially with such solemn Prayers and Preparations, as you may find in *Lambard's Explications of Law-terms*, and in *Matthew Parker* Arch-bishop of *Canterbury* his *Antiquities of the British Church*. And on the other side, if it was assisted by a Divine Power, it is as wonderful how it came to be forbid by the Pope, as wholly unlawful.

Vita Roberti
Archiep.

BUT

BUT besides these ways of Trial abovementioned, upon more slight Suspicions, our *English Saxon* Ancestors were used to content themselves with a *Voyer dire*, or the Oath of the Party suspected, and the concurring Testimony of other Men; the first attesting his own Innocency, the other attesting their own Consciences for the Truth of the former Testimony; and therefore were, and still are called *Compurgators*. Their number was more or less, and of greater or less Value, according as the Offence, or the Party suspected was of greater or less Concernment.

AND as for the way of Trial by *single Combat* or *Duel*, tho some Writers suppose it to have been in use before the Conquest, yet since I meet with no mention of it either in our Historians or Laws, I shall defer discoursing of it till I come to the next Volume.

HAVING now dispatched this Head concerning Trials, I'll proceed to the Judgments and Penalties that were inflicted on Persons for several Offences. And first I shall consider those against Almighty God, as *Sacrilege*, which you will find upon the first introducing of Christianity to have been appointed by the Pope, as also by the Laws of King *Egbert*, either in making satisfaction of nine times the Value, or in case of Inability, to pay that Sum in Stripes; for not then, nor long after was it punishable with Death: for *William of Malmesbury* tells us, that *Theodered*, the good Bishop of *London*, in the Reign of King *Athelstan*, fell short of one thing, *viz.* That he caused certain Thieves to be hanged, who had robbed St. *Edmunds Church* in *Suffolk*, and were there held by some invisible Power, insomuch that they could not go away with what they had stolen, but were all taken and executed accordingly; for which piece of Severity he was much blamed.

De Cestis
Pontificum,
l. 1.

THE next Offence was *Working upon Sundays*, which by the Laws of King *Ina*, was punishable by *Fine*, if the Criminal were a *Freeman*; and by *Whipping* if he were a *Bond-Servant*.

Sabbath-
breaking.

BUT as for *Blasphemy*, *Cursing* or *Swearing*; either they were Crimes the Saxons were not guilty of, or else they inflicted no Punishments on those who were culpable of them; for I find no mention of them in the *Saxon Laws*.

AS for the Offences against both God and Man, I will first begin with *Adultery* and *Fornication*, and these were Capital amongst the Saxons: for by the Laws of *Witred King of Kent*, if a Military Man should (after that Council was ended, despising the King's Law, and the Judicial Sentence of the Bishop's Excommunication) be taken in *Adultery*, he should pay to his Lord an hundred Shillings. But afterwards by the Laws of King *Canute*, a Wife found guilty of *Adultery*, should have her Nose and Ears cut off, and the Man was Fined or Banished: and by those of King *Alfred*, "the Man convicted of *Adultery* with another's Wife, " should pay to the Husband so abused, a Fineutable to the Estate and " Quality of him that was so injured.

THE highest Offence against Man alone was *Treason*, and the Punishment for this Offence I find set down in the 4th Law of King *Alfred* to this effect, *viz.* "That if any one by himself, or any other Person should attempt " against the King's Life, he should lose his Life and Goods; or in " case he will purge himself, he was to do it according to the Valuation of " the King's Head. But in this the King had no greater a Prerogative than

h h

than

than divers other of his Subjects; for the same Law doth inform us, "That it ordained in all Judgments concerning other Men, whether Noble or Ignoble, whosoever should Conspire against his Lord, should lose both his Life and Estate, or else pay the Valuation of his Lord's Head.

Coining
and Clipping.

I come next to the *Coining* and *Clipping* of Money, which was not originally such an Offence as was punished by Death; for the first Law that made it so was that of *Ethelred*, whereby it is left to the King's discretion, either to fine, or put to Death such Merchants as imported false Money; and all *Port-Reeves* of Towns who should be Accessary to it were made liable to the same: but for all this it was not even after the Conquest punishable by Death, but amputation of the Right Hand and Privy-Members.

Murder.

AS for *Murder*, or killing a Man with Malice prepened, it was by the Preface to King *Alfred's* Laws punishable by Death: And this and the former Law concerning *Treason*, will help us to interpret in what Cases the *Wergilds* or *Mulcts*, that we find so frequently mentioned in the *Saxon* Laws, were to be paid for the Life of a Man, and particularly that Law of King *Athelstan*, which sets the Rate of these *Wergilds* according to the Quality of the Person slain, from the King to the Peasant; that is, when the Party was Killed in some sudden Fray or Quarrel without any Malice forethought.

Man-slaughter.

THIS I take notice of, to obviate the Error of some who suppose, that all Murder, even of the King himself, was redeemable by Money, which was not allowed in any Cases but those we account Man-slaughter at this Day; and shews the Antiquity of that distinction between Man-slaughter and Murder, which is now almost peculiar to *England*, and arose at first from the Proneness of our Nation to Fews and sudden Quarrels; tho the like Custom is also to be found in the Antient *Frisian* and *German* Laws, if you will take the Pains to consult them. But as for Bloodshed, Striking, Maiming, Wounding, Dismembering, &c. they were all of them punishable by Mulcts or Fines, as you will see in the Laws of King *Alfred*, and other Places in this Volume.

Maiming,
&c.

Robbery and
Burglary.

I proceed in the next Place to Robbery and Burglary, which by the Laws of King *Ina*, were punishable by Death; only the Thief was admitted sometimes to redeem it according to the Estimation of his Head, and that I suppose was left to the discretion of the Judge, either to deny or allow. But for all other less Thefts, they were redeemable by Fines. And the Laws of *Edward* the Confessor, limited that Punishment of Death to Thefts of twelve Pence in value, or above.

Trespasses.

Cap. 30.

AND Trespasses of a less Nature upon Lands and Goods, were to be punished by the Criminal's making Satisfaction to the injured Party, and his paying a certain Fine besides to the King; which by King *Alfred's* Law was set at five Shillings; and in his Time other Actions were likewise used, such as we call *Actions upon the Case*; and the Plaintiff not only recovered *Damages* for Trespasses done to Possessions and Goods, but also *Costs* for Injuries in Point of Scandal and Defamation, in case the Complainant specially declare that he was thereby disabled, or injured in his Preferment, and made Proof of the same, much like to the Forms of our Pleadings now.

Perjury.

AS for *Perjury* which I have hitherto omitted, tho in strict Method it should have been mentioned before, as a Sin against both God and Man, the

the *Saxons* were utterly Enemies to it, and punished it with perpetual discredit of their Testimony, and sometimes with Banishment, or with grievous Fines to the King, and *Mulcts* to the Judge. For that difference I find observed in those Days between *Fines* and *Mulcts*, tho the more Antient Times used them for one and the same; for I often find *par's Mulctæ Regi*. In all these Matters where any Interest was vested in the Crown, the King had the Prerogative of Pardon, yet always a Recommendation was saved to the injured Party; besides the Security of the Good-behaviour for Time to come, as the case required.

LL. Ethelst.
Cap. 12.
LL. Canth. c.
5. Spec. Sax.
l. 3. Art. 52.
LL. Edw. c. 12.

THESE *Mulcts* for all these Offences were set down in a Book, which was the Rule and Standard of the Judge's Sentence. And it is called in the Preface to the Laws of King *Edward*, the *Doom* or *Judgment-Book*; and Composition was to be made, and Satisfaction given, according to what was laid in this *Judicial* or *Doom-Book*.

THIS shews that Fines were then set out and appointed by Law, *Fines set* and were proportioned not only according to Mens Offences, but Abi- *and ap-* lities of what they were able to pay; and were not in those Times left pointed by *Law*. to the Arbitrary Wills and Humours of the Judge, to ruin Mens Fortunes and Families, and imprison their Persons during Life, perhaps only for a small Offence in a rash Word, or unmalicious Deed.

I confess this Introduction is longer than I first intended it, but herein I hope the Reader will excuse me, since I have presented him with a true Scheme of the Antient *English-Saxon* Government and Laws, as well Ecclesiastical as Civil, relating to the just Prerogatives of the King, as also to the true Rights and Liberties of the People: and this I have done for two Ends; first, to inform those of our own Nation as well as Strangers, that this Government before the pretended Conquest, agreed in the most material parts of it with those of the same *Gothick* Model all over *Europe*; and that if we do still labour to preserve our Antient Constitution, when most of our Neighbours have either lost or given up theirs, I think we do deserve Commendation, more especially since both Prince and People may have found an equal Interest and Happiness in it.

AND secondly, to shew, that neither the *Danish* nor *Norman* Invasions, (called by some *Conquests*) have at all altered it in any of the Substantial parts of our Government or Laws, notwithstanding what some Men have so strenuously advanced to the contrary, out of what designs they themselves best know.

AS for what I have here laid down, if any thing appears either new, or of suspicious Credit, I desire to be no farther believed, than the Reasons and Authorities I have here produced will justify me; and therefore shall leave the Reader to make what Judgment he pleases of it, which if it doth not suit with mine, I shall not take it amiss, since I am sufficiently sensible how much Mens Opinions depend on their present Interest, Education, or Course of Life: and I cannot but observe, that there are a sort of Men, whose Heads seem framed for such a set of Notions rather than others, which make them that they cannot easily digest any thing that clashes with them.

BUT I do not pretend to be infallible, or to propose my sense as a Rule and Standard to all others; *Homo sum, nihil humanum à me alienum puto*, as the Cornick Poet hath long since well observed.

ONE thing indeed I think I may pretend to in this Undertaking, and that is *Integrity*; for I look upon it a much viler thing, either to falsify, or conceal part of an Authority that makes against one, and use only so much as shall serve a present Turn, than it is to *pick a Pocket*: and as it is of far more dangerous Consequence to the Publick, if not found out; I must say it is likewise more easily to be discovered, since every Man may, if he please, consult the Authors that such Writers make use of, and so detect the Fraud.

BUT for those who think they may differ from me in some things with good Reason and Authority, and will please by their learned Labours to give the World any better Information and Account of these Matters than I have done; I shall be so far from being displeased at them, that I shall upon full Satisfaction, readily own my self very much in their Debt, for making the World and me so much the Wiser: only I must desire to be treated as one, who, if I chance to be under any Error, am not so wilfully, nor (as I think) without great appearance of Reason and Authority on my side; since I call God to witness, that neither from a vain Ambition of Glory, nor prospect of any Temporal Advantage, nor design of gratifying any Party or Faction, have I wrote any thing that may disgust Men of different Principles and Notions.

AND I thank God for this great Blessing to us, that we live in a Time, when we may not only think or speak, but also safely write what we believe to be the Truth, to which all Mankind do owe Allegiance; and therefore I hope I never shall abuse that invaluable Liberty, to the Prejudice of the Government, or that excellent constituted Church, of which I own my self a Member, being fully satisfied that the main End of all our Writings, ought to be for the Honour of God, and the Common Good of Mankind.

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ERRATA.

In the Preface.

Page 5. line 5. for be would, read would be. P. 17. l. 4. f. Gresham, r. Gresham. Ibid. l. 45.
del. in. P. 23. l. 3. f. Ilcombil, r. Ilcombil. P. 23. l. 14. f. that, r. whether, ib. f. never, r.
ever. P. 24. l. 15. f. no, r. any.

Introduction.

Page 31. line 17. for longer, read long. Ib. l. 18. f. which, r. and, ib. r. enjoyed it. P. 34. l. 27.
del. for a long time after. P. 85. l. 13. del. the Comma's in the Margin, beginning at, from
whence you may observe; and ending at, well observes. P. 89. l. 15. f. word, r. two ds. Ibid. l. 32. f.
upon, r. that. Ib. del. that. P. 96. l. 29. f. Longobardum, r. Longobardum. P. 97. l. 2. f.
Cribtan, r. Cribtan, (l. e. Knights.) P. 105. l. 38. f. confit, r. refit.

k k

ADDEN-

ADDENDA & CORRIGENDA.

SINCE this Volume was printed off, coming to a more strict View of the whole Work, than I could make when it was in loose Sheets; I think fit to make some few Additions and Corrections, as in these following Particulars.

BOOK IV.

Pag. 195. The Consecration of Erkenwald Bishop of London being set down twice, viz. in the beginning of Anno 675. and again at the end of that Year, and was forgot to be struck out in the Page above-mentioned, those first three Lines and half, beginning at Line 23. may be struck out; and that Relation referred to p. 196. at the end of the Year (where it is already) and you may read it in these words. *This Year also according to Matth. of Westminster (for Bede does not give us the time when it was done) Erkenwald a younger Son to Anna King of the East Angles was by Theodore the Arch-bishop consecrated Bishop of London, he being in great Reputation for the Sanctity of his Life, as having before he came to be a Bishop, &c. Read the rest as in the Print.*

P. 198. Queen Etheldrithes being twice married and never lain with, having been already mentioned, p. 193. you may strike out part of three Lines in p. 198. beginning at Line 48. at who yet remained, and ending line 51. with but she, and then read it thus: *Wife of King Egfrid above-mentioned; this Lady, tho twice married still remaining a Virgin, died at last, &c.*

BOOK V.

Pag. 312. line ult. The Continuation of Affer's Chronicle published by Dr. Gale, having put this Action of Prince Ethelwald's, there mentioned under the Year 904. and Florence of Worcester making him come as far as Crecanford (now Crayford in Kent); from the different Names of which Places, and Years, I supposed that this Action was not the same with that related in the Year 905. but upon better Consideration I am now satisfied, that either Florence's Copy of the Annals, or his Transcriber were mistaken, and that Crecanford and Bradenewood mentioned by him under 905, and Creccagelade and Braden set down in the Annals under the same Year, are both the same Places, setting aside the difference of the Years; so that this is also but one and the same Action: and therefore I rather now chuse to follow the printed Copies of the Saxon Annals, and place the whole under Anno 905. therefore you may strike out the last Line of pag. 312. beginning at *after*, as also the four first Lines of pag. 313. ending with, *so returned home.*

P. 265. After the Reign of Ethelwulf, Anno 855. add this that follows. That about these Times the Scottish Kings held the Low-lands of Scotland as Tributaries to the Kings of Northumberland, take this Relation from Lessely Bishop of Ross's History of Scotland, in the Reign of King Donald V. where he tells us, that the Picts (who had been lately conquered and expelled Scotland) having hid themselves in Northumberland, and the Neighbouring Countries, combined with the Britains and Saxons to recover their Liberties, who, being thus confederated, invaded Scotland; whereupon King Donald gathering together his Army met them near Jetburgh, and joining Battel with them put them to flight; with

with which Success the King and his Men growing insolent and secure; spent the Night following in Luxury and Drinking, without keeping any Guard, or observing Military Discipline; of which the Enemies (who it seems fled not far) gaining Intelligence, and laying hold of this Opportunity, set upon them about Midnight, and slew near 20000 Scots, being then (as it were) buried in Wine and Sleep; King Donald himself being also taken Prisoner, and to purchase his Liberty, was forced to give up all the Countries lying between the River Clyde and Sterling to the Britains and Saxons, and farther obliged himself and his Successors to the Annual Payment of a Sum of Money in Name of a Tribute: and that then in the sixth Year of his unhappy Reign the English-Saxons, in Memory of this Victory, rebuilt the ruined Castle of Sterling, and fortified the Bridge of Forth, where they erected a Cross of Stone as a Monument of their Victory, on which were engraven these barbarous Latine Verses.

Anglos à Scotis separat Crux ista remotis,
Arma hic stant Bruti, stant Scoti sub hac Cruce tuti.

BUT in the mean time the Picts, who were the Authors of this Scottish Slaughter, were so far from being thereby reitored to their Country, that they were quite expell'd by the Saxons out of Britain.

THIS Relation Hector Boetius gives you much more prolix, and makes King Osbern who reigned in Northumberland, to have commanded the English-Saxons at the great Battle above-mentioned.

THE same Author likewise shews us in the Reign of K. Gregory, Anno 872. how the Britains came to be driven out of Cumberland, which they had till then enjoy'd, viz. That the Britains having by the Assistance of the Danes, expelled the Scots from divers Territories, endeavoured also by secret Treacheries to drive them yet further; but being surprized by K. Gregory were by him quite expelled Cumberland and Westmorland, as a Punishment for having violated their Faith with him.

Pag. 313. l. 18. After East-Angles, add this. And Bromton's Chronicle in this Year further adds, That Ethelwald having passed the Thames at Crekelade to Brithenden, and marched as far as Brandenstoke (now Bradenstoke) in Wiltshire; so that as Mr. * Camden well observes, our Modern Historians have been much mistaken, in making that Place to be Basingstoke in Hampshire.

* Britan.
Wiltshire:
p. 102.

BOOK VI.

Pag. 8. l. 1. You may strike out the three remaining Lines after Dunstan; for I am satisfied upon better Consideration, that the Assertion therein contained is not true, as I have prov'd in the Introduction, p. 71, 72.

Pag. 12. l. 8. After the words *freely forgave him*, add this. That the Low-lands of Scotland continued under the Dominion of the Kings of England till the Reign of King Edgar, we have the express Testimony of John of Wallingford Abbot of St. Albans, who wrote his Chronicle in the beginning of the Reign of King Henry the Third, and before ever the Dispute concerning any Homage being due for the whole Kingdom of Scotland was raised, which began not till the time of K. Edward the First. This * Author thus relates it in the beginning of the Reign of King Edgar, viz. that about Anno Dom. 964, that King summoning the Northumbrian Barons (i. e. Thanes) to a Council at York, ordained divers things relating to the Publick Affairs of the Kingdom, among which he divided the Earldom of Oswulph (Earl of Northumberland late deceased)

* P. 444-445.

ceased) into two; for the King was not willing to bestow so great a Part of the Kingdom on any as an Inheritance, lest the *Northumbers* should again aspire to their antient Liberty; wherefore he bestowed that Part of *Northumberland* lying between the *Humber* and the *Theys* upon Earl *Oslac*, girding him with the Sword of that Earldom: But from *Theys* to *Mireferth* being the Sea-coast of *Deira*, he bestowed upon Earl *Eadulf*, surnamed *Ethelwald*; and thus the two Kingdoms became two Earldoms, and so continued all the times of the *English-Saxon* Kings under their Gift and Jurisdiction; whilst *Lothian* lying open to the Incurfions of the *Scots* was of no great concern to our Kings.

BUT *Keneth* K. of *Scotland* receiving a high Character of the Generosity of K. *Edgar* from the two Earls above-mentioned, desired the King's safe Conduct to come to *Lonaon* to visit him, which being granted, the said two Earls conducted him thither, where he was honourably received by K. *Edgar*, who often conversing friendly and familiarly with *Keneth*, he then represented to K. *Edgar*, that *Lothian* appertained to him as his Right, having been long possessed by the Kings of *Scotland* as their Inheritance: but the King not being willing to do any thing that he might afterwards repent of, referred the Determination of this Affair to his great Council; where the chief Men of the Kingdom would not assent to part with it, unless under a Homage to be yielded by the K. of *Scotland* to the K. of *England*; and that too only because all Access to that Country was very difficult, and its Government of little or no Profit: Whereupon K. *Keneth* assented to this Demand, and so received it under that Condition, did Homage for it accordingly, promising likewise many other things; as that the People should still remain under the English Name and Language, which continues to this day; and so the old Quarrel about *Lothian* was now happily determined, tho some new ones were often started. Thus the King of *Scots* became Feudatary to King *Edgar* on this occasion; whence you may observe how the Scottish Nation became Masters of *Lothian*, where *Eainburgh* the Capital City of the Kingdom is seated, and which City continued in the Hands of the English (as Mr. * *Camden* well observes from an antient Manuscript he there cites) till the Reign of K. *Indulf*, viz. till about *Anno Dom.* 960.

You may add this to the Laws of King *Edgar* at the end of his Reign: p. 14. This King is also related by *William* of *Malmesbury* to have made a Law to restrain excessive drinking of great Draughts; by which Law it was ordained, that no Man under a great Penalty should drink at one Draught below certain Pins that were ordered to be fixt within the sides of the Cups or Goblets for that purpose.

Pag. 72. I confess I was so far misled by the Authority of the *Saxon Annals* and *Matth. Westminster*, as to believe that *Sivard* mentioned under *Anno* 1043. had been consecrated Arch-bishop of *Canterbury*; but being now satisfied of the contrary, and having given good Reasons against it in the Introduction, p. 115, 116. that Relation of *William* of *Malmesbury* from these words, l. 20. of which Author, may be thus altered. That tho he was designed Successor to this Arch-bishop, and to that end was consecrated his Corepiscopus (i. e. his Coadjutor) yet that notwithstanding he was soon after deposed for his Ingratitude, in defrauding the weak old Man of his necessary Maintenance. But that this also was a mistake in this Author, see the Introduction, p. 115, 116.

Thus much I thought fit to advertise the Reader, since I had rather confess my own involuntary Mistakes, than put another to the trouble of shewing them to the World; but however, since I do not pretend to be infallible, if any Person of greater Skill in our English Histories, will take the pains to shew the World any other Errors or Omissions I have been guilty of in this Work, I shall be so far from taking it ill, that for the publick Satisfaction, they shall be mended in the next Edition.

* Vid. Britan.
Descript. of
Scotland.

THE

THE
General History
OF
BRITAIN,
NOW CALLED
ENGLAND:
As well Ecclesiastical, as Civil.

BOOK I.

From the Earliest Accounts of TIME, to the
First Coming of JULIUS CÆSAR.



SINCE I design (with God's Permission) to write and digest the most Remarkable Things and Transactions that have occurred in this Kingdom from the earliest Accounts of Time, I shall follow Venerable *Bede*, as well as other Historians, in first giving a brief Description of this Island.

Britain, the largest of all the *European* Islands, (and one of the biggest in this Habitable Globe,) is situate between 50 Degrees 16 Minutes; and 59 Degrees 30 Minutes North Latitude, the whole Isle lying in length from *Dunsby-Head*, the most Northerly Promontory of *Scotland*, to *Dover*, the space of near Six hundred Miles; yet is the Climate more mild and temperate than could be expected in so Northerly a Situation; the Winds from the Seas encompassing it on all sides, so tempering the Air, that it is neither so cold in Winter, nor yet so hot in Summer, as the opposite Continents of *France*, *Germany*, and the *Low-Countries*; and also by the Indulgence of Heaven, as well as the Fertility of its Native Soil, it is plentifully furnished with all Things necessary for Human Life.

It was anciently called by the Greeks *Albion*, but whether from a Giant of that Name feigned to be the Son of *Neptune*, after the

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Fabu-

Fabulous Humour of those Times, in giving Names to Countries from Giants and Heroes; or else from the Greek word *ἄσπερ*, which according to *Festus* signifies *White*; since, this Island is on many sides of it encompassed with Rocks of that Colour; or else from the Phœnician word *Alp*, which signifies *High*; or from *Alben*, which in the Hebrew Tongue signifies *White*, is uncertain, and therefore needless to be insisted on too much.

As for the Name of *Britain*, which *Nennius* and divers other British Writers derive from *Brutus*, (whom they likewise call *Brito*;) but others of them from the British words *Pryd Cain*, i. e. *Forma candida*, a white Form; it seems too far fetch'd; and besides, we do not find that the Natives of this Isle ever called it *Britain*.

Mr. *Camden* derives it from the Welsh word *Brith*, which signifies *Painted*, (for the ancient *Britains* used to paint themselves of a pale blewish Colour with *Glastum*, or *Wood*;) and *Tavia*, which in Greek signifies a *Region*, or *Country*. But this Etymology has this Inconvenience in it, that it is derived from too far different Languages; and besides it seems very improbable, that such an Accidental Custom as that of painting their Bodies, should give a Name to the whole Island, as well as its Inhabitants. Nor does this word, *Brith*, signify in the Welsh Tongue, *Painted*, but rather *Spotted* with divers Colours; whereas the ancient *Britains*, as some write, did not paint themselves with various Colours, but only stained their Bodies with one simple Colour, viz. Blue. We must therefore endeavour to derive it from some other Language, if it was not the *Britains* themselves, but other Nations (as is most probable) that first called this Island *Britain*. Now it is certain, that there is no Word in the Greek Tongue from whence *Βρετανία* can well be derived, which Name only the more modern Greek Historians have

* *Lib. III. c. 2.* given this Island; for thō **Strabo* in his Geography calls it *Βρεταννική*, yet since this word is an Adjective, it is plain that *Νῆσος*, i. e. *Insula*, an Island, is to be understood: So that it seems the word *Βρεταννική* must be more ancient than *Βρετανία*, and therefore Mr. *Camden*'s derivation of it will scarcely hold good: Yet *Ptolomy* never calls this Island *Βρετανία*, but *Ἀλλεών*, for when he speaks of all the Islands lying together in these Seas towards the North, he calls them *Βρεταννική*, *Νῆσοι*, or **At Βρεταννίδες Νῆσοι*; i. e. *Insule Britannicae*; the British Islands. And

* *Lib. II. c. 16.* **Pliny* in his Natural History speaking of all these Islands, says, *Albion ipsi nomen fuit, cum Britannica vocarentur omnes*; i. e. The particular Name was *Albion*, but the Islands together were called *Britijh*.

* *Lib. I. c. 39.* But Monsieur *Bochart*, in his most Learned Work, Entituled **Chanaan*, where he Treats of the Colonies and Language of the *Phœnicians*, hath given us a more probable derivation of the Name of *Britain*, which he supposes to be derived from the *Phœnicians*, who in their Language called this Island (as well as some others near it) *Barat Anac*, or more contractedly *Bratanac*, i. e. in the Land or Country of Tin or Lead; which being thus given it by the *Phœnician* Mariners, that first sailed thither and discovered those Islands, might afterwards, by the *Greeks* be mollified into *Βρεταννική*, and *Βρετανία*. Now, that the *Phœnicians* were the first that discovered those Isles, (which the *Græcians* called *Cassiterides*, (and which are proved by Mr. *Camden* to be no other than our *Scilly* Islands,) and from whence, as **Strabo* tells us in his Geography, "The *Phœnicians* first brought Tin; which thō

* *Lib. II. c. 2.*

" they

" they vended to the *Greeks*; yet kept the Trade, as well as the Place, private to themselves, may be believed upon these Authorities: " **Pliny* tells us, That *Midacritus* was the first who brought Lead from **Lib. VII. c. 56.* " the *Cassiterides*. But Monsieur *Bochart* there shews us, That it ought to be read *Melichartus*, who was the *Phœnician Hercules* of *Sanchoniathon*, and to whom the *Phœnicians* attributed their first Western Discoveries.

Yet notwithstanding the Care of the *Phœnicians* to conceal these Islands; the *Greeks* did at last discover them, (thō we cannot tell the certain time when,) giving them the Name of *Cassiterides*, which signifies in the Greek Tongue, the same that *Barat-Anac* does in the *Phœnician*, viz. The Land or Country of Tin; which Name, thō given only to these Islands at first, was at last also communicated to the adjoining Countries, now called *Cornwal* and *Devonshire*; from whence also the *Phœnicians* might bring this Commodity; and so by degrees this Name came to be given to all those Islands thus lying together; since in those Times (as well as now) it is probable, there might be Mines of this Metal in *Britain* itself, as well as in those smaller Islands above-mentioned: In some of which Mr. *Camden* tells us, there are found Veins of this Metal even unto this Day; and there might be far greater Mines of it in former Ages, thō long since worn out.

But it is Objected, That Mr. *Camden*, in his Introduction to his *Britannia*, hath positively asserted, that *Britain* was not known to the *Greeks*, and therefore its Name could not be derived from them, or the *Phœnicians*: and for Proof of this, he cites a Place out of the Third Book of *Polybius*'s History, which we shall here render into English thus. "As for *Asia* and *Lybia*, where they joyn to each other about *Ethiopia*, none can say positively to this Day, " whether it be a Continent running to the South, or whether " it be encompassed by the Sea. So likewise what lies between *Tanais* and *Narbon*, stretching Northward, is unknown to us at this " present, unless hereafter by diligent Enquiry we may learn something of it; they that speak or write any thing of these Matters, " are to be thought to know nothing, and to lay down meer Fables." By which Words *Polybius* only means, That as it was doubtful whether the Sea encompassed the South Parts of *Africa*, so it was unknown whether the North Parts of *Europe* about *Narbon* were likewise so encompassed; whereas Mr. *Camden* understands the Words as if they were spoken in general, when indeed they related only to that particular Question, Whether the Northern Tracts of *Europe* were invironed with the Sea or not, which notwithstanding the great Improvement of Navigation stands unresolv'd even unto this Day. But that *Polybius* writ not in this sense, appears further, in that he himself describes the Fountains of *Rhodanus* and *Ligeris*, with many other Places of *Gaul* which lie all above *Narbon*. But to put this past all Dispute; in this very Third Book, he promises particularly to write of the further or Western Sea, as also of the *Britannick* Islands, (for so he calls them,) and of their manner of making Tin: Which Promise of his required more than a Cursory Knowledge to perform: Since he says, That the Trade into those Seas was then very great; now that he also performed this Promise, appears from **Strabo* where *Polybius* is cited, as comparing the * *Lib. II.* Opinions of *Pytheas*, *Dicæarchus*, and *Eratostrænes*, concerning the Magnitude of *Britain*; but that these Islands were discovered by the

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Greeks

Greeks long before Polybius's time, appears also from Herodotus, who confesses, he does not know the Islands Cassiterides, from whence Tin is brought; (that is, he did not know them any otherwise than by Report;) and if these smaller Islands were then discovered, can any one believe, that so great an Island as Britain, which lay so near them, could remain undiscovered? But I have spoke enough, if not too much, of the Etymologies of the Names of this Island; since of all that may be counted Learning, nothing is more uncertain than this, nor is it often of any great use when known.

I shall therefore now proceed to somewhat more Solid and Useful, and try if we can discover who were the first Inhabitants of this Island; but since the Scriptures, as well as Prophane Histories, are silent in this Point, it is impossible to tell the Name of the Man who brought the first Colony hither: Only thus much seems probable, That Europe was Peopled by the Posterity of Japhet, either from one Alanus, (whom Nennius supposes to have been his Grandson,) or else from Gomer his Son, from whom Mr. Camden derives the Names of Cimmerii and Cimbri, whom he supposes to be one and the same Nation, and by whom the ancient Gallia was first Inhabited, and from whom he brings the present Welsh, called in their own Language Cymru, which, if true, nothing is more certain and easy to believe, than that this Island was first Inhabited (at least as to its more Southern Parts) from the Continent of Gaul, as is delivered by Bede in his first Chapter as a current Tradition in his Time; and Mr. Camden farther proves it out of Caesar's Commentaries: For tho he there tells us, that the Inland Parts of Britain were Inhabited by those who called themselves the Natives; yet that the Maritime Parts were possessed by such, who to make War, and get Prey, had passed over from Belgium and Gaul, which were then called by the same Names as those People from whence they came. Which may be also proved from other Arguments, as their Affinity in Customs, Language and Religion, with those of Gaul, as they are there described by Caesar, and also by other Roman Authors: Tho Tacitus, in his Life of Agricola, does not wholly agree with Caesar as to this Particular, for he there tells us, "That the Northern Parts of Britain seem to have been Peopled by the Germans, as the Eastern Coasts by their opposite Neighbours the Gauls, and the South Part by the Iberi or Spaniards: This he gathers from the different Complexion of the People, the Northern Britains (says he) are Fair, having large Limbs, and long yellow Hair like the Germans; but the Silures, or Southern Britains, were Swarthy, and had curled Hair like the Spaniards, whereas the Coast lying over against Gaul agreed in Language, Customs, and in every thing else with the Gauls."

It was not from the Continent of Gaul alone, that this Island was first Inhabited, but also from Ireland, and the North Parts of Germany, or else from Scandinavia, now called Sweden; for Bede tells us in the First Chapter of his History, "That, after the Britains, the Picts came out of Scythia in long Ships, and landed first in the North of Ireland; but being there refused Habitation by the Scots, who then possessed that Island, they were advised to plant themselves in the North part of Britain, which they then thereupon performed; and when the Picts, wanting Wives, desired the Scots to bestow some on them, they con-

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sented to it on this condition, That when there was any dispute about the Succession to the Crown, they should rather chuse a King from the Feminine, than Masculine Line of their former Kings, which is still observed (says he) among the Picts to this day.

Now that this Country, which Bede here calls Scythia, could be no other, than the more Northern Parts of Germany, or else Gothia (now called Sweden) at the farthest, seems highly probable, since the best Writers of the middle Ages do all agree, that these parts were in those times called by the general Name of Scythia. And you may see Authorities sufficient for this, cited by Arch-Bishop Usher in the 15th Chapter of his learned work; *De Antiquitate Britannicarum Ecclesiarum*, and by the reverend Dr. Stillingfleet (now Lord Bishop of Worcester) in his *Origines Britannicæ*; who allows Helior Boethius his Conjecture not to be improbable, who derives them from the Agathyrsi, who came out of Sarmatia into the Cimbrica Chersonesus, and from thence into Scotland. Cap. 5.

But that the Scots came into this Island many Ages after out of Ireland, is also as certain, Since Bede tells us in the same place, that in process of time Britain receiv'd a Third Nation, viz. of the Scots, besides the Britains and Picts, which Scots going out of Ireland under the conduct of one Reuda, took those Territories which they have among the Picts; either by terms or agreement with them, from which Reuda even to this day they are called Dalreudini, for Dal in their language signifies a share or portion, which Reuda in what Age he lived and brought over this Colony out of Ireland, since it hath bred a great dispute among our Modern Antiquaries, I shall not take upon me now to decide: But that the Scots came at first from Ireland, is acknowledged by John Fordon, and John Major, their two eldest Historians extant; the latter of whom tells us, "That as yet, that is, in his time, almost half Scotland spoke the Irish Tongue, which they had brought over with them from Ireland."

To return to the matter in hand it is evident from Bede, that in his time, God was served in five several Languages in this Island, (viz) The English, the British, the Scottish, (or present Irish) the Latin (which they commonly used in Divine Service) and the Pictish; though what that Language was we cannot now tell; for the Picts being totally subdued by the Scots, and thereby incorporated into the body of that Nation, that Tongue is quite extinct; though if it had not been at least different in Dialect from that of the Britains, it seems improbable that Bede, who was so near a neighbour to them, should mention it as a distinct Tongue from all the rest. And yet notwithstanding by all the reliëts we can now find of it in the Names of places in the South and West parts of Scotland, they are purely British, as Mr. Camden hath learnedly proved in his said Introduction, and therefore, since the name of Pict is indeed Latin, and signifies no more than painted Men, and that no Roman Author makes mention of them, before Ammianus Marcellinus, who lived about the end of the fourth Century, and is the first who calls the Inhabitants of the Northern parts of Britain by the name of Picti, distinguishing them into Deicallidonii (perhaps, it should be Deucaldonii) and Vecturiones, which the learned Dr. Lloyd, late Lord Bishop of St. Asaph, and now of Coventry and Litchfield, in his Historical account of Church Government in Britain, probably enough derives from the British Deuclyddion, and Chwistherion, that is Southern Caledones, or Borderers and Northern Men. It is probable that these Picts were no other than the remainder of those Britains,

Britains, who preserved their Liberty by resisting the *Roman Arms*, and were at last divided from the *Roman Britains*, by a Wall, now called the *Picts Wall*, (the Vestiges of which are to be seen to this Day) drawn between the mouths of the Rivers *Tine* and *Eske*, to hinder their farther Incursions into those parts which were then under the *Roman Empire*.

But having said enough concerning this *Island* in general, together with its first Inhabitants and their Languages; It is now high time to come to our main design, the History of that part of it, called at this day *England*, and which was in the *Romans* time divided into several Provinces or Governments, as *Britannia Prima, Secunda, and Maxima Caesariensis, &c.* they may be seen in the *Ancient Notitia* of the *Roman Empire*. We must therefore in the first place ingenuously confess, that till the coming in of the *Romans*, there are no certain or Authentick Histories remaining of any transactions before that time; for *Gildas*, who liv'd not long after the *Saxons* were first call'd into *Britain*, freely owns, "that as for the *Ancient monuments* of his Country, (whatever they were) "being either burnt by Enemies, or carried beyond Sea by his banish'd "Country men, they were not then to be found, therefore I shall wholly omit that fabulous Succession of *Celtick Kings*, who are feigned to be derived from *Samothres*, one of the Sons of *Japhet*, whom they suppose to have planted Colonies first on the Continent of *Celtica* or *Gaul*, and next in this *Island*, and thence to have named it *Samothrea*, since they never had any existence, but in the brain of *Ammius de Viterbo*, and by him vented in his counterfeit *Berosus*, which is long since exploded by all that are any thing versed in Antiquity.

But now I could heartily wish that we had any certain monuments of the History of this Kingdom, which might justly supply their room; but having no Authentick accounts left us of the *British Kings*, that reigned in this *Island* till *Julius Caesar's* first Expedition hither, I could willingly have excused my self from the drudgery of writing things so uncertain, nay in diverse particulars utterly false, were it not that most Authors who have already writ our History either in *English* or *Latin*, have thought those long Successions of Kings not unworthy a particular Recital, as supposing it scarce possible, that a descent of above Sixty Kings together, with so many transactions attended with such particular Circumstances, as the making of War and Peace, building of Cities and enacting Laws, should be wholly Fabulous and Romantick, or that the names of so many successive Princes should never have been derived from any real Persons.

For though it is true that *Geoffrey of Monmouth* is look'd upon as the chief (if not only) Author of the Story of *Brutus* and his Successors; yet it is certain that he pretends in the Proem to his History, (which he dedicated to no less a Man than *Robert Earle of Gloucester*, natural Son to *K. Hen. the 1.*) that he received an ancient *British History* from *Walter*, Arch-Deacon of *Oxon*, which (as he says) he faithfully translated out of the *British Tongue* into *Latin*, though *William N-abrigenfis*, (who lived some time after this *Geoffrey*) in the very beginning of his History writes thus of him, "In this: our days (says he) a certain Writer is risen, who hath "devised many foolish Fictions of the *Britains*, he is named *Geoffrey*: "And a little after, thus, with his little shame, and with what great "Confidence doth he frame his Lyes! So that you may see his History began to be cryed out against almost as soon as it was published. And yet

yet for all this, it is certain, that *Geoffrey* was not the first Author of this Story of *Brutus*; for *Nennius*, who lived in the 8th Century (and is also Intituled *Gildas* in some Copies) in his History makes the Isle of *Britain* to be first inhabited by one *Brito*, the Son of *Heficion*, the Son of *Japhet*, or else from one *Brutus*, (it seems he did not know which) whose Pedegree he "derives from *Aeneas* by his Son *Ascanius*, and who (as he "supposes) reigned in *Britain* in the time that *Eli* Judged *Israel*, and "under whose Conduct the *Britains* in the third Age of the World first "came into this *Island*; which Calculation falls out right enough with our at present received Chronology: But as for *Sigebertus Gemblacenfis*, a French Monk, (who lived about Twenty Years before *Geoffrey*) tho' in some Editions he speaks of *Brute* with his *Trojans* arrival in *Gaul*, and of his passage from thence into *Britain*, yet it is certain they are none of that Author's words, there being no such thing to be found in the truest Edition of his Chronicle, published by *Mirras*. An. 1608. as the above cited Lord Bishop of *Coventry*, and *Litchfield*, in his learned Preface to his Historical account of Church Government in great *Britain* and *Ireland*, hath fully proved. But after him *Henry Arch-Deacon of Huntington*, an Author of Credit (who lived at the same time with *Geoffrey*) ascribes the first habitation of this *Island* to *Brutus*, the Son of *Sylvius*, Grandson to *Aeneas*; whom together with his certain *Trojans* he supposes to have come into *Britain* in the third Age of the World, as the *Scots* did in the fourth into *Ireland*, which he seems to have taken out of *Nennius*, or some other ancient Author: But this must still be confessed, that the whole relation of the Actions of *Brutus*, and the Succession of all the Princes that followed him, do all depend upon the Credit of *Geoffrey* and the truth of his transaction, and so was looked upon in the Age in which he published his History: But to make this *Brute* to be a *Trojan*, and to give him a Genealogy, which is plainly contradicted by all the *Roman* Authors, is that for which his History ought to be condemned: Yet thus much may be said in Excuse of him, and of all those Authors who have ascribed the Origine of the *Britains* to *Brute*, that they have imitated the Vanity of the ancient *Greeks* and *Romans*, who derived their Kings from some *God* or *Heroe*. And have been followed in it not only by the *Britains*, but the *French* and almost all other Nations of *Europe*, since they began to write Histories of their Originals.

But since it is fit that we should give you some account (though as short as possible) of this *Brute* and his Successors, I shall contract their History from *Geoffrey of Monmouth* into as narrow a Compass as I can.

Brutus, who is suppos'd to have first Peopled *Britain* with Inhabitants of the *Trojan Race*, is said to have been the Great Grandson of *Aeneas*, by his Son *Ascanius*, who killing his Father *Sylvius*, King of *Alba*, accidentally with an Arrow, was forced to fly his Country, and going into *Greece* joyned himself with the remainder of those scattered *Trojans* he found there, and becoming their Leader, made War upon *Pandrusus*, the King of that Country, to whom he sent this Message, viz. "That the *Trojans* holding it unworthy "their Ancestors to serve in a Foreign Kingdom, had retreated to the "Woods; choosing rather a Savage, than a slavish Life; if that dis- "pleased him, then with his leave they might depart to some other "Soile. The particulars of which being tedious and fabulous, are here needless further to be inserted. But at last that King being by them made a Prisoner, was forced to accept of terms of Peace, the Articles of which

which were, That *Brute* should Marry *Inogena* the King's Daughter, and in Consideration of her Dower should have a Fleet given him, with Liberty to transport all such as would be willing to follow his Fortunes: The Marriage being thereupon solemnized, *Brute* and his *Trojans* with a great Fleet betook themselves to Sea, and within a short time landed on a deserted Island, where they found a ruin'd City, in which was a Temple, and an Image of *Diana*, that gave Oracles; whereupon *Brutus* consulting with his Diviner and Twelve other of the Ancients, was advised to invoke the Goddess to tell him, in what Land or Region he should find a place to settle in, and accordingly as we find it in *Geoffrey of Monmouth*, he is said to Address her thus,

*Divā potens Nemorum, terror Sylvestribus apris,
Cui licet anfractus ire per thæreos,
Infernaeque domos: Terræ fura Jura resolve,
Et dic, quas terras nos habitare velis.
Dic certam sedem, qua te veneremur in ævum,
Quâ tibi Divitiæ Templâ dicabo Choris.*

Thus excellently well translated by the Learned Mr. Milton.

Goddeſs of Shades, and Huntreſs who at will
Walk'ſt on the rolling Sphere, and through the deep,
On thy third Reign the Earth look now, and tell
What Land, what Seat of reſt thou bidſt me ſeek,
What certain Seat, where I may worſhip thee
For ay, with Temples vow'd, and Virgin Quires.

Whereupon the Goddess returned this following Answer.

*Brute ſub Occaſum ſolis trans Gallica regna
Inſula in Oceano eſt undique cincta Mari.
Inſula in Oceano eſt, habitata Gigantibus olim,
Nunc deſerta quidem, Gentibus apta tuis.
Hanc pete, namque tibi ſedes erit illa perennis;
Hæc fiet natis altera Troja tuis
Hic de prole tua Reges naſcentur, & illis
Totius Terræ ſubditus Orbis erit.*

Rendred thus,

Brutus, far to the *West*, in th' Ocean wide
Beyond the Realm of *Gaul*, a Land there lies,
Sea-Girt it lies, where Giants dwelt of old,
Now void, it fits thy People, thither bend
Thy Courſe, there ſhalt thou find a laſting Seat,
There to thy Sons another *Troy* ſhall riſe,
And *Kings* be born of thee, whoſe dreaded Might
Shall awe the World, and Conquer Nations bold.

But

But theſe Verſes being in *Latin*, when there was no ſuch Language ſpoke in the World, ſufficiently betray the modernneſs of the invention: So that were it no more to pleaſe, then inſtruct, I ſhould not have inſerted them here.

And now *Brute* being guided, as he thought by a Divine Conduct, Sails again towards the *West*, and Landing in *Italy* meets with ſome other *Trojans* who had come thither with *Antenor*, many of whom he takes along with him, together with one *Corineus* their Chief. With this recruit *Brute* puts again to Sea, and paſſing the Pillars of *Hercules*, at the mouth of *Ligeris* in *Aquitania* calls Anchor, where they were ſet upon by one *Geffinus* a *Piſiſh* King of that Country, now called *Poſiden*, with whom having ſeveral Battles, *Brute* at laſt Conquered and Expell'd him his Kingdom, but he ſoliciting the other Kings of *Gaul* to his aſſiſtance; *Brute* thereupon finding himſelf too weak for ſo great a force, called a Council, where 'twas reſolved, that ſince this was not the Land promiſed them by the Oracle, they ſhould again put to Sea: So embarking all their Forces, after a few days Sail they arrived at *Albion*, and Landed at a Haven, now called *Totneſſe* in *Devonſhire*. The time of which enterprize is ſuppoſed to be about 1200 Years after the Flood, and about 66. Years after the Deſtruction of *Troy*; if any certain time can be aſſigned for ſo uncertain a relation.

But *Brute* having at length (through many dangers and difficulties) attained this long wiſh'd for Iſland, Lands his *Trojans*, and marches up into the Country to take poſſeſſion of it, which he found in great part deſart, or Inhabited only by ſome Gyants; theſe he quickly deſtroys and to his People divides the Land, which in alluſion to his own Name he called *Britain*. On *Corineus* *Cornwall*, (as we now call it) was beſtowed: But here I omit as a Fable, only fit to be told Children, how this Hero, though no Gyant himſelf, yet took up the mighty Gyant *Gozmagog* in his Arms, and flung him off from a Cliff into the Sea, from whence the place hath been ever ſince called *Langoemagog*, that is to ſay, the Gyant's Leap.

After *Brute* had thus conquer'd the Iſland, he choſe a fit place to build a City, which he called *Troja Nova*; (for it ſeems he ſpoke *Latin* though it were not then uſed in *Italy*) which Cities Name was changed in time to *Trinobantum*, or *Troyn-vant*, after to *London*: This he made the Seat of his Kingdom, (*Eli* being then High Priſt in *Judea*), where he enacted ſeveral Laws, and having reign'd here Fifteen Years, he divided his Kingdom among his Three Sons; *Loerinus* the Eldeſt had that part called *Loegria* now *England*: *Camber* the ſecond poſſeſſed *Cambría*, now *Wales*. And *Alanaſtus*, *Alania*, now *Scotland*; but he ſome time after being invaded by one *Humber* King of the *Huns*, was ſlain in fight, and his People driven back into *Loegria*, whereupon King *Loerinus* and his Brother *Camber* march'd againſt this *Humber*, who fighting with them, and being overcome, and drown'd in a River, left his Name to it. I deſignedly omit the long ſtory of the Lady *Eſtrildis*, whom *Loerinus* then taking Priſoner he fell in Love with, and privately enjoy'd, and would have Married, had it not been for fear of *Corineus*, whoſe Daughter *Gwendolin*, he had already betroathed; but no ſooner was *Corineus* dead, but he owned *Eſtrildis* for his Queen, which ſo incenſed *Gwendolin*, that although *Loerinus* was ſtrengthened by the addition of *Cambría* upon the Death of his Brother; yet ſhe goes into *Cornwall*, and by powerful ſolicitations in the

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behalf

behalf of her self and her young Son *Madan*, the *Cornish* a e brought to assist her: With these Forces, she marched against *Locrinus*, and in a pitch'd Battle nigh the River *Stour* he was overcome, and Slain, in the 20th Year of his Reign, upon this (just as she would have it) the Kingdom fell to her Son

Madan, the Son of *Locrinus* by *Gwendolin*, although a Child, yet succeeded his Father, but under the Regency of the *Queen* his Mother, who out of Revenge, drown'd *Estrildis* and her Daughter *Sabra* in a River, which from her was called *Sabrina*, in *English Severne*; *Gwendolin*, her Son coming to full Age, resigned her Power, and retired into *Cornwall*, after she had Govern'd Fifteen Years: But *Madan* having had the fame of Ruling well for the space of Forty Years in all, left behind him two Sons, *Mempritus* and *Manlius*; *Mempritus* the Eldest Son of *Madan's* supposed to have ruled over the whole Island, but *Manlius* his Younger Brother rebelling against him, he desired a treaty with him, who giving his Brother a meeting, he treacherously murdered him, and now having put an end to that trouble, giving himself up to Luxury and Cruelty, and at last to unnatural Lust, hunting in a Forrest was devoured by Wolves; to whom succeeded *Eirank* his Son, who was a Man of mighty Strength and Stature; he first after *Brutus* wasted *Gaul*, and returning rich and prosperous, built *Caerbranc*, now *York*, and in *Albania*, the Town of *Mount Agned*, now *Edinburgh* He is said to have had Twenty Wives, and by them Twenty Sons and Thirty Daughters, which (as our Author relates) were sent under the Conduct of their Brother to *Sylvius Alba* then King of *Italy* to be provided with Husbands, because he had heard that the *Sabines* would not give their Daughters in Marriage to the *Latins*, which is so very ridiculous that it needs no Confutation. This Prince dying, after he had reign'd about Forty Years, left the Kingdom to *Brute*, Sir-named *Green-shield* from the colour of his Target; he revenged those Indignities, which had been put upon his Father by *Brunchild*, Prince of *Hannonia* or *Hainault* Conquering him near the banks of the *Scaldis*, i. e. the *Scheld*, but the modern names of *Hainault*, and *Brunchild* sufficiently betray the Novelty of this *Fable*: He hath the Character of an Excellent Prince, Just, Merciful, and a most exact observer of his Word; and reigned Twelve Years, to whom succeeded

Leir his Son, who built the City of *Carlisle*, (in the Days of *Solomon*), after called by the *Romans* *Lugubalia*, and did also repair *Caerleon*, now called *Chester*; he was a good Prince till the latter end of his days, when falling into several Vices, he occasioned great dissensions in the Kingdom, which did not end with his life, but after he had reigned Twenty five Years, left the Kingdom to

Rudhudibras or *Hudibras*, who compos'd the disturbances begun in his Fathers days, and, studying nothing more than to strengthen and adorn his Kingdom, built several Cities, as *Caerkin* now *Canterbury*; likewise *Caer Guent*, now *Winchester*; as also *Mount Paladur*, after *Septonia* or *Shafisbury*, and having reigned Twenty nine Years, was succeeded by,

Bladud his Son, who is said to have been skill'd in Magick, and thereby to have found out those Medicinal Waters, now called the *Bath*, where he also built a City, called *Caer Baden*; he is said to be a Man of a good Invention, and having made himself Wings to flye, fell down from the Temple of *Apollo* in *Trinovant*, and broke his Neck, having governed *Britain* Twenty Years. To him succeeded

Leir

Leir his Son who built *Caer Leir*, now called *Leicester*: He had only Three Daughters, *Gonnilla*, *Regana*, and *Cordiella* his darling; but in his old Age, being jealous of their Affections, he called them before him, and demanded, that they would give him some assurance of their Love; the two Eldest called Heaven and Earth to witness, that they loved him Ten thousand times dearer than their own Souls, and that they were not able to Express their infinite kindness for him; and at last concluded their flatteries with horrid Oaths and affirmations of their Sincerity; but *Cordiella*, the Youngest, though having before her Eyes the present reward of an easie flattery, yet could not be moved from giving him this downright honest Answer: Father (saith she) my Love toward you, is as my Duty bids, What should a Father seek? What can a Child promise more? They who pretend beyond this flatter: This short Answer not at all satisfied the old suspicious *King*; for he shewed his resentments by his neglect of her, and the suddain advancement of her Sisters, Mirrying *Regana* to the Duke of *Cornwall*, and *Gonarilla* to the Duke of *Albania*; reserving no portion at all for *Cordiella*, but it so happen'd, that *Aganippus* a Prince of *Gaul* (however he came by this Greek Name) hearing of her Vertue and Beauty desired her in Marriage, to whom she was welcome without any other Dower, but her own Vertues. *King Leir* having thus disposed of his two Eldest Daughters, and dividing half his Kingdom between them, they within some time by their subtle practices work him out of all; so that he was forced to sojourn with his Daughters by turns, who being set on by their Husbands, put so many affronts and Indignities upon him (needless here to be recited) that in the end he was constrained to leave the Realm, and take refuge with *Cordiella*. This rejected Daughter received him with all the Duty and Affection imaginable; and then appeared the difference between the down-right Love of some Children to their Parents, and the over talkative obsequiousness of others, while the hopes of a large Inheritance obliges their Tongues to Express more Duty than ever they mean to perform; but what was more significant than Words, she assisted her Father with powerful aids, and in Person went to revenge his wrongs: So that bringing a great Army into *Britain*, she destroyed his Enemies, and restored him to his Crown, which he held but for the space of Two Years, whose Reign in all is computed to be about Forty Years, and then dying left the Throne to

Cordilla, who Governed the Kingdom for Five Years; but in the mean time her Husband *Aganippus* dying; *Morgan* and *Cunedage* her Nephews, by her Sisters *Gonarilla* and *Regana*, disdaining to be under the Government of a Woman, rebelled against her; and so prevailed, that they took her Prisoner; but she being a Woman of a high Spirit slew her self, rather than to live under their Tyranny.

Whereupon *Cunedage* and *Morgan* possessing the whole Government, divided the Island between them; to *Morgan* fell *Albania*, to *Cunedage* all the Land on this side *Humber*; *Morgan* not being content with his Portion Invaded his Brother, but being driven by him into *Wales*, and there Slain, gave the Name of *Glan-Morgan* to that Country: *Cunedage* now Ruling alone built many Temples to his Gods, and dying, was buried at *Trinovant*; after he had Ruled Thirty three Years, to whom succeeded

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Rita 1

Rivallo the Son of *Can-dag*; in his time it rain'd Blood for Three Days together, from whose Putrefaction, Noisom and Venemous Flies were bred; which in Swarms infested the whole Land, and brought great Contagion both upon Men and Beasts. He, after he had Ruled Forty six Years, was succeeded by

Gurgust his Son, of whom nothing is recorded worth mentioning; he is said to have Reign'd Thirty seven Years: Nor is there more left of *Jago* his Nephew,

Nor yet of *Sillius*, or *Sicillius*, tho' how related to the former is not said: But to him, after Forty nine Years Reign, succeeded

Knemare, said to be Brother of *Jago*, of whom there is nothing Recorded, but that he was Buried at *Tork*: To whom succeeded

Gerbedug, the Son of *Kinemare*, he is noted for Tyranny: But dying, he left behind him two Sons

Ferrex, and *Porrex*, who Reigning jointly at first, did within a few Years begin to contend, who should have the whole Kingdom; in which Contention, after a great Battle Fought between them, *Ferrex* was Slain, whose Death affected his Mother with so great a Grief, that transported by Revenge, she by the help of her Maidens, Slew her other Son *Porrex* whilst he was a Sleep; an unheard of Example, and too strange to be true.

After his Death, the Blood Royal of *Brute* being extinguished by his Death, there happened cruel Wars, so that the Kingdom was rent into five parts; one *Pinnor* made himself King of *Loegria* or *England*: *Stator* seized *Albania*; *Rudeck* *Cambria*, and *Cloten* *Cornwall*: But as to the fifth division, the Story is silent; this *Pentarchie* is supposed to have lasted above Fifty Years, the Kingdom in the mean time being miserably harried by Civil Wars, until

Dunwallo Molmutius, Son of *Cloten* King of *Cornwall*, excelling in Valour and Comeliness of Person, by subduing the other four Princes, reduced the whole Island again into a Monarchy, and is said to be the First in Britain that wore a Crown of Gold; and therefore by some reputed the first King: But what he got by Force he managed with great Prudence and Moderation; Enacting several excellent Laws, which *Geoffrey* says were translated into *Latin* by *Gildas*; and in *Saxon* afterwards by King *Alfred*. But since no such work of his is any where extant, I shall not give them so much Credit as to recite them; though *Mr. Selden* hath not thought them unworthy of a place in his learned Treatise; called, *Janus Anglorum*. But this King, after he had governed Forty Years, died, and was buried at *Trinovant*, to whom succeeded his two Sons

Belinus and *Brennus*, who after some Controversies, divided the Kingdom between them, *Brennus* being to have all that lay North of *Humber*, and *Belinus* the rest; but the Younger being not long so contented, did upon new designs Sail into *Norway*, and enter into a League with *Elfsing* King of that Country, and Married his Daughter, which *Belinus* hearing of, did in his absence dispossess him of his Kingdom; *Brennus* with a Fleet of *Norwegians* makes toward *Britain*, but is encounter'd by *Guithlac*, a Danish King, who laying claim to his Bride pursued him at Sea, and being there vanquish'd in a Fight, was forced to get away with a few Ships; but *Brennus* nevertheless recollecting his shattered Navy, landed in *Albania*, and gave Battle to his Brother, who totally routed him and forced him to fly into *Gaul*, with no more than one single Vessel.

But

But *Belinus* being now rid of his Brother, turns his Thoughts to Arts of Peace, and amongst other things they reckon his making the Four great Ways or Streets, which are still to be seen, to run cross the Kingdom, which they will have him, and not the *Romans*, to have first laid.

Brennus in the mean while having been kindly received by *Seguinus* King of *Armorica*, now *Britagn* in *France*, and having Married his Daughter, was by him assisted with a powerful Army to regain his Kingdom; and Landing in *Britain*, was now ready to give Battle to his Brother; when their Mother *Conwenna* mediated between them, and so perswaded them, that embracing each other they were perfectly reconciled; so that going to *Trinovant*, they resolved to turn their united Forces on Foreign Parts, and then Sailing into *Gaul*, the Author tells us, that under these two, not only all that Country, but also *Italy*, was Conquered, as you may find in the *Roman* Authors. If those were *Britains* and not *Gauls* which took *Rome*, which is not worth our while to Dispute: Some say, that *Belinus* went not into *Gaul* with his Brother, or if he did that he soon returned. After which he made it his Business to adorn his Kingdom, Building some Cities, of which *Caer-Uske*, now *Caer-Lon* upon *Uske* was one; and he also adorn'd *Trinovant* with a Gate called to this Day *Belin's-Gate*, having a Tower on the Top of it; at the Foot of which he made a Harbour for Ships: He is also said to be the first Founder of the Tower of *London*. After he had Reigned Twenty-six Years died, and his Body being burnt on a Funeral Pile, his Ashes were put in a golden Urn, and placed on the Top of the Tower that he himself had Built.

Gurguint, Sirnamed *Brabtruc*; his Son, succeeded him, in whose Reign the *Danes* refused the Payment of the Tribute, which had bin imposed by *Belinus*, when their King *Guithlac*, being driven by force of Weather upon the Coast of *Northumberland*, was made a Prisoner, nor could be set free, without an Engagement to pay Tribute for himself and Successors, which being now denied, *Gurguint* now Sailed into *Denmark*, and by force of Arms obliged the *Danes* to renew their Treaty, and received Homage of their King and Chief Nobility, and then Embarked again for *Britain*: In his return he met with a Fleet of Thirty Sail about the Isle of *Orkeny*, these he encountred, and having taken their Captain *Bartholain*, he demanded of him what he was, and the Reason of his coming into those Parts; *Bartholain* answered, that he and his Followers were named *Balences*, being banished from *Spain* (their Country) with their Wives and Children, and thereupon had put to Sea to seek out new Habitations, whereupon it is said this King assigned them *Ireland*, being a Place not then Peopled. This King is supposed to have Built *Caer-Werith* or *Lyncafter*, *Caer-Peris* or *Portchester* in *Hampshire*, and *Caer-Gaurvie* now *Warwick*, where he was buried, after he had Reigned Nineteen Years; to whom succeeded

Guimelin his Son, he was a Prince Learned, Prudent, and of singular Justice and Moderation; he is said to have had a Wife of as great Virtue, named *Martia*, to whom *Geoffrey* falsely Attributes the making of the Laws called *Mercen-enlage*, which was indeed so called not from her, but from the *Mercians*, by whose Kings they were first enacted. This King is also said to have Reigned Twenty six Years, and was succeeded by

Sicilius

Sicilius the II. his Son, being about Seven Years of Age, but under the Government of his Mother *Martia*, he is supposed to have Reign'd Fifteen Years, Seven under the Tuition of his Mother, and Eight after his full Age; and having given all the Signs of a hopeful Prince, he was suddenly snatched away by Death, and then the Crown fell to

Kimarus the Son of *Sicilius*; but he being of a wild and ungovernable Temper, and wholly given up to all manner of Exorbitances, was killed in the Woods, in pursuit after his Game, some say by an Ambush, others by wild Beasts: He Reign'd but three Years, then

Elauius, or *Danius* his Brother succeeded. This King was not Inferior to his Predecessor in Wickedness of Life, inasmuch, that some make them the same Person, so exactly did these two Princes correspond in their Vices. He held the Scepter about Ten Years; then succeeded his Son

Morvidus, or *Morindus* (by a Concubine) a Man of great Strength and Comeliness; as to the Qualities of his Mind, he was Liberal, but withal exceeding Passionate: In his Days the *Morians*, or rather *Morini*, a People of *Gaul*, Landing in *Northumberland* with Fire and Sword wasted that Country, which *Morindus* hearing of, with all Expedition gathered his Forces, and with long and wearisome Marches made up to them, and in one Battle utterly defeated them, and then put all the Prisoners to Death with exquisite Torments; but not long after hearing of an hideous Monster, which, coming out of the *Irish* Sea, seized and devoured many that lived near the Shore. The King beholding the lamentable Destruction of his Subjects, fought the Monster himself: the Contest held for a while doubtful, but at last the Monster prevailed and devoured the King. This is said to have happened in the Ninth Year of his Reign, to whom succeeded

Gorbonian his eldest Son, a religious Prince, which he evidenced to the World by repairing decay'd Temples, and erecting new ones in several Places in his Dominions: He is said to have built *Grantham* in *Lincolnshire*, and some say *Cambridge*, antiently called *Caer-Grant* and *Grant Chester*. He Reign'd Ten Years, and was succeeded by his Brother

Archigallo, the Second Son of *Morindus*; he endeavoured to depress the Nobility, by depriving them of all Power and Command, and preferring Mean and unworthy Men, and by taking away Men's Estates to enrich his own Treasure; all which Oppressions the Nobility of the Kingdom not being any longer to bear, they rose up in Arms, and deposing him, placed

Elidure his Brother in the Throne; he was called by his Subjects *Elidure the Pious*; for as he went on Hunting one Day in the Wood *Calater*, in the midst of the Forest he met with his Brother *Archigallo*, and being struck with Pity of his Misfortunes, he secretly conveyed him Home to his own House at the City of *Alchluid*, where feigning himself sick, he assembled all the Nobles of his Realm, and there partly by Persuasions, partly by Commands, he engaged them again to receive his Brother *Archigallo* for their Sovereign; and afterwards calling a general Assembly of his People at *Tork*, he there publicly resigned his Crown, and taking it off his own Head, placed it on his Brother's, after he had Reign'd Three Years.

Archigallo being thus Restored, by his wife and sober Deportment regained the Affections of his People; for he discarded his former Favourites,

rites, and adhered to the prudent Advice of his Nobility, and Reigning to the general Liking of his Subjects for the space of Ten Years, died and was buried at *Caer-brank*, or *Tork*.

Elidure, after the Death of his Brother, became once more King of *Britain*, and so with much Honour and Reputation received the second time the Crown, but was soon deposed by the Ambition of his Brethren, *Vigenius* and *Peridurus*, after One Year's Government; when being seized by them, and his Person confined to the Tower of *London*, they divided the Kingdom between them; *Peridurus* took *Albania*, and *Vigenius* all the Country on this side *Humber* for his share.

Vigenius dying after he had Reign'd Seven Years, the whole Kingdom devolved to *Peridurus* who managed it with great Moderation and Justice, and having governed Nine Years died, then *Elidure* again resumed the Crown, being delivered out of Prison by his Subjects, and after he had Reign'd Four Years to the general Satisfaction of all Men, then dying, was succeeded by his Nephew or Grandson, the Son of *Gorlonian*, who is called

Regin by *Mat* of *Westminster*, though not named particularly by *Geoffrey*; He was a worthy Prince, and Reign'd with the general Approbation of all his People, to whom succeeded

Morgan, or *Margan*, the Son of *Argigallo*, he Reign'd Fourteen Years in Tranquillity: After him

Eunian, or *Emerian*, another Son of *Archigallo's* was advanced to the Throne, who, quite different from his Brother, govern'd Tyrannically, and was in the Sixth Year of his Reign Depos'd, and then succeeded

Idnallo the Son of *Vigenius*, who warned by the Misfortune of his Predecessor avoided Tyranny; after whom Reign'd

Rinco the Son of *Peridurus*, an heroic Prince and a great Warriour. Then next follows, in *Geoffrey* of *Monmouth*, a long descent of Kings, who either did nothing, or had no Body to Record it; these make up Seventeen Kings in all, viz. *Gorantius* the Son of *Elidurus*, to whom succeeded *Catellus* his Son, then *Coillus*, and after him *Porrex* the Second; then *Cherin*, or *Cherim*; then succeeded *Fulgentius* the Eldest Son of *Cherin*; next him *Androgeus* the Third Son of *Cherin* enjoyed the Crown; then after him

Urianus the Son of *Androgeus* began to Reign, who giving himself up to all Riot and Intemperance, soon died; and to him succeeded

Elid; then *Elidavius*, then *Cledanus*, or *Cletanus*, called also by others *Detonus*; but here arises so great a Difference amongst the Writers of this long Bed-Roll of *British* Kings, that there is nothing of Certainty concerning their very Names, much less of their Actions, for their Names are variously recited by *Geoffrey*, and those Authors that lived after him, and pretend to correct or enlarge him; but you must take them as we find them. Then succeeded

Gurguritus; then *Merianus*, and after him *Bledunus*; then *Capenus*; next to him *Sifilius* the Third; then *Blegabred*, who is said to have been excellently well Skill'd in Vocal as well as Instrumental Musick; he Reign'd Ten Years: After him succeeded

Arthimalla his Brother; and after him *Eldal*: Then follow Nine Kings more, without any thing Recorded of them, but their bare Names, viz.

Rodianus or *Redian*, then *Redarchius* or *Redargius*, then *Samuil*, then *Penisill*, then *Carpoir* or *Corporius*, and after him *Geiduellus* or *Dimellus* the Son of *Carpoir*, a Prince Modest and Prudent in all his Actions, who left his

his Son *Heli* his Successor, who Reign'd Forty Years, and was succeeded by

Lud his Eldest Son, who is reported to have been a Vertuous Prince, making divers excellent Laws, and Correcting many Abuses in the Government; he Adorn'd the City of *London* with new Walls and Towers, and therein built a Gate, which is still called after his Name, *Lud-Gate*; and is said to have built himself a Palace not far from it: And, after he had Reign'd Eleven Years, died, leaving behind him two Sons, *Androgeus* and *Theomantius*, under the Tuition of his Brother

Cassibelan, whose Bounty and Worihy demeanour so wrought upon the People, that he easily got the Kingdom transferr'd upon himself; yet nevertheless shewing some Favour to his Nephews, he conferred freely upon *Androgeus* *London* with *Kent*, and upon *Theomantius* *Cornwall*; reserving to himself a Superiority over them both, till the *Romans* for a while eclipsed his Power.

I shall not here trouble my self to set down, much less to confute the Errors that may be found in the Chronology of these Kings Reigns, since *Geoffrey* of *Monmouth*, from whom they are taken, hath bin so cautious, as not to give us any account in what Year of the World they Reign'd; sometimes telling us (tho' with no certainty at all) the Names of the Judges and Kings of *Israel*, whom he makes Contemporary with them. But as for his last Nine and Twenty Kings from *Elidure* to *Lud*, he has given us nothing but their bare Names, without so much as setting down how many Years they reign'd, as if he himself, or those Authors he had Translated had bin ashamed, or weary of their own tedious Stories, and so would make it as short as they could.

But as for *Mat. of Westminster*, *Ponticus Virunnius*, *Polydore Virgil*, and one *Richard White*, (who calls himself *Bastinroke*) I do not think it worth while to put down their pretended Corrections, Emendations, and Additions of *Geoffrey's* History, since, if he had no Authority to invent, I am sure they can less pretend to Correct his Inventions, or alter his Course of Succession of the *British* Kings, as *Polydore* has done, under pretence of making them more suitable to his own Accounts of time: But *White* has exceeded all others in this, making bold with *Geoffrey*, not only altering the Names of his Kings and their Course of Succession in many Places, but also referring them in particular to the Years of the World, in which he supposes them to have Reign'd, adding also the Years of their Reigns where-ever he thought *Geoffrey* to be deficient, but without vouchsafing to give us the Names of any Authors from whence he took them: So that since we have indeed no better Authorities than *Geoffrey* himself, I shall not go about to Confute the Faults that might be found in the Chronology which *Mr. White* has given us of these Kings Reigns; though it were no hard Matter to shew diverse Absurdities in it. But this much is evident from the disagreement of these Authors, about the Names of their Kings and the Years of their Reigns, that they had nothing but their own Fancies to rely upon, for what they wrote; whence proceeds so great a Confusion in this part of their *British* History, that no Body can certainly conclude any thing from hence, unless that they were all mistaken: Nor is it only the uncertainty of Kings Names and Successions that we here find fault with, but the great Improbability (I might say Impossibility) of divers Matters of Fact related by *Geoffrey* of *Monmouth*, in this History of the *British* Kings: As for Instance, that of
King

King *Ebranes* sending his Thirty Daughters to find Husbands in *Italy*; which Story plainly took its rise from the *Sabines* denying their Daughters to those People, which *Romulus* many Years after got together. Not to mention the Story of *Morindus's* being devoured by a Sea-Monster, whereas neither our Seas nor Rivers do now (or ever did) afford any such noxious Creatures; divers other more improbable Relations (because I would not tire the Reader with such Fooleries) I have here omitted. Besides all which, the very Names of many of these Kings, such as *Jaco*, (which is the same with *James* in English) *Molmutius*, *Morindus*, as also *Archigallo*, *Gorbonian*, *Ennianus*, *Geruntius*, *Fulgentius*, *Androgeus*, *Archimachus*, *Rodianus*, sufficiently betray some a Phœnician, some a Grecian, and some a Roman Original, and could never be derived from the *British* Originals.

Lastly, There is great difference between this part of the *British* History (especially from *Elidure* to *Lud*) and all other Histories; for whereas these commonly are barren of particular Transactions in their beginning, and afterwards enlarge themselves still more and more the further they proceed. This History is quite contrary, and the farther we go, the more confused we find the Succession of their Kings, and the less there is Recorded of their Actions; for from *Elidure* to *Lud* there are Nine and Twenty Kings, of whom nothing almost is Recorded but their bare Names; and which is also very remarkable, from this *Elidure*, *Geoffrey* makes no mention of the Years of their Reigns. What we find of this kind hath been added by those that writ long after him, who have done it very preposterously, allowing not above Ten Years one with another to Thirty Kings, which are supposed to have Reign'd in about Two Hundred Years; so that if there were any Truth in this History, it seems more rational to believe these Kings not to have succeeded each other, but many of them to have bin Contemporary Rulers of particular Provinces of this Island.

I shall therefore conclude this Part of the History with *Mr. Milton's* Words concerning these Kings. "Thus far have we gone relying upon the Credit of *Geoffrey* of *Monmouth* and his Assertors, though, for the Reasons above-mentioned, I have not thought it beside my Purpose to relate what I have found, whereto I neither oblige the Belief of other Persons, nor shall over-hastily subscribe my own.

"Yet granting these things not to have been true, but invented by the Author above-mentioned; yet since even Romances, as well as true Histories, may furnish us with Observations sufficient to instruct us, not only in the Humours and Passions of Mankind, but also in the Causes as well as Effects of human Actions: And since Ambition, Lust, and the Desire of Revenge are commonly in their turns the Motives that incite Princes as well as private Men to Transgress the Laws of Reason; let us look back and survey some of the most remarkable Actions of those Princes, whose History we have here cited.

From those frequent Divisions we here read to have been made of the Kingdom between several Brothers, we may learn, that the *Britains* had no Notion of any Right in the Eldest Brother to Command over all the Rest, no not after they became Christians; the Welch Princes still dividing their Territories among all their Sons alike, though we may see the Inconvenience of this Course, by their making War upon each
D other

other about their particular Shares: Whence we may conclude, that Sovereignty ought to be left undivided, and the more Shares there are in it, the more Causes there are of Civil Wars and Divisions; nor have any prov'd more fatal than those among Brothers, of which we have sufficient Examples, not only in this, but other Histories.

From so many Kings being depos'd for their Tyranny, we may observe, that the ancient *Britains*, though under a Monarchy, yet did not think themselves oblig'd to suffer their Kings, by becoming Tyrants, to make their People Slaves; but knew how to cast off that Yoke when it grew insupportable.

Lastly, from *Cassibelan's* being made a King by the People, for his Valour and Worth, it plainly appears, that if the Kingdom were then Hereditary; yet the Estates did then reserve a Power to themselves, during the Minority of the Right Heir, to place in the Throne that Prince of the Blood-Royal, who was like to prove most able to defend them either against Foreign or Domestick Enemies; as this Prince in the War with *Cesar* evidenced to the World. I have made bold to add these few political Observations, that the Reader as well as my self may profit somewhat by Reading a History otherwise so dry and uninstrucive.

T H E

T H E
General History
O F
BRITAIN,
NOW CALLED
ENGLAND:
As well Ecclesiastical, as Civil.

B O O K I I.

Containing the Annals of ENGLAND, from the First Landing of JULIUS CÆSAR, to the Romans Total Desertion thereof, being about Four Hundred and Ninety Years.

HAVING in the former Book deduced the Succession of British Kings (as well as I was able) from *Brute* to the Beginning of the Reign of *Cassibelan*, in whose Time *Cesar* Landed in *Britain*; and having hitherto wandred through divers Ages of Fictions, or Uncertainties at best, like a Man in a dark Night, who knows not well whether he is in or out of his Road, yet is still forced to Travel on, till Day-light overtake him: So we having hitherto gone forward, though in the dark, are at last arrived at a Period, which will give us a more certain Light into our *British* History; though no *Roman* or *Greek* Historian did ever undertake to write a History on purpose concerning this Island, during all the time that the *Roman* Emperors govern'd here, either in Person or by their Lieutenants. For those Authors that are extant, only write of the Affairs of *Britain* occasionally, and as they stood intermix'd with other Parts of the *Roman* History: Hence we find that they rarely mention the Affairs of *Britain*, but by the bye, when an Expedition, occasioned by some fresh Rebellion or sudden Commotion, oblig'd them either to come in Person, or to send Forces over hither. Nor is there any Author,

except *Tacitus* in his *Life of Agricola*, who expressly treats of the whole Government or Actions of any one Lieutenant of all those that govern'd here; whence it is that we have so imperfect an Account of the Civil State of this Island, or what particular Laws were made for the Government of it, whilst it continued part of the *Roman Empire*, farther than we may pick up from some Laws dispersed here and there in the Code, and Digest; or else from the *Notitie* of the *Roman Empire*: To which may be also added (that which is yet worse than all the rest) the great Loss Civil Knowledge has undergone, by the perishing of so many excellent Histories both in Greek and Latin; so that whoever pleases to survey them will find of those few that remain, scarce one of them is come to us entire, but has lost some considerable Part or other: All which, if we had them together, would without doubt make a Complete Roman History of this Island, which now it is impossible to perform, having nothing left us during several Emperors Reigns, but some lame Epitomes, or immethodical Lives in the *Historie Auguste*. This I premise, that you should not wonder: if you find such large gaps in this Period, as to things perform'd in *Britain*, during several Successions of *Roman Emperors*: So that if it were not for some old Altars, and votive Inscriptions that have been dug up of late Years in divers Places of this Island, we could not certainly have known any further than by guess, that those Emperors, whose Names are there mentioned, had any thing to do here; and as for *Geoffrey of Monmouth*, and those few Modern Writers who take upon them to treat of these Matters, they are so false and uncertain, that they are rarely to be relied upon, and indeed never to be made use of, but when we are at a loss for any other Account of those Times. So that this (as I suppose) hath bin the Reason why some of our late *English Historians*, for want of other Matter, have stuffed out their Histories, not only with what the *Roman Emperors* did in *Gaul*, or *Britain*, but all the other Parts of the *Roman Empire*, where they had occasion to make Wars; which is indeed rather to give a General History of the then known World, than of one single Island or Province.

But since I intend to confine my self only to write of such Actions as were perform'd within the compass of this Isle, either by the *Roman Emperors* or their Lieutenants during the time they govern'd here; I shall rather chuse sometimes to leave a gap in the Story it self, than to write Things foreign and impertinent to the Subject I am to treat of: And indeed I could willingly have forborn Writing this Part of the History at all, since it hath been done already by *Mr. Camden* in Latin, and *Mr. Milton* in English, who have scarce omitted any thing which is worth the Collecting out of the *Greek and Latin Historians*, that was necessary to compleat this Period. Therefore, were it not for leaving too great a Chasm in our intended Work, I could very willingly have excused my self from so ungrateful a Task, in which I confess it is hard to equal, and much more to exceed such great Authors. But since I find there is a Necessity, in order to render the History entire, to give an Account of what was done in this Island during the *Roman Empire*, I shall perform it as well as I am able.

But that I may follow *Caesar's* Example, give me leave from him, as well as other *Greek and Roman Authors*, to give you a short Account of the Religion and Manners of the ancient *Britains*, as well in *Caesar's* Time as some Ages after, before we say any thing of his Expedition hither.

That

That Great Man in the Fifth Book of his admirable Commentaries tells us, that in his Time there were "in *Britain* a vast number of Men and Cattel, the Houses thick, and built almost like to those of the *Gauls*; that they used Copper or Iron-Plates weighed by a certain Standard instead of Money: That they counted it against their Religion so much as to taste of a Hare, Hen or Goose. And a little after proceeds thus; "Of all People those which inhabit *Kent* were most human, neither differ'd much from the Gallick Customs: The more Inland People for the most part sowed no Corn, but lived upon Milk and Flesh, being cloathed with Skins. But all the *Britains* stain'd themselves with Woad, which made them of a blewish colour, and thereby of a more terrible aspect in Battel: They wore long Hair, but shav'd all the rest of their Bodies, besides the upper Lip. Ten or twelve Men had Wives among them in common, chiefly Brethren with Brethren, and even Parents with their Children, but the Children that were got by them were looked upon as theirs, by whom those Women were taken in Marriage.

As for their manner of Fighting, I shall leave that to be related when I come to *Julius Caesar's War in Britain*.

Strabo in his Geography * tells us, "That the *Britains* exceeded the *Gauls* in Stature, he having seen some of them at *Rome* who were half a Foot higher than the tallest Men there, but that they were looser made. He says farther, "That they were like the *Gauls* in Disposition, but more simple and barbarous; so that some of them knew not how to make any Cheese, though they abounded in Milk; and that divers of them were ignorant of dressing Gardens, as well as other Parts of Husbandry: That they had many distinct Governments among them; their Woods serv'd them instead of Cities, for with Trees cut down, when they had inclos'd a large Circle, they build themselves Cottages, and Stables for their Cattle within it, though for no very long time.

Diodorus Siculus describes the *Britains* to be Aborigines, and living after the Manner of the Antients, and in Fight using Chariots like the *Greek Heroes* in the *Trojan War*; that they made their Houses for the most part of Reeds or Wood; that they laid up their Corn in the Ear in Granaries, from whence they fetch'd as much as would serve for one Day's Use; that they were simple and uncorrupt in their Manners, Strangers to the Craft and Subtilty of that Age, and liv'd content with very mean Diet and Apparel, remote from Riches and Luxury that attends them; and that the Isle abounded in a multitude of Men, who were subject to divers Kings and Princes.

* *Pomponius Mela* in his Treatise de *Scitu Orliis* relates, That *Britain* produced much People and divers Kings, but that they were all rude and unpolish'd; and that the farther they were from the Continent, the more ignorant they were of Foreign Riches, abounding chiefly in Cattle. That they died their Bodies with Woad, uncertain, whether for Ornament, or some other Cause. That they sought frequent Causes of War, and disturbed each other, from Ambition of Empire, and desire of enlarging their Dominions. That they fought not only on Horseback and on Foot, but also arm'd like the *Gauls* in Chariots, whose Axeltrees were arm'd with Scythes.

Cornelius

Cap. 1.

Cornelius Tacitus in his *Life of *Agricola* tells us, "That the *Britains* were very like the *Gauls*, whether the same Original, or the likeness of Climate were the Cause of it; so likewise their Speech was not much different. They had the same boldness in seeking out Dangers, and the same fear in declining of them when they were at hand: Yet that the *Britains* shew'd greater fierceness, as whom long Peace hath not yet softned; for we have heard (says he) that the *Gauls* were once famous for War, but Cowardice soon succeeded slothfulness, their Valour and Liberty being lost together; which hath also happened to the *Britains* already Conquer'd; but that the rest of them remained such as the *Gauls* once were: their chief Strength was in their Foot, but that some Nations of them us'd also Chariots in fight; the Charioteers were more Noble, their Followers fighting for them. That in Times past they obey'd Kings, but were then divided by their Princes into Factions and Parties; neither is there any thing so advantageous for the *Romans* against the strongest Nations, than that they do not consult in Common; for there are very seldom Assemblies for two or three Cities to repel common Danger; so whilst they fight separately they are all alike overcome. And in the next Chapter he goes on thus; "The *Britains* cheerfully yielded to the Pressing of their Men, paying Tribute, and all the other Duties impos'd by the Emperor, provided Injuries were not done them; these they will hardly endure, for they submit that they may obey, not that they may serve as Slaves.

Lib. LXIII.

Dion Cassius (epitomized by *Xiphilin*) speaking of the more Northern *Britains* relates, that they Tilled no Ground, but liv'd on their Fruits and Hunting, for of Fish, though they had great Store, they never tasted. That they liv'd in their Cabines naked and barefooted. They had their Wives in Common, and all of them maintain'd the Children. The chief Authority, for the most part, resided in the People. They were much addicted to Steal. They fought from Chariots, and had little nimble Horses; their Footmen ran very fast, and also stood very firmly to their Posts. Their Arms were a Shield and a short Spear, at whose lower end there was a Ball of Brass, that when they shake it they may terrifie their Enemies with the noise. They wore long Daggers. They can bear Hunger, Cold, and all sorts of Labour; being in the Woods they can live upon the Bark of Trees. They have still ready a certain sort of Food upon all Occasions, of which if they take the quantity of a Bean, they will not be Hungry or Thirsty for a great while after.

Lib. VI.

But *Herodian* is the first who describes the Northern People, then the most barbarous sort of *Britains*, and who, I suppose, were afterwards called *Picti* (that is, painted Men) to have had their Bodies mark'd with divers Figures; which, whether it was their Custom in *Cesar's* Time, may be doubtful, since he makes no mention of it. But this Author thus proceeds: The *Britains* know not the use of Garments, but gird their Bellies and Necks with Iron, thinking it an Ornament as well as a Sign of their Riches, in the same manner as other Nations prize Gold. They mark'd their very Bodies with divers Figures of all sorts of Animals, wherefore they will not wear Cloths, lest they should hide the Painting of their Bodies. It is a warlike Nation, and most greedy of Slaughter, and use only a narrow Shield and a Lance, besides a Sword hanging from their naked Bodies. They knew not the use of the

Breast-

Breast-plate or Helmet, thinking them a hinderance to them in their running over the Bogs, of which they had great Store.

Pliny relates (among their other Customs) that they wore Rings on their middle Fingers, and manured their Land with Marl; which can be only meant of the more civilized *Britains*, who undertook Husbandry; which improvement is used with us in some Countries to this day: but as for their Drink, *Solinus* tells us, they made it of Barly as we do now: and as *Dioscorides* also notes, who calls it, (though corruptly) *Curmy*, for *Corn*, for so the modern *Britains* still call Ale.

So that whoever will but consider the Manners and Customs of the Ancient *Britains*, may find them not to be much different from those of the naked *Indians* of some part of *America*; when they were first discovered: only they had the use of Bras and Iron, which those wanted until they were brought to them from other places: and also had Horses and Chariots, the use of all which were unknown to the *Americans*: but in other things you will find them much alike, only the latter seem to have been a better temper'd and more Vertuous People; from whence the Reader may judge of the likelihood of those Stories in *Geoffrey of Monmouth*, when he makes such descriptions of the stately Cities, Palaces, and Fleets of the *British* Kings: whilst *Cesar*, and *Lucan*, and *Pliny* describe their Vessels to have had their Ribs and Keels made of slight Timber, interwoven with Wicker like our Baskets, and covered with Hides, sowed together; not having the Art of making Saws to cut out Boards or Planks.

Having given you an account of their Ancient Manners and Government; I will next say somewhat of their Religion. *Cesar* tells us, that the Religion of the *Britains* and *Gauls* were much the same; that they had the same Gods, and the same Priests, viz. The *Druids*, who had a great Authority, not only in Religious, but Civil Matters; so that they could Excommunicate whom they thought fit; and a Person so interdicted could not be admitted to their Sacrifices, but was esteem'd among the number of the Accursed: so that all Persons studiously avoided him, not daring to come near him, for fear of being infected with so dangerous a Curse.

These *Druids* taught the People that the Soul was Immortal, and went out of one Body into another: But whether they had learned this from the *Greeks*, who traded amongst them, or from the antient *Phœnicians*, is uncertain.

But as for their Gods, they were the same with the *Gauls*. *Jupiter* was Worshipped under the Name of *Taranis*, or *Taran*, for *Taran* still signifies in *Welsh* Thunder. *Maximus Tyrius* writes, That they Worship'd the highest Oak they could find, as the Figure or Representation of this God.

Intates the God of Travellers is suppos'd to be the same with *Mercury*, and by the *Britains* called *Dum Taith*, the God of Journeys. *Mars* was Worshipped by the *Gauls* and *Britains* under the Name of *Hesus*; as also *Camulus*, as Mr. *Camden* proves, from a Coin of *Cunobelin*, of which he gives us the Draught, being a Man's Head with an Helmet on it, and with these Letters, C A M U. The next God of the *Britains* was *Apollo*, Worshipped by them under the Name of *Beleus* or *Belinus*, as appears by a Passage of *Julius Capitolinus* in his Life of *Maximin*. He is also suppos'd to have bin called *Belatucadrus*; there being divers Altars and Inscriptions dug

dug up of late Years out of the Earth, all of them with this Title, *DEO BELATUCADRO*, which Name seems to be deriv'd from the *Affryan* God *Bel*, or *Belus*.

As for Goddesses, they Worshipped *Diana* under the Name of *Camma*. Another Goddess the *Britains* had, who is call'd by *Dion Andraffe*, or *Andrate*, and is suppos'd to have bin the Goddess of *Victory*; she had a Temple at *Camalodunum* (now *Maldon* in *Essex*.) As for their Sacrifices, though they were most often Beasts, at sometimes they also Sacrific'd Men, as *Cæsar* expressly tells us: and *Tacitus* relates, That it was usual for the *Britains* to consult the Gods by the Entrails of Men; *Pliny* also tells us, That the Mistletoe growing upon an Oak, being cut with many Ceremonies, was made use of in all their Sacrifices and other Religious Rites; and also says, that *Britain* in his time did so Superstitiously cultivate Magick Arts, and that with so many Ceremonies; that they might have communicated it even to the *Persians* themselves.

These are the chief Things, which antient Authors have left us, concerning the *British* Customs and Manners, relating either to their Religious, Civil, or private Life, which, if it seem tedious to you, may be pass'd by: So I now come to my main Design, and give you *Cæsar's* own Account of his first Invasion of *Britain*, out of the Fourth and Fifth Books of his Commentaries.

Comment. Lib. 4.th *Julius Cæsar* having now subdued most part of *Gallia*, and quieted the *Germans*, and stopped their Incurfions into his Province, resolv'd on an Expedition into *Britain*: his Pretences were these, That the *Britains* had underhand sent Supplies to the Cities of *Armorica*, who the Year before had revolted from his Obedience, and had joined with the rest of *Gaul* in a general and dangerous Rebellion, and not only so, but that they had received into their Protection the *Bellovaci* his Enemies, who had fled to them for aid. These *Cæsar* there assigns as the Causes to justify this Invasion.

But though these were the seeming Causes that moved *Cæsar* to this sudden Expedition, yet certainly a Soul so great as his could not be tempted, by the mean hopes of getting the *British* Pearls, to so dangerous a War, as *Suetonius* in the Life of *Cæsar* supposes, though he mentions his comparing their weight and largeness by poising them in his Hand; yet I will not deny, but he might even propose the getting of these as a Bait to encourage his Souldiers in this Enterprize. By his past as well as future Actions we may guess, that besides Glory his main Design in Invading *Britain*, was to inure his Souldiers to Hardship, and to accustom them to the most uncouth and barbarous Enemies; that they might not be afterwards terrified at the most dangerous Enterprizes, but wholly depend upon his Fortune and Conduct.

Cæsar therefore, although Summer was almost spent, and Winter coming on very early in the Northern Parts of *Gaul*, yet resolv'd to pass over into *Britain*, and if the time of the Year should not suffer him to make War, yet he thought it might be to good purpose if he should but Land upon the Island, and understand the Natures of the Inhabitants, and come to know the chief Places, Harbors and Accesses to; it all which, he says, were as yet unknown to the *Gauls*; for, besides Merchants, no Body commonly went thither, and even to those scarce anything was known besides the Sea-coast, and those Countries which were opposite to *Gallia*: Therefore though the Merchants were called together from

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all Parts, yet could he not understand what Nations they were that inhabited it, nor what sort of War they made, nor what customs they used, nor what Ports were fitting to receive a Fleet of great Ships: Though by the way this seems very strange, if it were true, as they of *Rhemes* told *Cæsar*, that *Divitiacus* King of the *Soissons* had a little before held *Britain* also under his dominion; besides the *Belgian* Colonies, which he affirms to have named and Peopled many Provinces there, as also what he tells us in the Sixth Book of his Commentaries, that those who desired to know the *Druids* Discipline went thither Yearly on purpose to learn it.

But be this as it will, he thought it necessary before he exposed his own person, to send *Ca. Volusenus* thither with one Galley to discover these things, commanding him to return as soon as this could be effected, whilst he with all his Forces marched towards the Country of the *Morini*, now the Province of *Picardy*. Because thence was the shortest cut into *Britain*; hither he draws together his Ships from all parts of the neighbouring Provinces, as also that Fleet which he had built last Summer for the *Armorican* War, in the mean time when his design was made known, being carried over by the Merchants into *Britain*, Ambassadors came to him from divers Princes and States of this Island, who promised to give Hostages, and to obey the *Roman* Empire: All which being heard, *Cæsar* as largely promising and exhorting them to continue still in that mind sent them back; and with them *Comius* of the *Atribates* (now called the Country of *Arras*;) whom upon the conquest thereof he had made King, and of whose Courage and Fidelity *Cæsar* was very well assured: him he enjoins, that he should go to as many of the States as he could, and persuade them to come into the *Roman* Interest, and should also inform them that he himself would speedily come over thither. But *Volusenus* having only surveyed the Country at a distance (which was all he could do, since he durst not go out of his Ship, nor trust himself with these *Barbarians*;) on the Fifth day return'd to *Cæsar*, and related to him whatsoever he had there observed.

Cæsar having settled the *Morini* by taking Hostages of them, then gathered together about Eighty Ships of burthen, which he judged sufficient for the transporting of two Legions; but all his Gallies he distributed to his Quæstor and Lieutenants; there were also Eight Ships of burthen more, which lay Wind bound at a place Eight Miles distant, so that they could not reach the same Port; These he appointed for the Horse, the rest of the Army he committed to *Q. Titus Sabinus*, and *L. Aurunculus Cotta*, with orders to march into the Country of the *Menapii*, and into those Towns of the *Morini*, from whence Ambassadors had not yet come to him. But *P. Sulpicius Rufus* his Lieutenant he commands to keep the Port with a sufficient Garrison. All things being thus dispatched, and having now got a fair Wind, about the the Third Watch, he set Sail, commanding the Horsemen to march to the further Port, and thence to go on board and follow him, which orders proved too slowly executed. But he himself together with the first Ships about Four a Clock in the Afternoon reached *Britain*, where he found divers strong Troops of the Enemies lodged on the Hills; the nature of which

* place was such, these Hills hanging so steep over the Sea, that a Dart might be cast from the higher ground to the Shore; therefore judging this no fit place to Land his Men, he lay at Anchor till Nine of the

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* This supposed by Mr. Somner to have been near Dover.

the Clock, that the rest of the Navy could come up to him: in the mean time calling a Council of his Lieutenants and Tribunes, he communicates those things he had learn'd from *Volusenus*, and also what he would have done; telling them that the Nature of all Military (and especially Maritime) Affairs, having a sudden and unconstant motion, all things should be executed by his orders, and that in due time. These being dismissed, and having got the Wind and Tide both with him, the signal being given, and the Anchors weigh'd, he sail'd again forward about Eight Miles from that place, to an open and plain Shore, where he came to an Anchor. But the *Britains* knowing the *Roman's* design, having sent their Horses and Charioteers before (which they were chiefly wont to use in Fight) followed with the rest of their Forces, and hinder'd the *Romans* from landing: The difficulty of which was great in these respects, because the Ships by reason of their great bulk were not able to ride, but in a deep Sea; whilst the Souldiers having their hands taken up with their Arms, were yet in unknown places, not only to Leap down from the Ships and to withstand the Billows, but also at the same time to Fight their Enemies; whilst they either fighting on the Shore, or else marching but a little way into the Water, and having their hands free, fought in places where they were well acquainted, and boldly spurr'd on their Horses already managed and used to it; but the *Romans* being terrified with these things, and altogether unskill'd in this sort of fighting, did not shew the same briskness and courage, as they were wont to express in Land Service; which when *Cæsar* perceiv'd, he ordered the long Ships or Gallies (as both unusual to these *Barbarians*, and more ready for use) to fall off a little from the Ships of burthen, and to be row'd towards the Shore, and being laid against the naked side of the Enemies, to drive them back with Slings, Darts, and other Engines; which stood the *Romans* in good stead, for the *Britains* being terrified with the strange shape of their Gallies, the motion of their Oars, and those unusual kind of Engines, first stood still, and then began a little to retreat: But the *Romans* still delaying, because of the depth of the Sea, the Ensign of the Tenth Legion first invoking the Gods, that this action might prove fortunate and successfull, cried out, Leap down fellow Souldiers, unless you mean to betray this * Eagle to the Enemies, for I will certainly perform my duty to the Commonwealth, and to the General: When he had spoke thus with a loud Voice, he cast himself into the Sea, and began to carry the Eagle towards the Enemy; Then the *Roman* Souldiers encouraging one another not to suffer so great a disgrace as the loss of their Ensign, all leap'd out of the Ship, whom when the others from the next Ships had beheld, they also followed them, and quickly reaching the Shore, press'd upon the Enemy.

The Fight was sharp on both sides, but the *Romans* were not able either to keep their Ranks, nor get any firm footing, nor yet to follow their Ensigns: So that every Man being forced to joyn himself to the first Ensign he met with, they were hard put to it, whilst the Enemies acquainted with all the shallows, when ever from the Shore they beheld any marching from the Ships, immediately spurring on their Horses, they charged them at disadvantage, many encompassing a few, whilst others assaulting them on the * unarmed side, cast Darts against the rest; which when *Cæsar* perceiv'd, he commanded the Long Boats of the Gallies, and smaller Vessels to be mann'd with Souldiers, and sent them

* Note the *Roman* Ensign were then all Eagles, tho' afterwards they took the Figures of other animals.

* i. e. their side which was undefended by their shields.

to the assistance of those whom he beheld most distressed. The *Romans*, as soon as they got on Shore, making head, all together charged the Enemy, and put them to flight, yet could not pursue them far for want of Horses; this only was deficient to *Cæsar's* wonted Fortune.

The *Britains* being worsted in fight, as soon as they got together again, presently dispatched Messengers to *Cæsar* desiring Peace; promising that they would give him Hostages, and do whatever he injoyned; together with these Ambassadors came *Comius* of *Arras*, whom (as I have before shown) had been already sent by *Cæsar* into *Britain*; him, as soon as he came out of the Ship, and had related the General's Message, they laid hold on, and put into bonds; but the fight being over they sent him back, and Petitioning for Peace, cast the blame upon the common People; and desired that because of their Ignorance this fault might be pardoned: but *Cæsar* complain'd, That when they had of their own accord, by their Ambassadors sent to him into the Continent desiring Peace: Yet that they had without any Cause made War; But (he said) he would pardon their Folly, and therefore again injoyned them to send Hostages, part of whom they gave him present'y, the residue they promised (being to be sent for, from places more remote) to send him within a few days; whereupon their Princes came from all parts, and commended themselves and their States to *Cæsar*.

Peace being thus concluded, within Four days after his arrival in *Britain*, the Eighteen Ships which are already mentioned to have taken in the Horses; sail'd from the farther Port on the opposite Shore with a gentle Gale, but when they drew near the Island, and could be now discern'd from the Camp: So great a Tempest suddenly arose, that none of them could hold their course; but some were driven back to the same place from whence they set forth, whilst others were carried to the further part of the Island lying toward the West with very great hazard; for casting out their Anchors they took in so much Water, that they were forced (tho' in the Night) out to Sea again, and to steer towards the Continent: It also happened the same Night that the Moon was at the full, which is wont to make the highest Tides in the Ocean; but was then unknown to the *Roman* Mariners: So that at the same time the Spring Tide had fill'd all those Gallies with Water in which *Cæsar* had transported his Army; though he had now drawn them on Shore; whilst the Tempest had shattered the Vessels of burthen which lay at Anchor, neither was it in their Men's power any ways to help them; so that many Ships being wrack'd, the rest, their Cabies, Anchors, and other Tackle being broken or spoiled, became unfit for Service; this caused a great Consternation in the Army, for there were not any other Ships left, in which they could be again transported, and all things necessary were wanting to reit them, nor was there any Corn provided for them to Winter in these parts; all which being known to the *Britains*, their Princes, though after the Fight they had agreed to perform those things which *Cæsar* had injoyned; yet when they understood that the *Romans* wanted Horses, Ships, and Provisions, and had also judg'd of the paucity of their Souldiers from the small circuit of the *Roman* Camp, which seem'd the less, because *Cæsar* had transported his Legions without any Baggage; they thought it the best course again to take Arms, and thereby to hinder the *Romans* from fetching in Corn or other Provisions, and so to protract the War till Winter came on, for they thought if

these were once vanquish'd and cut off from ever returning into *Gaul*, none of them hereafter would again presume to transport an Army into *Britain*; Therefore the Plot being thus laid, they began by little and little to steal out of the Camp, and privately to draw their Men out of the Fields.

But *Cæsar* although he did not then know their design, yet from the late disaster of his Ships, as also from their neglecting to send in their Hostages, suspected what would happen, therefore provided for the worst, for he every day brought in Corn out of the Fields into the Camp, and as for those Ships that were most shatter'd, he made use of their materials to refit the rest, and what things were farther necessary he ordered to be brought from the Continent, all which being executed by his Souldiers with the utmost labour and diligence, only twelve Ships being lost, he fitted out the rest ready to go to Sea: Whilst these things were in action, the seventh Legion being by course sent out to Forrage, and that there was at that time no appearance of War, whilst great part of their Men remain'd in the Fields, and others of them went, and came between that and the Camp, those Souldiers who kept guard at its Entries, gave notice, that there appear'd a greater dust than was usual in that part of the Country toward which that Legion had marched; whereupon *Cæsar* suspecting that the *Britains* were undertaking some new design, commanded those Cohorts which were then upon the Guard, to march with him towards that Quarter, ordering two more to take their places, and the rest to Arm, and immediately to follow him; when he had marched some distance from the Camp, he perceived his Souldiers to be overcharged by the Enemy, and hardly able to sustain their assault, and that the Legion being drawn up close together, Darts were cast at them from all quarters; for the Corn being cut and carried away in all other parts, one piece was left, and the Enemies guessing that the *Romans* would come thither for it, had laid in ambush in the Woods, and suddenly assaulting them, being then without their Arms, and busie in reaping, killing some, thereby routed the rest, being then out of their Ranks, hemming them in both with their Horse and * *Chariots*: For in their Battles they make use for the most part of Chariots, with which they first of all scowre through all parts, casting Darts as they go, and so by the terror of their Horses, and rattling of their Chariot-wheels, they often break the *Roman* Ranks, and when they have got in among the Troops of Horse they leap down from their Chariots, and Fight on Foot, in the mean time the Charioteers retire a little from the Battle, and so place themselves, that if they should be pressed by any number of their Enemies, their Masters may find an easie retreat; by which way of fighting they had both the speed of Horse-men, and the steadiness of Foot Souldiers; and had so enured themselves by daily use and Exercise, as that they were able to stop their Horses in full speed, though running down steep places; as likewise they had been used to turn their Chariots in a narrow compals, to run along the * *Pole*, to sit upon the † *Yoke*, that joyn or couple the Horses together, and from thence quickly to return into their Chariots. The *Romans* being much astonished with this new way of Fighting; *Cæsar* in a lucky moment came to their rescue: At whole approach the Enemies stopped, and the *Romans* began to recover themselves, which tho' done, yet *Cæsar* thinking it no fit time further to provoke the Enemy, nor then to renew the Fight, kept his ground and

Effeda a sort of open Waggon.

* *Temo.*

† *Yugum.*

and presently led back the Legions to the Camp; whilst these things were doing, the *Britains* who were in the Fields also retired.

During many days following there happend continual bad weather, which both kept the *Romans* in the Camp, and hindered the Enemies from attempting any thing against them.

But in the mean time the *Britains* sent Messengers into all parts, publishing abroad the small number of the *Roman* Forces; and how great a booty they were like to get, that this was the time of freeing themselves for ever, if they could but take the *Roman* Camp: Upon which great numbers of Horse and Foot being now drawn together came to the Camp: *Cæsar* although he foresaw the Event by that which had happen'd before, and that the Enemies if once stoutly repulsed, would avoid the danger by flight; having got about Thirty Horse, whom *Comius* of *Arras* had brought over with him at his coming into *Britain*, drew out the Legions in Battle before his Camp, which when joyned, the Enemy being not able to bear the assault of the *Roman* Souldiers, turned their backs; whom *Cæsar* followed as long as his Men's speed and strength would permit: After a great slaughter, and burning of the Villages round about, but they return'd to their Camp. The same day Messengers came from the *Britains* to treat of Peace, from whom *Cæsar* demanded double the number of Hostages, which he had before enjoyned, commanding them to be brought over to him to the Continent; because the *Equinox* approaching, he did not think a Winter Voyage was to be undertaken with such weak, crazy Vessels; therefore having now got a convenient Season, a little after midnight he hoisted Sail, so that all the Ships got safe to the Continent.

It is not pertinent to our History to relate here how *Cæsar's* Men as soon almost as they came on Shore, were set upon by the *Morini*, whom he had before left in peace, and whom notwithstanding he routed, and killed a great number of them till they were quite subdued.

But it seems the *Britains* had no great Opinion of *Cæsar's* Power, for only Two States of all *Britain* sent him Hostages, the rest neglecting it. These things being thus performed upon the reading of *Cæsar's* Letters, Twenty days supplication to the Gods was decreed by the *Senate*.

Thus far we have given you *Cæsar's* own account of his first Expedition into *Britain*, of which he had no great cause to boast; since, had it not been for his own good conduct, assisted by the timorousness of the *Britains*, he had never return'd to make this relation; but this much is to be acknowledged, that his landing here is a noble monument of his skill in Military affairs, for *Cicero* writing to his friend *Atticus*, tells him in one of his Epistles, that the accesses to the Island were wonderously fortify'd with strong works, or banks.

But *Valerius Maximus*, as also *Plutarch* in his Life of *Cæsar*, have given us a noble Example of the *Roman* Courage, as well as discipline, who both relate that in the confused fight which happen'd at *Cæsar's* first landing, *Scæva* a *Roman* Souldier having pressed too far among the Enemies, and being beset round, after incredible valour shewn, single, against a Multitude, swam back safe to his General, and in the very place that rung aloud with his praises earnestly desired pardon, for his rash adventure against Military discipline; which modest confessing his fault after no bad event for such an action, wherein Valour and Ingenuity outweighed

outweighed the transgression of Discipline, easily gain'd him pardon and prefer'd him to be a Centurion: this was that *Sceva* who afterwards gave good occasion to have his name remembred at the Battle of *Dyrachium*, between *Cesar* and *Pompey*, whose side he had then took.

This is all we can find concerning *Cesar's* first Expedition into *Britain* either from himself or others, more than that *Orosius* in his History from some accounts that are now lost, tells us that most of *Cesar's* great Ships which were to bring over his Horse, were cast away in that violent Storm, he hath already told us of.

The Winter following *Cesar* returned into *Italy* as his Custome was, for some Years before; but upon his return thence finding that most of the *Britains* had neglected to send him their Hostages according to their former agreement, he resolv'd to make a fresh descent upon them, and in order to this (in the Fifth Book of his Commentaries) he tells us that upon his going into *Italy* he had commanded his Lieutenants, whom he had set over the Legions, that they should take care to build as many new Ships as possibly they could that Winter, and to repair the old ones, shewing them the model of those that he would have built: And, for the more ready taking in of Men and Horses, to be of somewhat a lower make, than those that are used of in the Mediterranean Sea; and for the more speedy lading and unlading them, to be also somewhat broader and flatter bottomed than ordinary, as well for the transporting of the Horses as baggage, but to be all made to be rowed with Oars, to which purpose their low building contributed much, but all things necessary for the rigging out of these Ships he ordered to be brought out of *Spain*.

Cesar upon his return from *Italy*, having settled all things in the hither *Gallia*, made a short Expedition into *Illyricum*, and having settled affairs there, return'd into *Gaul*; where he found built by the extraordinary industry of his Souldiers, about Six hundred Vessels of that kind already described, (notwithstanding the great scarcity of all necessary materials) together with Twenty Eight Gallies; all which did not want much of being ready to be launched within a few days; so having much commended his Souldiers, and Overseers of the Work, he then commanded them all to meet at the Port called *Ictius*, from which (he had already known) was the most convenient passage into *Britain*, being about Thirty Miles from the Continent.

Concerning which Port, give me leave to say somewhat by the bye, since there are so many several Opinions whether it be still in being, or else is destroyed by the Sands; and indeed there is such a great difference about this Port, that there is scarce a Haven, or Creek upon all the Coast of *Flanders* and *France*, from *Bruges* to *Bulogin*, but some Writer or other would make to be this *Portus Ictius* now mentioned by *Cesar*; but since there can be but Three places on this Coast, *viz.* *Calice*, *Whitsand*, and *Buloign*, that can with any probability pretend to have been this *Portus Ictius*, I shall neglect to speak of any of the rest, except these Three.

As for the first of these, though it be the nearest cut between *France* and *England*; yet it is not likely to have been that Ancient Haven: For though it be the shortest, yet it was nor the most convenient passage in *Cesar's* time; both which are to be taken notice of, since he himself in his former Book calls it the shortest; but in this, the most convenient passage, and therefore

therefore cannot answer the distance from *Calice* to *Dover*, which is but Twenty Miles; whereas *Cesar* describes this Port to be about Thirty Miles distant from *Britain*, nor was this place so much as known in *Cesar's* time, being never used as a Port, till of latter Ages that *Whitsand* was quite stopp'd up by the Sands driven into it. Nor was *Calice* ever commonly used for a Port till *Philip* Earl of *Buloign* built and walled this Town, before which time there is little mention made of it: But as for *Whitsand*, though it had much fairer pretences than *Calice*, as having been the ancient Port from whence Men usually passed from *France* into *England*, for above Five hundred Years before; till it was at last about the Fourteenth Century become utterly unserviceable for the Reason already given: Yet that this could not be the *Portus Ictius*, is proved by the learned *Cluverius*, in his Geography, nor was it any ancient Port, being seldom or never made use of as such in the *Roman's* time; none of the Military ways leading at all to it.

And therefore only *Buloign* can with any probability pretend to be this *Portus Ictius*, as being the antient *Gessoriacum*, from whence the *Romans* most commonly passed into *Britain*, and best agrees with the distance that *Cesar* here sets down, being also proved by the above-cited *Cluverius*; and by our Learned Antiquary Mr. *Somner*, to have been the true *Portus Ictius*, by many unanswerable Arguments and Authorities. And as for the only Objection made against it, that it is not likely that one Place should have so many several Names: It signifies not much, since the same Place might be called by several Names in different Ages. That which was *Portus Ictius* in *Cesar's* Time, being afterwards, (when a Town came to be Built there,) called *Gessoriacum*, which in after-times was named *Bononia*, and now *Buloigne*. But whosoever desires to know more concerning this Matter, may consult the said *Cluverius's* Antient *Germany*, as also his Geography; but especially that * Treatise of Mr. *Somners*, wherein he proves against Monsieur *Chiflet*, that neither St *Omers*, nor *Mardick*, could be the *Portus Ictius* mention'd by *Cesar*: Which Treatise, together with another of the Learned Monsieur *Da Fresne's* upon the same Subject, hath bin lately Publish'd in *Latin* by my worthy Friend Mr. *Edmund Gibson*, of *Queen's Colledge, Oxon.* together with an Ingenious Dissertation of his own upon the same question. But to return to the Matter in Hand, from which we have too much digressed.

Cesar in the Fifth Book of his Commentaries tells us, That having found a fit time, he had Commanded his Souldiers again to Embarque for *Britain*, when there happen'd a Mutiny rais'd by *Dumnorix* with his *Adnan* Horse, who would have left the Expedition and gone home; but he being kill'd by some of *Cesar's* Souldiers, whom he had order'd to do that Execution, all those Horsemen return'd again to him. Things being thus settled, *Labienus* was left behind on the Continent with Three Legions and Two Thousand Horse to defend that Port, and to provide Corn, as also to observe the Motion of the *Gaul's*.

Then *Cesar* with Five Legions, and an equal Number of Horse, to what he had left behind, about Sun-set weigh'd Anchor, and sail'd on with a gentle Southern Gale; but about Mid-night the Wind falling, he could nor hold on his Course; but Day coming on, found he had bin carried away by the Tide, and that he had left *Britain* too much on his Left Hand: But then again taking Advantage of the Change of the Tide,

* De Portu
Ictio.

Anno ante
Christ. LII.

Anno ante he endeavour'd, by the help of Oars, to reach that part of the Island, *Christ. LII.* where he had found before to be the best Landing the last Year; where- in the Souldiers deserved a great Commendation, who made the heavy Transport Ships, by the constant Labour of Rowing, keep almost equal speed with the Gallies. About Noon they arriv'd at *Britain* with all their Ships, but there was not any Enemies to be seen in that Place; for, as *Cæsar* learn'd afterwards from the Prisoners, the *Britains* had been there with great Forces, but were terrified with the vast Multitude of the Ships, which, with Vessels of Provision and others upon private Accounts, amounted to above Eight Hundred; so that the *Britains* had quickly left the Shore, and retired into Places more remote. *Cæsar* having Landed his Army, and chosen a fit Place for his Camp, as soon as he learn'd from the Prisoners in what Place the Enemy's Forces were Encamped, about the Third Watch of the Night marched toward them, being not concern'd for his Ships, because he left them at Anchor in a safe and bold Shore, with Ten Cohorts, and Three Hundred Horse to guard them, under the Command of *Q. Atrius*. But Marching that Night about Twelve Miles (towards *Chilham* in *Kent*, as is suppos'd) he at last saw the Enemies Forces, who with their Horse marching down to the River *Stoure*, lying between them, began [from the higher Ground] to assail the *Romans*, and to give them Battel; but being repuls'd by the Horse, they convey'd themselves into the Woods, where having a Place strongly Fortified, as well by Art as Nature, and which it seems they had before provided during their own Domestick Wars; for all the Avenues to it were clos'd up with Trees laid overthwart the Passages. The *Britains* fought straggling out of the Woods, and hinder'd the *Romans* from entering within the Fortification: But the Souldiers of the Seventh Legion making a * *Testudo*, did by a Mount rais'd against their Fortification soon take it, and drove them out of the Woods, having themselves receiv'd very little Loss; but since they fled, *Cæsar* forbade to pursue them too far, because he was ignorant of the Place; and a great part of the Day being spent, he would employ the rest of it for the Fortifying of his Camp.

(* i. e. A kind of an Arch made with their Shields clasp'd close to each other, like the back of a Tortoise, from whence it had its Name.

The next Day, early in the Morning, he sent his Foot Souldiers and Horsemen, being divided into Three Bodies, upon another Expedition, that they might now pursue those that fled: But before they had march'd any great distance of Ground, the Enemy being in sight, some Horsemen came from *Q. Atrius* to *Cæsar*, telling him, that a great Tempest having risen the Night before, almost all the Ships were shatter'd and cast on Shore, neither the Anchors nor Cables being able to hold them, nor could the Masters of the Vessels nor Mariners withstand the Force of the Tempest; so that by the Ships falling foul upon each other, great Damage was receiv'd; which when *Cæsar* knew, he return'd to his Ships, and he himself beheld what he had heard from the Messengers; so that about Forty Ships being lost, the rest might be refitted, though not without much Labour. Therefore he chose some Carpenters out of the Legions, and Commanded others to be sent for from the Continent, and he writ to *Labienus*, that he should by the help of those Legions he had with him, speedily get ready as many Ships as he was able, whilst he himself (although it was a business of great Toyl) thought it was most convenient to have all his Ships haled on Shore, and to enclose them within the same Fortification with his Camp; in which Work he spent about

about Ten Days without any Intermission of Labour Day or Night. *Anno ante* The Ships being thus drawn up, and the Camp strongly Fortified, he left *Christ. LII.* the same Forces to guard them as before, whilst he himself march'd forward to the same Place from whence he had last return'd: When he came thither, he found much greater Forces of the *Britains*, there assembled from all Parts. The Chief Command for managing this War being by their common Consent committed to *Cassibelan*, whose Territories the River *Thames* divided from the Maritime States, being about Eighty Miles distant from the Sea. There had been in former Times perpetual Wars between him and the Neighbouring Cities. But the *Britains* being now terrified by this second Invasion, had given him the Supreme Command over them all.

Now from hence you may see the Fallshood of *Geoffrey of Monmouth*, who makes this Island to have bin a Monarchy before *Cæsar's* coming, and *Cassibelan* to have bin the Sole King; whereas we find him only to have been a small Inland Prince, and the rest of the Island divided into many Petty States or Principalities. The rest of what *Cæsar* here tells us concerning the Manners of the *Britains*, as also the Situation of this Island, these being either already related, or else needless, as sufficiently known, I shall pass over, and return to *Cæsar's* Actions, as he relates them in the same Book.

In this March the *British* Cavalry and Charioteers fought sharply with the *Roman* Horsemen, yet nevertheless these were Superior in all Places, and drove them to the Hills and Woods, many being slain; but the *Romans* pursuing them too eagerly, lost some of their own Men. Some time after this the Enemy on a suddain fallied out from the Woods, the *Romans* not being aware of them, (being busie in Fortifying their Camp) and charged briskly upon those who were upon the Guard before the Camp. But two Cohorts (the chief of two Legions) being sent by *Cæsar* to their assistance, whilst they made a halt, as being surpriz'd with their new way of Fighting; the Enemy boldly charg'd back again through the midst of them, without the loss of a Man: So that Day *Quintus Laberius Durns*, a Tribune, was kill'd; but the Enemy, upon the sending out of fresh Cohorts, were repell'd, and forc'd to save themselves by flight.

This Skirmish thus fought before the Camp, and in the Eyes of all Men, made it evident, that the Legionary Soldiers, being neither able, for the weight of their Arms, to pursue those that retreated, nor yet daring to go far from their Ensigns, were no equal Match for such a kind of Enemy; and that the Horse fought with much greater Danger, because the *Britains* oftentimes retired on purpose, and when they had drawn the *Romans* a little from the Legions, leap'd from their Chariots and fought on Foot, to the great Disadvantage of the *Romans*. But the manner of their Cavalries fighting brought the same or equal Danger to those that retir'd, as to those that pursu'd: To which you may add, that they never fought in close Order, but scatter'd, and at some distance, and had their Men so Posted, that they could easily Succour each other, fresh Men still relieving those that were wounded or weary.

The next Day the Enemies made a stand upon the Hills at a distance from the Camp, and began to show themselves less frequently, being not so forward to Skirmish with their Horse as they were the Day before; but about Noon, when *Cæsar* had sent out the Three Legions with *C. Tre-*
bonius,

Anno ante boninus to Forage, they suddenly on all sides set upon the Foragers, and *Christ. LII.* charg'd up after them to the very Legions and Ensigns, whilst the *Romans* charging them with great Courage, repell'd them. Nor made they an end of chasing them, until the Horse, who were supported by the Legions behind them (and not giving them time either to stand still to rally, or to get down from their Chariots as they were wont) had slain a great many of them. After this Rout the *British* Auxiliaries which had come from all Parts return'd home; and from that time the *Britains* never fought the *Romans* again with their whole Forces: But *Cesar* guessing their Designs, drew his Army toward the River *Thamesis* into the Confines of *Cassibelan's* Territories, which River was only fordable (and that very hardly) in one place: At his arrival he found great Forces of the Enemy's there Encamp'd, and the Bank Fortify'd with sharp Stakes, and many of the same sort were also fix'd under Water, which being made known by the Prisoners and Fugitives, the Horse being sent before, he order'd the Legions immediately to follow; but the Soldiers march'd with that Courage, that, though their Heads only appear'd above Water, yet the Enemy, not enduring the Force of the Horse and Legions, quitting the Banks committed themselves to flight. This Ford is suppos'd by Mr. *Cambden* in his *Britannia*, to have been at *Coway-Stakes* near *Lalam* in *Middlesex*, where the remainder of those Piles plac'd by the *Britains* were of late Times still to be seen, being bound about with Lead, and of the thickness of a Man's Thigh; and some of them have been of late Years pull'd up, as hindring the Passage of the Barges.

Cassibelan having now lost all hopes of doing any good by downright Fighting, having dismiss'd the greater part of his Forces, retain'd only about Four Thousand Charioteers, who observ'd the *Roman* Marches; and going a little out of the way, hid themselves in woody and intricate Places, driving away the Men and Cattle into the Woods: But in those Parts of the Country where he knew the *Romans* were to march, whilst the Horse were dispers'd abroad into the Fields, either for Forage or Booty, he sent out his Charioteers from the Woods, by all the known ways, and there fought the *Roman* Horse-Men, putting them in great hazard; whereupon *Cesar* strictly commanded them not to march too far from the Legions, and that they should only burn and destroy the Country as far as the Legionary Soldiers alone could safely perform it in their Marches. In the mean time the *Trinobantes*, being one of the strongest States of all those Parts, sent Ambassadors to *Cesar*, promising to submit themselves to him, and perform his Commands, desiring that he would defend *Mandubratius* from the Injuries of *Cassibelan*, and would send him to them, that he might receive the Supreme Authority of their State. This *Mandubratius* being a young Prince, had fled to *Cesar* in *Gallia*; for his Father *Immanuentius* had been King of that Country, but having been slain by *Cassibelan*, his Son avoided the like Fate by flight. Whereupon *Cesar* sent him to them, enjoying them to give him Forty Hostages, and Corn for his Army; they speedily perform'd his Commands, and sent him that number of Hostages, as also the Corn. The *Trinobantes* being defended from the Violence of the Soldiers, the * *Segontiaci*, *Anacalites*, *Bibroci*, and *Cassi*, having also sent Embassies, submitted themselves to *Cesar*: By these he understood that the Town of *Cassibelan* (suppos'd to be *Verulamium*) was not far off, being strongly Fortified with Woods and Bogs, in which a great number of Men and Cattle was got together.

You

* I shall not undertake to English these Names, because they are very uncertain.

You may here also observe *Cesar's* Description of a *British* Town: The *Annals* *Christ. LII.* *Britains*, says he, when they have taken in some woody Place, and enclosed it with a Ditch, or Rampire, call it a Town, to which, to avoid the Incursions of their Enemies, they are wont to retreat. But thither *Cesar* marched with his Legions, and found the Place strongly Fortified both by Art and Nature; yet when he began to Storm it on both sides, the Enemies not enduring the Assault of the *Roman* Legions, threw themselves out from another Part of the Town, and so made their Escape, whilst many were kill'd as they fled: Here *Cesar* found great Multitudes of Cattle.

Whilst these things were doing, *Cassibelan* sent Messengers into *Kent*, in which Parts were four petty Princes, (whom *Cesar*, for his own Glory, calls Kings,) viz. *Cingetorix*, *Carvilius*, *Taximagulus* and *Segonax*; these he orders, that with all the Forces they could make, they should assault upon the sudden, and take the *Romans* Naval Camp. These Princes, with their Forces, marching to the place, the *Romans* rallying out upon the *Britains*, killed many of them, and taking *Cingetorix*, a noted Leader, Prisoner, returned again to their Camp without any Loss. *Cassibelan* hearing of the Success of this Fight, having had his Borders thus wasted, and received so considerable Losses, but being chiefly terrified with the Defection of so many States, sent Ambassadors to *Cesar*, by the Mediation of *Comius* of *Ayras*, to treat about a Submission: *Cesar* being resolved to pass the Winter in the Continent, because of the sudden Commotions in *Gaul*, and that there was not much of the Summer left, and which might be easily spun out, demanded Hostages, and set how much yearly Tribute the *Britains* should pay to the People of *Rome*; and having farther forbid *Cassibelan*, either to molest *Mandubratius*, or the *Trinobantes*, Hostages being taken, *Cesar* marched back his Army to the Sea-side, where he found all his Ships re-fitted; but because he had a great number of Prisoners, as that also some of his Ships were lost by the Tempest, he resolved to transport his Army at two several Returns; yet it happen'd, that out of so great a number of Ships, in so many Voyages to and fro, neither in this, nor the former Year, any Ship that carried the Soldiers was wanting; whereas, of those which were sent him empty from the Continent, and which afterwards *Labiennus* had taken care to have new-built, (being to the number of Sixty) very few reached the Port; almost all of them being lost, or driven back; These when *Cesar* for some time had in vain expected, lest he should be debar'd from going over by the Season of the Year, because the *Equinox* now approach'd, he was forced to crowd his Soldiers the closer together; and having found a calm Season, about the Second Watch of the Night he set sail; and by Break of Day reached the Continent.

This is the Account which *Cesar* himself gives us of both these Expeditions: Howbeit, other Ancient Writers have spoken more doubtfully of *Cesar's* Victories here, and that in plain Terms he fled from hence; for which that noted Verse in *Lucan*, with divers Passages here and there in *Tacitus*, are alledged. *Paulus Orosius*, who took what he wrote from an History of *Suetonius*, now lost, writes, That *Cesar* in his first Journey being entertained with a sharp Fight, lost no small number of his Foot; and by Tempest, nigh all his Horse: But be it as it will, *Pliny* tells us, That at his Return to *Rome*, as from a glorious Enterprize, he offered to *Venus*, the Patroness of his Family, a Breast-plate embroider'd with *British* Pearls.

F 2

I shall

Anno ante
Christ. XL. I shall not much trouble you with the Relation of *Cassibelan's* Actions after *Cesar's* Departure, since we have no other Account of them, but from *Geoffrey of Monmouth*: But, according to his Relation, *Mandubratius* (whom he calls *Androgeus*) was not restored to the Kingdom of the *Trinobantes*; whether through the ill Will of *Cassibelan*, or the general Hatred the People had to him, is uncertain: So that leaving *Britain*, he again betook himself unto *Cesar*, and attended him to *Rome*, where he was entertained as King of *Britain*, and a Friend to the *Roman Commonwealth*. *Cassibelan*, after the Departure of the *Romans*, is said to have reigned Ten Years; which Time he employed in revenging himself upon the Cities and States that had revolted from him during the Wars with *Cesar*.

After whom, until the Time of the Emperor *Claudius*, the *Britains* were free from the *Roman Yoke*, living under their own Kings, and being govern'd by their own Laws: So that for a while we must take our Farewell of the *Roman History*, collecting it only as we find it scatter'd hère and there, and follow the Succession of the *British Kings*, according to *Geoffrey*.

Then *Theomantius*, or *Tenantius*, Nephew of *Cassibelan*, is said by him to have succeeded his Uncle, having before enjoyed the Principality of *Cornwall*; far remote from the Troubles of these Times, and by that means not engaged in the Quarrel, was not obliged, either to take into the *Roman Interest*; or by aiding *Cassibelan*, to justify his Violences; by which indifferent Carriage, by the general Applause of the People he is said to come to the Crown.

Anno ante
Christ. XL. In this King's Reign it is supposed, that *Octavius* (the Grand-child of *Julia*, *Cesar's* Sister) obtain'd the Empire of *Rome*: But before he had fully possess'd himself of it, *Geoffrey* relates, That *Tenantius* sent his Son *Kynobelin* to attend him in his Wars; hoping thereby to ingratiate himself with *Augustus*, and obtain a Relaxation of the impos'd Tribute: And that *Kynobelin* so well behaved himself, that he grew into special Favour with the Emperor, and accompanied him to *Rome*, where he was saluted by the Name of *FRIEND* of the *Commonwealth*; and that during his Residence there, *Tenantius* paid no Tribute at all; which (as the *British Historian* relates) was in respect of his Son's great Favour with *Augustus*. But the *Roman Authors* seem rather to make the Troubles of the Empire, and the Bandyings of the Factions against each other, after the Death of *Julius Cesar*, the Causes of the Quiet of the *Britains* during those Civil Dissentions.

But *Augustus Cesar*, who succeeded his Uncle *Julius* in the Empire, either contemning this Island, as a place of no Importance, and whose Enmity or Friendship conducted nothing to the good or ill Fortune of the Empire; or as *Tacitus*, in his Life of *Agricola*, relates, because of the Civil Wars that had lately happen'd, caused a long Quiet to *Britain*: * Yet we find *Augustus* once advanced as far as *Gallia*, in order to the Reducing of *Britain* under his Obedience; and had not a Revolt in † *Pannonia* diverted him, he had certainly attempted it. Yet about Seven Years after, with the same Resolution, he once more drew down into *Gallia*; but the *Britains* hearing thereof, sent their Ambassadors thither to him, to beg Peace; which for the present he accepted of, because it required some Time to settle his Affairs in *Gaul*, which were then much out of order: The Year following, he again resum'd his Resolutions of making an Expedition into *Britain*, because they had not perform'd their Articles with

* *Don. Cas.*
l. 49.

† *Ibid. l. 23.*

with him; but he was again hinder'd by fresh Insurrections in *Spain*. *Anno ante*
The *Cantabrians* and *Asturians* being revolted, *Tenantius* having reigned in *Chr. XIV.* *Britain* Thirty two Years; then dying, was succeeded by

* *Kymbelein*, or *Kynobelin*, who, if he was not educated at *Rome*, yet the good Correspondence between the *Romans* and *Britains* about these Times, gave fair Occasion to the *British Writers* to feign it: For now, it seems, the *Britains* began to learn the *Roman Arts*, to flatter for Advantage, and by Gifts to appease a powerful Prince, and buy off a War. So they sent their Tribute to † *Augustus*, with Offerings and Sacrifices to the *Roman Gods*, to be offered in the *Capitol*; where, in the Temple of *Mars*, they swore Fidelity to the Senate and People of *Rome*. Which Obsequious Addresses, as I suppose, gave Occasion to † *Horace* to write thus: † *Don. l. 11.*

Though we believe that thund'ring Jove
In Heaven reigns, yet here below
Augustus we a God do prove;
Since Britains, and proud Persians too,
Are to his Empire made to bow.

† *Don. l. 11.*
O. 5.
Celsi totantem
credidimus Je-
rem
Regnavit; pre-
fuit dicens ha-
bitur
Augustus, ad-
fectu Britannis
Imprio, gravol-
busque Persis.

Nay, so conformable to the *Roman Customs* was this *Kynobelin* himself, that he caused Coins to be stamped after the manner of the *Romans*, some of which are still to be seen; whereas before, all Payments among the *Britains* were made with Rings of Iron, and Plates of Brass, of a certain Weight: And his Image was made after the manner of the Emperors; and on the Reverse is *CAM*: signifying *Camolodunum*, (now *Maldon*) his Royal Seat: And it is to be suspected that Tribute was paid with it; for in a Coin of his, *TASCIO* is found in Great Letters, with a Man on the Reverse, sitting Hammering of Metal: Which Word implieth Tribute, as you may find in that Collection of Coins before Mr. *Camden's Britannia*.

The Emperor *Tiberius*, who succeeded *Augustus*, being given up to *Anno Dom.*
Ease and Luxury, thought it best to observe * *Augustus's* Advice, of con- *XIV.*
tracting, rather than enlarging the Bounds of the Empire: So that as he had no Desire to trouble the *Britains*, they had also as little to pro-
voke him; though 'tis certain that they still paid their usual Customs and Tolls for those Commodities they transported to the *Romans*, into *Gaul*; and exchanged with them Things wrought in Ivory, for Chains and Trinkets of Amber, which they wore for Pendants and Bracelets. The *Roman Customers* collected them at first after a precarious manner: and (as *Strabo* writes) not daring to compel them. Besides, their Courtesie to *Germanicus's* Soldiers, who had been Ship-wrack'd on the *British Shore*, and had been by them sent back to their General, produced a like kind Return from the *Romans*. † *Suet. in Aug.*

Caius Caligula, who succeeded *Tiberius*, being a Prince of a cruel *Anno Dom.*
Nature and fantastick Humour, having passed the † *Alpes*, and come *XXXVII.*
into *Gaul* and *Belgium*, to peel those Provinces; and having received into his Protection *Adminius*, the Son of *Kynobelin*, (above mentioned,) who being expell'd by his Father, fled to *Caligula*, and excited him to invade *Britain*. Whereupon, as if the whole Isle had been yielded up to him, he sent magnificent Letters to *Rome*, giving a strict Charge to the Couriers, that they should drive their Chariots into the *Forum*, to the very *Curia*; and should not deliver their Letters, but in the Temple of *Mars*,

and

Anno Dom. XXXVII. his Army to the *Belgick* Shore, making as if he would pass over into Britain; but being (as is suppos'd) assur'd that the *Britains* were ready to oppose his Landing, if he should attempt it, * thereupon he thought it safer to let them alone: Yet however, he put out to Sea in a Galley: and after he had row'd a little distance from the Shore, return'd again to Land; and then mounting on an high Tribunal, ordering the Trumpets to found a Charge, gave his Soldiers the Signal of Battel; then all on the sudden commanded them to gather their † Helmets and Laps full of Cockles, Muscles, and other Shells: Having gotten these Spoils (as he call'd them) of the Ocean, (as wanting others to adorn his Trophies,) he grew as proud as if he had conquer'd the Ocean it self; and rewarded his Soldiers for this great Victory, with a Donative of an Hundred *Denarii* a Man, bidding them all depart Rich and Happy. After which, he erected an high Tower on the *Belgick* Shore, out of which, as from a *Pharus*, Lights might direct Mariners to steer their Course by Night; the Ruins of which *Pharus* are suppos'd, even to this Day, to be seen at very low Tides, on the Coast of *Holland*; being call'd by the Inhabitants, to this Day, *Britten Huis*. Nor did *Caligula* stop here; but was so vain, as to carry these Shells to *Rome*, (together with the Gallies in which he went out to Sea;) where, when he had required a Triumph for this noble Enterprize, finding the Senate averse to it, he had Thoughts of murdering them all for refusing him Triumphal Honours; but he was not long after murder'd himself.

Anno Dom. XLIII. But that we may return again to the Affairs of Britain, which remain'd in Peace till the Reign of *Claudius*; and then *Cynobelin* (according to *Geoffrey*) after Threescore Years happy Reign, died, (not long before the *Roman* Invasion.) This Prince had many Sons; (*viz.*) *Adminius*, who, as we have already heard, was banish'd by his Father: As also, *Togodumnus*, who is thought to be the same with him whom *Geoffrey* calls *Guidar*, or *Guinder*; and whom he suppos'd to have reign'd, some say Four, and others Eight and Twenty Years; in whose Reign, *Claudius* the Emperor invaded Britain. But * *Dion Cassius* makes no Mention of this Prince, and only names *Togadumnus* and *Caractacus*, being Brothers, to have reign'd in this Island; but whether with Equal, or Subordinate Authority, he does not mention; only gives us an exact Relation of the Invasion by *Claudius*, the Occasion of which he thus relates: That one *Bericus*, (though what he was, he doth not further say) having been driven out of this Island by a certain Sedition, and highly resenting it, was the Man who excited *Claudius* to invade his Country: And that the *Britains* being provok'd at the Receipt of these Fugitives, and their not being given up when demanded, thereupon forbad all Commerce with the *Romans*. So a War being resolv'd on, *Plantius*, then Prætor in *Gaul*, was immediately order'd by the Emperor to transport those Legions he had with him, into Britain: But the Prætor, who was to carry over this Army, could very hardly get them out of *Gaul*; being much concern'd that they were to make War (as it were) in another World; spending a great deal of Time in Delays, before they would yield to go along with him. But when *Narcissus*, (*Claudius's* Freed-Man) being sent by him to persuade the Army to march, had ascend'd the Tribunal, and went about to make a Speech to them, the Soldiers being inflam'd with Indignation, began presently to cry out, *Io Saturnalia*; (for in the Feast of the *Saturnalia*, it

is

is the Custom for Slaves to act the Part of their Masters:) Yet nevertheless, they were at last persuaded to follow *Plantius*, and go on Ship-board. But the Forces being divided into Three Parts, lest coming all to one place, they should be hinder'd from Landing, were kept back in their Passage by contrary Winds, and suffer'd great Hardship: Yet, taking fresh Courage, because a Meteor had shot from East to West, (the very Course they were to steer,) they at last reach'd the Island, no body hindring them; for the *Britains* not believing the *Romans* would have come over, (for the Reasons you have already heard,) had prepar'd no Forces to prevent them; and therefore, not drawing together, had hid themselves in the Woods and Marshes, with Hopes of drawing on the *Romans* by Delays, as had before happen'd under *Julius Cæsar*: So that *Plantius* spent much Time in finding them out; but after he had once found them, he overcame first *Caractacus*, and afterwards *Togadumnus*, the Sons of *Cynobelin*, (their Father being dead some time before:) For the *Britains* did not enjoy a Popular Liberty, but were then subject to divers Kings: Yet all these being put to flight, he receiv'd a part of the *Boduni* into his Subjection, who before obey'd the *Catuellani*; and a Garrison being left there, he march'd to a certain River which the *Britains* suppos'd the *Romans* could not pass over without a Bridge, and so lay there the more carelessly encamp'd on the other side: Wherefore *Plantius* sent over the *Germans* first, who being accustom'd in their Armour to swim over the swiftest Rivers, set upon the Enemy on a sudden, but kill'd none, only wounded the Horses which drew their Chariots; wherewith they were so gall'd, that they would not endure their Riders. Then *Plantius* sent *Flavius Vespasian*, (who afterwards was Emperor,) together with *Sabinus*, his Brother, as his Lieutenant; who also passing the River, kill'd many of the *Britains* at unawares; yet did not the rest, for all this, run away, but the next Day renew'd the Fight with doubtful Success, until *C. Sidius* (tho' he had like to have fallen into the Enemy's Hands) so routed them, that although he had never been Consul, he had nevertheless Triumphal Honours bestowed upon him.

From hence the *Britains* retired to the Mouth of the River *Thames*, and easily pass'd it, knowing all the Fords and Shallows; whither the *Romans* following them, were in great danger: But when the *Germans* had again swum over, and that some others had likewise pass'd by a Bridge that lay higher, the *Britains* being every where routed, they made a great Slaughter of them; though pursuing the Residue too rashly, they fell into the Marshes, and many were lost. For these Reasons, and because the *Britains* were not, by the Death of *Togadumnus*, (who was kill'd,) at all discourag'd, but rather more eager to revenge his Death, *Plantius* doubting the Success, would not proceed farther; but putting Garrisons into those Places he had conquer'd, sent notice to the Emperor *Claudius*, who had before order'd him to do so, if any thing extraordinary or unexpected should happen.

Claudius having receiv'd this Message, immediately got all things ready (together with divers Elephants) for this Expedition; and being now the Third Time Consul, and having chosen Britain for his Province, he committed the Care of the City and Soldiers to *L. Vitellius*, his Colleague, (who was Father to *A. Vitellius*, afterwards Emperor.) But *Claudius* failing from *Osia*, landed at *Marseilles*, though by the way † he had like, by a foul Weather, to have been cast away, first on the Islands *Stachades*, and then

Anno Dom. XLIV.
† See on 1st Claudius.

Anno Dom. then on the Coast of *Liguria*; yet landing, he pass'd through *Gaul*, as far as *Gessoriacum*, (now *Bologne*;) where again embarking, he pass'd over into *Britain*, and joyn'd his Forces that expected him near the *Thames*; then passing over the River, he fought with the *Britains* in a pitch'd Battel, and obtain'd the Victory; taking *Camolodunum*, the Royal Seat of *Kynobelin*, together with many Prisoners, some by Force, and some by Surrender. For these Exploits, he was oftentimes by his Soldiers saluted *Imperator*, or *General*, though against the received Custom of the *Romans*; for it was not lawful before to assume that Title more than once in the same War. *Claudius* having thus disarm'd the *Britains*, left them to the Government of *Plantius*; ordering him to subdue those that remain'd unconquer'd: But as for those that submitted, he remitted the Confiscation of their Estates; which so oblig'd the *Britains*, that they built him a Temple, and ador'd him as a God. But whilst he return'd towards *Rome*, his Sons-in-Law *Pompeius* and *Silanus* were sent before with the News of his Victory, which was accomplish'd in Sixteen Days. For no longer stay'd he in *Britain*, and that with so little Noise, that it gave occasion to *Suetonius* (tho' erroneously) to write, that he suddn'd *Britain* without ever a Battel, or any Blood-shed.

Claudius returning thus Triumphantly to *Rome* (from whence he had been absent but Six Months in all) the Senate decreed his Son the Sirname of *Britannicus*, to himself a Triumph, and annual Games, with two Triumphal Arches, one in the City, the other in *Gaul*, from whence he had pass'd into *Britain*. In his Triumph (performing all things according to Custom) he ascended the Stairs of the *Capitol* on his Knees, his two Sons-in-Law supporting him on each side; he then bestow'd on those who had serv'd with him in this Expedition (not only such who had been *Consuls*, but even bare *Senators*) Triumphal Ornaments. I shall not trouble you with the rest of this Solemnity, since it is not much to the Matter in hand, and also tranfactd out of this Island, only I shall

S.

Remark, That it appears this Conquest of *Britain* was look'd upon as so considerable, that the Senate thought fit to Decree as high Honours to the Emperor, who had now subdu'd but part of this Island; as they had done for any former Conquerors, and the Sirname of *Britannicus*, was esteem'd as Glorious as that of *Germanicus*, *Africanus*, or *Asiaticus*: And even in the height of the *Roman* Grandure it was esteem'd so considerable a part of the Empire, that it was held not inferior to any of the forementioned Provinces, and cost more Legions in gaining and preserving it than all *Asia*, and was never forsaken by the *Romans*, but in their last Extremity.

I shall now by the way take a little notice of *Geoffrey of Monmouth's* Relation of this *British* War, which is much different from the *Roman* Accounts of it, he making *Claudius* to Land at *Portchester* in *Hampshire*, and to have Besieg'd that Town, to the Relief whereof *Guiderius*, or *Guider* (the above-mention'd King of the *Britains*) quickly came, and that a Battel ensuing it went on the *Britains* side; until *Hamo*, a *Roman*, disguising himself like a *Britain*, slew the King; whereupon *Arviragus* his Brother, (lest the *Britains* should be discourag'd) conceal'd the King's Death, and arming himself in his Armour, continued the Battel, and so obtain'd a great Victory, and then succeeded his Brother *Guider*. But since none of the *Roman* Historians make any mention of these Kings, nor of *Hamo* (who is here suppos'd to have kill'd *Guider*) it is probable,

that

that their very Succession is as Fabulous as *Arviragus* his Encounters with *Anno Dom.* *Hamo*; and his Marriage with *Genuiffa*, a supposed Daughter of *Claudius*; XLIV. as likewise his Treaty with that Emperour and homage done to him; Therefore leaving such Fables, we will come to what the *Romans* performed in this Island after *Claudius* his departure to *Rome*. Which is thus related by *Tacitus* and *Suetonius*.

Aulus Plantius being left by *Claudius* as his Lieutenant in *Britain*, after the Emperour's departure, diligently prosecuted the War; and so behav'd himself in quieting the revolting Countries, and gaining new Conquests as far as the Western parts of the Island, that *Claudius* allow'd him an * *Ovation*, and at his Entrance into *Rome*, himself went to meet him, giving him the Right hand both in going and coming. Neither were the Actions of *Vespasian* (afterwards Emperour) less remarkable in this War; for partly under the Conduct of *Claudius* himself, and partly of *Plantius*, he fought Thirty Battles with the *Britains*, and brought two most powerful Nations, and above Twenty Towns, together with the Isle of *Wight*, under his Subjection; for all which noble Actions he received Triumphal Ornaments, and a little while after two Sacerdotal Dignities, together with the Consulship: His Son *Titus*, then serving under him in the quality of a *Tribune*, was much renown'd for his Valour and Diligence; he had also the good fortune to rescue and relieve his Father: And his modest Behaviour was as signal, as his Courage; as appears by many Inscriptions, under his Image, dispersed through divers Provinces.

Ostorius Scapula succeeded *Plantius* in the Quality of *Proprætor*, a Man no less experienced in Martial Affairs: At his first entrance into his command he met with many Commotions and Troubles; for that part of *Britain*, which was not yet subdued broke in upon their Neighbours, who had entred into League, or made any submission to the *Romans*, waisting their Country; and with so much the more Vigour, for that they thought this new *General* (as not yet acquainted with his business, nor having Experience of his Army) would not be soon able to revenge it; especially considering that Winter was near, and that a Season unfit for Action: but *Ostorius*, knowing that the first Success makes the greatest Impression of Fear, or Confidence, resolv'd to put a stop to their Inroads betimes, before they proceeded too far; and for that end he quickly took with him some of his lightest Cohorts, and unexpectedly setting upon them, killed many, following those that fled so close, that he gave them no time to rally; and left for the future a treacherous unstable Peace might prove more dangerous, and troublesome, as well to himself as his Souldiers; he disarm'd all whom he suspected most likely to revolt, and set Garrisons on the two Rivers, *Severn* and *Avon* (now *Avon*;) thereby to hinder the Incurfions of the *British* Army: By this means he reduced the most Southerly parts of the Island into the form of a Province; having also plant'd there a Colony of *Peterane* Souldiers, and to secure his Conquest the better, he gave several Cities to *Cogidunus*, to be held as Tributary to the *Roman* Empire, under the Title of King: by which he strongly engaged him to its interest; it being an antient and received Policy of that State (as *Tacitus* well observes) to make Kings the Instruments of it's Ambition, as well as of their own Servitude.

Tacitus Annal. Lib. XIII. c. 32.

* A sort of petty triumph perform'd on foot.

Sueton. in Vesp. p. 1.

An. XXP. Id. Annal. Lib. XII. c. 31.

Anno Dom. But the *Iceni*, (who Inhabited what we now call *Suffolk*, *Norfolk*, *Cam-*
 XI. IV. *bridge*, and *Huntington-shires*) a potent Nation and not yet wasted by War; because they had voluntarily entered in alliance with the *Romans*; not brooking these proceedings of *Ostorius*, took Arms, and by their Example encouraged many of their neighbouring Nations to do the like: this done, they encamped in a place chosen for that purpose, casting up a Rampire of Earth; leaving a very narrow Entrance, for fear, lest the Enemy's Horse should break in upon them.

Ostorius, although he had not his Legions, but only his Auxiliaries with him; yet resolved, if he could, to break down this Fence, which he perceived was but rudely thrown up, and setting all his *Cohorts* to work, the Horse also alighting to that Service, he himself giving the Signal, at once they flung down the Works, and drove the Enemy from their Fortrefs: But the *Britains*, as well through the Consciousness of their Rebellion, as because all ways of escaping were blocked up, made a notable Defence: In which Battel, *M. Ostorius* the Son of the Lieutenant, gained the honour of having saved a Citizen.

Tacit. An. lib. 12. cap. 32. The *Iceni* thus overcome; the other *States*, who hitherto stood in a doubtful Posture between War and Peace, were confirmed in their Obedience by their sufferings. After this Success, *Ostorius* marched into the Country of the *Cangi* (who they were is not well known) where he plundered and laid waste their Fields, they not daring to give him Battel; and if at any time they ventur'd out of their Coverts to fall on his Rear, they always met with sharp entertainment: At last he approached near the *Irish* Sea, where news was brought him of stir among the *Brigantes*, (supposed to have been the Inhabitants of *Yorkshire*, *Lancashire*, and the other Northern Countries). Upon this he resolves to return, intending not to attempt any new Design, till he had fully quieted those Commotions behind him: and indeed the *Brigantes* were soon quieted; those few who took Arms being all Slain, and the rest pardoned. But the Nation of the *Silures* (the Inhabitants of the now *South Wales*) were not to be won by Clemency, or terrified by Severity; but would needs have a War, and if subdued, were to be kept in obedience by Garrisons of Legionary Souldiers.

† 16. cap. 33. So he marched against these *Silures*, who, besides their natural Fierceness, were much exalted with the Opinion they had of the Courage and Conduct of *Caractacus*, who by many doubtful, and some Fortunate Attempts, had raised himself to a greater Reputation in Arms than any of the *British* Generals: he finding himself over-matched in Strength made use of Policy: he knew his Advantage lay in choice of Ground, to that end he transferr'd the War to the rough unaccessible Country of the *Ordovices* (now those of *North Wales*) chusing for the Seat of the War, a place, whose Avenues were most difficult to the *Romans*, and easiest of Access to themselves: there he raised a Fortification with great Stones on the tops of the Mountains: and where a River running near made a dangerous and uncertain Ford, placed a range or breast-work of larger Stones to defend the passage: which place (as *Mr. Camden* Conjectures) has still from him the Name of *Caer Caradoc*, lying on the West edge of *Shropshire*: *Caradoc* being in the *British* Tongue supposed to be the same with *Caractacus* in the *Latin*. *Ostorius* having drawn hither all his Forces (since *Caractacus* resolved here to fight it to the last) the Officers went about

about, encouraging their Men, diminishing their Fears, and enlivening their Courage by all the Rhetorick of War. But *Caractacus* notably bestir'd himself, and with quick motions going from place to place, *Cried out, this was the Day, and this the Field, which would be either the recovery of their Liberty, or the beginning of a new and perpetual Slavery: and then invoked the Names of his glorious Ancestors, who had driven out Cæsar the Dictator; and by whose Valour they had hitherto been freed from the Roman Axes and Tributes; and still kept their Wives and Children preserved from dishonour.* *XLIV.*

At these, or such like Speeches, the Army testified their Joy by loud Shouts and Acclamations; and every one, according to his Country Superstition, bound himself by Oath, that neither Force nor Wounds should make them yield.

This Courageous alacrity in the Enemy startled the *Roman* General: especially when he descried the River before him, and the Rampire made upon its Banks, both of great difficulty to be passed; whilst the steep Hills full of Armed Men hanging over their heads, gave a dismal prospect, and made a terrible Scene of War: but the Common Souldiers being eager for Battel required the Signal; *Crying out, nothing was impregnable to Valour*: This impatience was increased by the *Prefects* and *Tribunes*, who were of the same Opinion. Then *Ostorius* having first tried which Fords were passable, and which not, led them on as insensible of Danger; who with no great difficulty wading through the River, when they were come near to the Rampire, and that it came to be disputed with Darts and Javelins, greater loss followed on the *Roman* than *British* side: So that not being able longer to endure it, the Legionary Souldiers joyning close together made a Testudo; whereupon this rude Fortification of rough Stones being thrown down, and the *Romans* meeting with them hand to hand, the *Barbarians* soon fled to the tops of the Mountains: but thither also the heavy as well as the Light-Armed Souldiers quickly followed them; whilst the *Britains* assaulting them with their Darts, these received them in close order, whereby their Ranks were soon broken, who made use of no defence, either of Breast-plates or Helms: So that, if they could have resisted the Auxiliaries, yet they were bear down by the Swords and Darts of the Legionary Souldiers; and if they turned from these, they were again routed by the broad Swords and Spears of the Auxiliaries. The Victory was very remarkable, the Wife and Daughter of *Caractacus* being taken Prisoners, and his Brethren submitting to Mercy.

But though he had committed himself to the Fidelity of *Cartismandua* Queen of the *Brigantes*, (yet as unsafe Counsels prove commonly unfortunate) he was by her, delivered bound to the *Victors* in the Seventh Year (according to *Tacitus*,) but indeed in the Ninth Year after this War was begun in *Britain*. Nevertheless *Caractacus* his Fame being carried through all the Neighbouring Provinces, was also Celebrated as far as *Italy*, and they desired to see the Man that had for so many Years despised the *Roman* Forces: so that the name of *Caractacus* became famous at *Rome* it self; and *Cæsar* whilst he extoll'd his own Victory, added glory to the conquered; for the People being summoned as to some solemn Spectacle, the *Prætorian Cohorts* stood to their Arms in the Field, which lay before their Camp; The King's Servants marched before, bearing

Anno Dom. bearing his Gold Chains and other Ornaments, with what ever else he
 XLIV. had gained in Foreign Wars; presently after came his Brethren with his
 Wife and Daughters, and last of all He himself: The behaviour of others,
 through fear was mean and degenerate; he only neither in Countenance,
 Word, or Action, appeared dejected: But standing at the Tribunal of
Cæsar, Spoke to this purpose.

If my mind, O Cæsar, had been as moderate in the Height of Fortune, as my Birth and Dignity was Eminent, I might have entred as a Friend, rather than a Captive into this City; nor couldst thou have disliked one for a Confederate, so Noble by Descent, and Ruling so many Natinos. My present Estate, tho to me disgraceful, to thee is Glorious: I had once Riches, Horses, Arms, and Men; no wonder if I was not contented to lose them, but if you will extend your Empire over all others; then of necessity all others must obey you: If I sooner had been brought to yield, my Misfortune had been less notorious, your Conquest less renowned: but by a severe treatment of me, both will be soon forgotten: if you grant that I may Live, I shall live a lasting Monument of your Clemency.

Cæsar mov'd at so sad a Spectacle of Fortune, but especially at the Nobleness of his bearing it, gave him Pardon, as also to his Wife and Brothers; they being all unbound went also to do the like Reverence to the Empress *Agrippina*; who sat not far off on another Throne, no less conspicuous: a new indeed, and unwonted sight, far different from the Manners of the ancient *Romans*, to see a Woman in her Feminine Pride, presiding over the *Roman* Ensigns; but indeed she looked upon her self as a Companion, and Sharer of the Empire obtained by her * Ancestors.

* As being the Daughter of Germanicus.

The *Senators* being then also summon'd, made long and pompous Discourses upon this taking of *Caractacus*; saying, it was no less famous than when *P. Scipio* slew *Scyphax*, or *L. Paulus*, *Perseus*, or any other General, who had expos'd Captive Kings to the view of the People of *Rome*; so that they decreed to *Ostorius* all the Ensigns of a Triumph.

Tacit. An. lib. 12. cap. 38.

After this, Affairs continued some time prosperous; but presently after became more doubtful: either because that *Caractacus* being now remov'd, he thought the *Britains* as good as subdued, and so the Wars was less eagerly pursued; or whether the Enemy in Compassion of so great a King burnt more fiercely with Revenge; for they had beset the Governour in his Camp, and fell upon the Legionary Cohorts, who had been left to build Forts among the *Silures*; and unless Assistance had come in to them speedily from the Neighbouring Garrisons and Castles, the whole Army had then perished; nevertheless the Governour with Eight Centurions, and the most forward Souldiers of each Company were cut off, and not long after they routed those that were Foraging, as also some Troops sent to their Relief.

ib. c. 39.

Then *Ostorius* drew forth his Light Armed Cohorts, nor had he thereby put a stop to his Mens flight, unless the Legions had also engaged in the Fight, by whose Force it first became equal, and at length quite turned the Scale; for the Enemies fled, tho with small Loss, because the Day was declining; afterwards followed frequent Skirmishes, more like Robberies than Fights, they often meeting in the Woods or Marshes, as Design or Chance gave them opportunity; often commanded, sometimes without

without any command: all which proceeded from the remarkable obstinacy of the *Silures*, whom that common saying of the *Roman* General had much provoked, *That as the Sicambri had been formerly destroyed, so also the very name of the Silures ought wholly to be extinguished*. Therefore they intercepted two Auxiliary Cohorts, who through the Avarice of their Officers were too securely pillaging: and bestowing the Prisoners and Spoils on certain neighbouring Nations, drew them also into a Revolt: When *Ostorius* being now worn out with Cares and Troubles ended his Days. The *Britains* rejoycing, that tho not a Battle; yet a lingering War had taken off so great a Souldier.

But *Cæsar* understanding the Death of his Lieutenant, left the Province should remain without a Governour, sent *A. Didius* in his room, who quickly arriving there, found Affairs but in an ill Condition; for in the mean while there had happened an unsuccessful Engagement of that Legion over which *Marcius Valens* commanded: the Fame of which Exploit being also much increased by the Enemy's reports, that thereby they might terrifie the new General, which was also much increased by himself, that if the War were well ended he might win the greater Glory, or if otherwise, he might gain the easier pardon. But the *Silures* had already done much mischief, and made Incursions all abroad, until by *Didius's* meeting of them they were repelled; which being one of the last Actions that happened in *Claudius's* Reign, I shall only take notice that he lived about Three Years after his sending *Didius* hither, and died (as is suppos'd) of Poyson given him by his Wife *Agrippina*; therefore since by his Conquest of so great a part of *Britain*, he is accounted by most Authors as the Sovereign power thereof; I shall for the future give you the Names of all the *Roman* Emperors his Successors, that ruled here, till their quitting of this Island, whether they were here in Person or not. *Claudius* was succeeded by

Nero his Wife's Son by Birth, and his own by Adoption, of whose Reign I shall say nothing, but what relates to the particular History of this Island. Therefore since *Tacitus* tells us, that those things, which were done under the two Prætors, *Ostorius* and *Didius*, for the space of many Years, he had for their better remembrance put all together; It plainly appearing, that most of those things he there treats of, are to be referr'd to *Nero's* Reign; I shall make bold to place in the beginning of his Time that long War between the *Romans* and *Venutius*, which *Tacitus* thus relates.

After *Caractacus* was gone, *Venutius* a Prince of the *Jugantes*, was the most remarkable for Military skill, having continued faithful hitherto; being defended by the *Roman* Arms, as long as he kept Queen *Cartimandua* for his Wife; but a Quarrel happened between them, and presently after a War; in which he at last took up Arms against the *Romans*, to which *Tacitus* tell us in another place, he was highly provoked, not only upon the account of his natural Fierceness, but by the injuries of the Queen his Wife; who, being proud of her Nobility, had increased her power, after her taking of *Caractacus*, as you have heard; so that abounding in Wealth, and wallowing in Luxury, she despised her Husband *Venutius*, and made *Pellocatus* his Armour-bearer the partner of her Bed and Kingdom: So that upon this, immediately the whole State became divided; on the Husband's side were the inclinations of the Nation; for the Adulterer, the Queen's Lust and Violence; from whence proceeded a Civil

Anno Dom.
 XLIV.

Anno Dom.
 LV.

Annal. XII.

Id. lib.

Anno Dom. a Civil War among themselves; for *Cartismandua* by her Stratagems had intercepted the Brother and Kinsman of *Venutius*: whence those of his party were the more provoked; meer shame egging them on, lest they should be subject to the command of a Woman: whereupon a strong Party of the choicest Troops Invade her Kingdom, which being foreseen; and certain *Cohorts* being sent to her assistance, they fought a sharp Battel, whose beginning though doubtful, yet the Conclusion proved prosperous, tho' the Legion which *Cessius Nascia* Commanded, fought with different Success.

History III.

But *Tacitus* tells us in another place, that *Venutius* sending for more Supplies (I suppose from his own Kingdom,) as also by a general defection of the *Brigantes* themselves, brought *Cartismandua* into extream hazard; so that she was forced to seek Aid of the *Romans*, whose *Cohorts*, though in diverse Battels they freed the Queen from danger, yet was the Kingdom still left to *Venutius*, and the War continued on the *Romans*: I suppose *Tacitus* means this, during the times of all other Lieutenants, though not expressly mentioned by him; for he tells us in his Life of *Agricola*, That *Veranius* succeeded *Didius*, and dying within the Year, that then *Suetonius Paulinus* found affairs prosperous for the first Two Years: yet it seems could not drive *Venutius* out of his Kingdom. But tho' *Tacitus* afterwards in the Third Book of his Histories relates this Story of *Cartismandua*, as if it had fallen out in the time of *Vitellius*, and that the Discord and Civil Wars which then happened in the *Roman* Empire, had encouraged the *Britains* to take Arms under the Command of *Venutius*; yet it is evident from what he hath already said in his *Annals*, that this War with *Venutius* must have been begun in *Nero's* time, since *Didius* was the first Lieutenant in *Britain*, who sent any assistance to *Cartismandua*; and who must be supposed to have been dead, or remov'd some time before the Death of *Nero*; or else there would be no room left for his two Successors above mentioned; the latter of which ended his Government with the Reign of *Vitellius*.

But to return to our History, it is certain that *Veranius* the Successor *Annal.* LXIII. of *A. Didius* did little, except his wasting the *Silures* by many small Incursions; being hindred by Death from carrying the War any further. A Man of great reputation for his Discipline, but, as appears by his last Words in his Testament, guilty of manifest Vanity and Ambition; for after many things spoken in Flattery of *Nero*, he said that he would have subjected all, *viz.* *Britain*, to him, if he might have lived but two Years longer.

Ibid. c. 38.

After him *Paulinus Suetonius* governed *Britain*, being in Reputation and Military Skill a Commander equal to *Corbulo*; but since in *Paulinus's* Time the *Romans* received so great a blow in *Britain*, Let us take *Tacitus's* account of it.

Anno Dom. LXIII. This General desiring to equal *Corbulo's* glory in recovering *Armenia*, by taming the *British* Rebels; endeavoured to Conquer the Island *Mona* (now called *Anglesey*), strong in People and a Recepracle of Fugitives. To which end he built many flat bottomed Vessels, for that shallow and uncertain Shore: his Foot thus waded over, his Horse waded or swam, wherethick upon the Strand stood several gross bands of Men well Armed; many Women like Furies running to and fro in dismal Habits, with their Hair hanging loose about their Shoulders, held Torches in their Hands: The *Druids* (who were their Priests, of whom we have

spoken

spoken in another place) with Hands lift up to Heaven; stood uttering direful Imprecations: All which so astonish'd the Soldiers with the Novelty of the Sight; that at first they yielded themselves, without any Resistance to their Enemies Blows; but then being encourag'd by the Exhortations of their General, and encouraging one another, that they should not fear this Womanish, Phanatick Rour, they led on the Ensigns; and routing all they met, overturn'd them into their own Fires. After this, a Garrison was impos'd upon the Conquer'd; and the Groves, sacred to their cruel Superstitions, were cut down; for they look'd upon it as piece of Religion to sacrifice Captives, and to consult the Gods by inspecting Humane Entrails. But whilst *Suetonius* was thus in Action, Word is brought him, that a sudden Defection had happen'd in his Province; the Occasion of which is thus farther related by our Author.

* *Praetagus*, King of the *Icenians*, abounding in Wealth, had left *Cæsar* Co-heir with his two Daughters, thereby hoping to have secur'd from Wrong both his Kingdom, and his Family; which fell out far otherwise: For, under Colour to Oversee and take Possession of the Emperor's new Inheritance, his Kingdom became a Prey to the Centurions; his House to ravenous Officers, his Wife *Boadicia* being violated with Stripes, and his Daughters ravish'd: And, as if the *Romans* had gotten the whole Kingdom as a Legacy, the cheifest Men of the *Icenians* are turn'd out of their ancient Estates, and those of the Royal Family treated like Slaves: By which Indignities, and for fear of greater Evils when they should be reduc'd into the Form of a Province, they took Arms. The *Trinobantes* were also moved to rebel, whilst others who were not as yet reduced to Servitude conspir'd with those that were, to regain their former Liberty. This proceeded from a cruel Hatred against the Veterane Soldiers, who being planted in the late Colony of *Camalodunum*, drove Men from their Houses and Estates in the Country, calling them Slaves and Captives: The other Soldiers also encouraging this Violence of the Veteranes, as well through a Likeness in Manners, as through an Hope of the same License. To which may be also added, That the Temple dedicated to *Claudius* was look'd upon as a Badge of their Eternal Slavery; and the Priests ordain'd for it, under a Shew of Religion, seiz'd upon divers Men's Estates. Nor did it seem difficult to destroy a Colony, defended by no Fortifications; which was but little fore-seen by the *Roman* Commanders, who rather had studied their Pleasure, than Safety.

To all which Provocations, † *Dion* also adds, That *Catus Decianus* the Procurator, endeavour'd to bring all Men's Goods under the Compass of a new Confiscation; by disavowing the Remission of *Claudius* himself. Lastly, *Seneca* (only in his Books a Philosopher) having drawn in the *Britains* to borrow of him vast Sums, upon fair Promises of an easie Loan; and for Re-payment, to take their own Time; all on a sudden compell'd them to pay both Principal and Interest at once, with great Extortion: Which you will find in * *Tacitus*, express'd at large, in a long Speech by the injur'd *Britains*.

Thus provok'd by the heaviest Sufferings, and invited by Opportunity in the Absence of *Paulinus*, the † *Icenians*, and by their Example the *Trinobantes*, and as many more as hated Servitude rose up in Arms; but of these ensuing Troubles many foregoing Signs appear'd; among which the Image of *Victory* at *Camalodunum* fell down of it self, with the Face backward, as if she had turn'd to the Enemy: And certain Women, in a kind

Anno Dom. LXIII.

* *Tacit. lib. 12.*

† *Lib. LXII.*

* *In Vita Agri. cap. 14.*

† *Annal. Lib. XIV. Cap. 31.*

Anno Dom. kind of Ecstasie, foretold great Calamities to come: In the Council-
 LXIII. House by Night, strange Noises were heard; and in the Theatre, hide-
 ous Howlings; but in the River *Thames*, horrid Appearances were seen,
 as of a Colony destroy'd, but what these were, *Dion* tells us more plain-
 ly, viz. That in that River there were discover'd the Ruins of Houses
 under Water: Besides, the Ocean seem'd of a bloody hue, whilst at the
 Ebb appear'd the Shapes of human Bodies left upon the Sands: All which
 as it rais'd in the *Britains* new Courage, so in the *Romans* it caus'd un-
 wonted Fears: Therefore since *Suetonius* was now far off, they desired
 from *Catus Decianus* some Assistance; but he sent them scarce above
 Two Hundred Men, and those ill Arm'd.

There was within the Town a moderate Garrison of Soldiers, who
 trusted in the Strength of the Temple; but some who were conscious of
 the intended Rebellion, had perplex'd their Councils, and hindred them
 from drawing any Line about the Place; nor were the Old Women and
 Children turn'd out, and the Fighting Men (as they ought to have done)
 only left behind. Thus the *Romans* being secure, as in the midst of
 Peace, were circumvented by a Multitude of Barbarians, so that all
 Places were quickly Spoil'd and Burnt at the very first Assault; the
 Temple, in which the Soldiers had gotten together, held out Two Days,
 but was at last taken. The *Britains* being thus Victors, marched out
 to meet *Petillius Cerialis*, Lieutenant of the Ninth Legion, then coming
 to their Succour, they routed his Legion, and killed all the Foot; but
Cerialis with the Horse escaped into the Camp, which was defended by
 the Trenches. *Catus Decianus* the Procurator, whose Covetousness, and
 the hatred of the Province that ensued upon it, had been the Cause of
 this War, fled like a Coward into *Gaul*.

But *Suetonius* not dismay'd with this sad News, marched through his
 Enemy's Country to *London*, which, tho' not honoured with the Title of
 a Colony, yet was then famous for the great Concourse of Merchants,
 and plenty of all Provisions; where being arriv'd, he was doubtful
 whether or no he should make it the Seat of War; but having consider-
 ed the small number of his Soldiers, and taking warning from *Cerialis*,
 he resolv'd to preserve the whole by the loss of this one City: So that
 he was not moved by the Crys and Tears of those who implored his Pro-
 tection, from giving his Men the Signal of Departure; only taking those
 into his Army, who would or could march along with him; they who,
 through weakness of Sex, or Age, or love of the Place, stay'd behind,
 were destroy'd by the Enemy, as was also *Vernulam*, a Roman Municipium,
 or Free City: For the Barbarians omitting Forts and Castles, pillag'd
 the richest Places first, and then went easily forward to others more emi-
 nent for Strength: So that, as it afterwards appear'd, about Seventy Thou-
 sand Citizens with their Confederates in the Places above-mentioned,
 lost their Lives: None might be spared, none ransom'd; but they endea-
 vour'd by Gibbers, Fire, Crofles, and all other ways of Slaughter, to re-
 turn those Punishments they had suffered, and prevent any Revenge that
 was to be taken upon them.

Dion here also adds, That the *Roman* Wives and Virgins being hung
 up naked, had their Breasts cut off and sow'd to their Mouths, that even
 dead they might be seen to eat their own Flesh; whilst the *Britains* Feast-
 ed in the Temple of *Andate*, their Goddess of Victory.

† *Suetonius*

† *Suetonius* having then with him the Fourteenth Legion, with the *Anno Dom.*
 Standard Bearers of the Twentieth, which, together with the Auxiliaries, LXIII.
 made in all about Ten Thousand Men; resolv'd to lay aside all De-
 lays, prepar'd to joyn Battel, having chosen a Place accessible, only by
 a narrow Lane, and defended behind by a Wood; knowing well enough
 that the Enemies could do nothing but upon his Front, and that the
 open Plain was without danger of an Ambuscade: he drew up the Le-
 gionary Soldiers in close Order, and being defended on each side with the
 light Arm'd Men, and the Horse that made both the Wings. But the
British Forces being drawn up here and there in smaller Companies and
 Squadrons, appear'd a great Multitude; being so fierce and confident of
 Victory, that they carried their Wives along with them in Wagons to
 behold it, which were placed in the outward Borders of the Field.

Let us here also add what **Dion* says of *Boadicia*, the Widow of *Pra-* *ibid.*
sutagus, who chiefly stir'd up and perswaded the *Britains* to make this
 War upon the *Romans*. *Boadicia* (says he) was a *British* Lady of a
 Royal Race, who did not only Govern with great Authority in Peace,
 but also order'd the whole War: Her Disposition was more Masculine
 than became a Woman, being of a tall Stature, and a severe Counte-
 nance, having a harsh Voice and yellow Hair, which being let loose,
 hung dishevel'd below her Waist, wearing a great Gold Chain about her
 Neck, and having on a loose Coat wrought with divers Colours, and a
 thick Mantle button'd over it, holding a Spear in her Hand. Having
 now gotten together an Army of an Hundred Thousand Men, which were
 drawn up ready to fight, the Queen getting up on a high heap of Earth,
 made a Speech to her Soldiers, which, since it is tedious and most likely
 to be made only to set out the Eloquence and Invention of the Author,
 I shall pass over, and shall rather give you what she is suppos'd to have
 said, out of || *Tacitus*; as being shorter and more to the Purpose; who re- *ibid. cap. 35.*
 lates it thus.

Boadicia carried her Daughters with her in a Chariot, in which being
 driven about to every Nation that compos'd her Army, she spoke to this
 Effect: "That since it was no new thing for the *Britains* to make a
 "War under the Conduct of a Woman, therefore for her part, tho'
 "descended of Noble Ancestors, she sought not so much to Revenge
 "the loss of her Kingdom and Treasures, but rather (as one of the
 "Common People) the loss of her Liberty, the bruising her Body with
 "Stripes, and the violated Chastity of her Daughters. That the *Ro-*
 "man Lust was such, that they did not leave either old Age or Virgi-
 "nity undefil'd: That the Gods had hitherto favour'd her just Revenge,
 "one Legion being already cut off, which dared to fight; the rest ha-
 "ving hid themselves in their Camps sought how to run away, as not
 "being able to endure the Shouts and Clamours of so many Thousands,
 "much less their Power: So that if they would but consider their own
 "great Forces, they ought either to overcome or die in that Battel.

Neither was *Suetonius* silent in so great a Danger; and although he *ibid. cap. 36.*
 trusted much in his Soldiers Valour, yet thought good to give them
 some Encouragement, to this effect; That they should despise the empty,
 noisy Threats of those Barbarians; That they beheld more Women, than
 Fighting Men among them; That being unwarlike, and unarm'd, they
 would presently give way, as soon as they felt the sharp Swords and Va-
 lour of their Conquerors, by whom they had been so often routed; and

H

that

Anno Dom. LXIII. That of so many Legions, a few would serve to gain the Victory; and that it would be an Addition to their Honour, if so small a Force could obtain the same Glory as if it were an entire Army. His Advice then was, That they should keep close together; and having cast their Darts, should afterwards continue the Slaughter with their Pikes and Swords, not minding the Spoil, since the Victory once obtain'd, all would be their own. The Soldiers were so encouraged with this Speech, that the Veterane Soldiers, experienc'd by many Battles, urged *Suetonius* to give the Signal.

† Tacit. c. 37. † Yet all the Legion stood unmov'd, keeping that strait Entrance as a Defence before them: But when the Enemy had approached nearer, and had spent their Darts, the Legion fallied forth all at once upon them, in the form of a Wedge. The like Assault was also made by the Auxiliaries; whilst the Horse, with their Spears, routed all that stood before them: The rest turn'd their Backs and fled, but could hardly escape, because their own Wagons had closed up all the Avenues: But the Soldiers gave no Quarter, not so much as to the Women; and the very Draught-Cattel being run thorough, increas'd the Heap of the dead Carcasses. This Victory was very eminent; and the Glory of it equall'd those of Ancient Times, since it is related, that not less than 80000 *Britains* were then slain; but of the *Roman* Soldiers, not above 400, and about as many wounded. *Boadicia* ended her Life by Poyson: And *Pennius Posthumus*, the Commander of the Second Legion, when he heard the good Success of those of the Fourteenth and Twentieth, since he had defrauded his own Men of the like Glory; and had also, contrary to the Rules of War, refused to obey the Orders of his General, run himself through with his own Sword.

The Army, after a general Review, still kept the Field, to make an end of the War; and *Suetonius* increased his Forces with 2000 Legionary Soldiers, and 8 Cohorts of Auxiliaries, together with 1000 Horse sent out of *Germany*; by whose coming, the Ninth Legion was recruited: Whereupon, all those Cohorts, with some others, were put into Winter-Quarters: Whatsoever Nations continued either Enemies, or Neuters, were now destroy'd with Fire and Sword. But nothing afflicted them so much as Hunger; having been careless to sow Corn, because they reckon'd upon the *Roman* Provisions as their own; all their Hands being employ'd in the War. But these fierce Nations were the less inclin'd to treat of Peace, because *Julius Classicianus*, who succeeded *Catus*, differing with *Suetonius*, their private Animosities hinder'd the publick Good; the former giving out, that a new Lieutenant was to be expected, without the Rancour of a Conqueror, and who would treat those that submitted to them with Mercy and Clemency: Having also written to *Rome*, that there was no End to be expected of this War, unless *Suetonius* were remov'd; attributing all Miscarriages to his ill Conduct; and any happy Success, to the good Fortune of the Commonwealth.

* Ibid. cap. 39. * *Polyctetus* therefore, one of *Nero's* Freed-men, is sent to inspect the State of *Britain*; with great Hopes that he might by his Authority, not only procure an Agreement between the Lieutenant and the Procurator, but also work the Minds of the Barbarians to a Peace. *Polyctetus*, after having been burthensome, both to *Italy* and *Gaul*, with his great Retinue and having cross'd the Ocean, did not omit to become terrible also to the *Roman* Soldiers. This gave Matter of Sport to the Enemy, who then enjoying

Anno Dom. LXIII. enjoying Liberty, had not yet known the Power of these Freed-men; but wonder'd that so great a General, and an Army who had fought such Battels, could obey Slaves. But though all things were soften'd, and fairly represented on the General's behalf; yet because (whilst he was otherwise employ'd in Affairs) he had lost a few Gallies near the Shore; he was commanded, though the War yet lasted, to deliver up the Army to *Petronius Turpilianus*, who was then just out of his Consulship; who, neither provoking the Enemy, nor being provoked by them, gave his own Slowness the honourable Title of Peace.

* But *Tacitus* also, in the Life of *Agricola*, having given a short Relation of this War with *Boadicia*, (whom he there calls *Voadicia*) owns, that *Britain* had been lost if *Paulinus* had not speedily come to its Assistance, most of which he restor'd by one Battel to its ancient Subjection; though many still continued in Arms, whom either the Guilt of Rebellion, or the Fear of the Lieutenant, still kept out; who, though he was a worthy Man, yet carried himself too haughtily toward those that submitted; and, as a Revenger of his own Injuries, impos'd too hard Terms upon the Vanquished: Therefore *Petronius Turpilianus* was sent in his stead, as being more exorable; who, as one altogether ignorant of the Enemy's Failings, would be more easie to their Repentance; but all former Differences being compos'd, he durst do nothing farther; and so deliver'd the Province to *Trebellius Maximus*; who being a Man of an unactive Temper, and no Experience in Military Affairs, govern'd the Province by a Softness and Complaisance; yet nevertheless, he continued still in the Government till the Reign of *Vitellius*.

But † *Tacitus* here farther tells us, That the *Britains* had now learnt to approve of the pleasant Vices of the *Romans*, whilst the Intervention of their Civil Wars gave them a just Excuse for their own Cowardice.

But one thing is by no means to be pass'd by without particular Notice; that it was in the Reign of one of these Emperors, either *Claudius*, or *Nero*, though uncertain in which, that *Gildas*, as do divers other latter Authors, supposes the Gospel to have been first preached in the Island; though by whom, is also unknown, no ancient Church-Historian making any mention of it: And indeed, there is much difference in the Accounts of latter Writers about it; some attributing it to *St. James*, the Son of *Zebedee*; some of the Modern *Greek Ecclesiastical* Writers, to *Simon Zelotes*, or *St. Peter*; others of them, to *St. Paul*, who is said to have Ordain'd one *Aristobolus*, (afterwards a Martyr) to be a Bishop in *Britain*; as you may see at large in the first Chapter of Archbishop *Usher's Antiquities of the British Churches*. But though he there understands those Passages in *Gildas*, where he speaks of *Christ*, the true Sun's affording his Rays, i. e. the Knowledge of his Precepts, to this Island, then shivering with icy Cold, as if it refer'd to the very first Preaching of the Gospel, in the Reign of *Tiberius*; yet the learned Dr. *Stillingfleet*, now Lord Bishop of *Worcester*, hath very ingeniously shewn us in his learned Work, called

* *Origines Britanice*, that the Word *interdū*, in the mean time, (with which *Gildas* begins this Discourse) is to be referred to the Times before-mention'd by him, (viz.) that fatal Victory over *Boadicia* and the *Britains*, by *Suetonius Paulinus*; and the Slavery they afterwards underwent in *Nero's* Reign. So that the Doctor supposes *Gildas* to speak of a double Shining of the Gospel; one more general to the *Roman* World, the other more particular to this Island: The former, he says, in the End of

Anno Dom. Tiberius's Reign, the latter was *interea*, in the time that is between *Plan-*
 LXIX. *tian's* coming over in the Time of *Claudius*, and the abovementioned
 Battel between *Boadicia* and *Suetonius*; and this the Dr. thinks to be most
 probably the Time which *Gildas* has there pitched upon, for the first
 Preaching of the Gospel in this Island. Since therefore there is so great
 a difference between those Authors, who have taken upon them exact-
 ly to assign the time when it was first Preached (as you may find by the
 Citations given us by the said Archbishop, it were to no purpose
 croud this History with those uncertain Relations, and therefore I shall
 refer you to the said Learned Work, if you shall desire any further Sa-
 tisfaction.

To which period of Time may be also referred the Story of *Joseph* of
Arimathæa's and his Twelve Companions coming to Preach the Gospel in
Britain, which, tho' it wholly depends upon some Legends and Tradi-
 tions of the Monks of the Abbey of *Glassebury*, for no such thing is to
 be found in *Gildas*, *Nennius*, or any ancient *British* Author; yet since
 they have been so commonly receiv'd, it deserves a particular Notice,
 tho' the said Archbishop in the * Book but now cited also tells us, That he
 believes those Stories to be not antienter than the coming in of the *Nor-*
 mans, as smelling plainly of the Superstition of those latter Ages: For
 Will. of Malmesbury in his Treatise concerning the Antiquities of the
 Church of *Glassebury*, is the first that mentions it; when drawing its Hi-
 story from the *Apostles*, he relates, that St. *Philip* coming into *France* to
 Preach the Gospel of Christ, and being willing to spread it further, chose
 Twelve of his Disciples, over whom he set his dear Friend *Joseph* of *Ari-*
mathea, and sent them to Preach the Word in *Britain*; and that coming
 over hither in the Sixty-third Year after Christ's Passion, he faithfully
 Preach'd the Gospel; but a *British* King (whom he does not name) hear-
 ing things so new and unusual, utterly refus'd to hearken to their Preach-
 ing, nor would change the Traditions of his Forefathers: yet because
 they came from far, and shew'd great Simplicity of Life, he granted
 them a certain Island to inhabit, encompassed with Woods and Marshes,
 called by the Inhabitants *Inisvitriu*; where, by a Vision of the Angel
Gabriel, they built a small Church, making the Walls with Wattles, in
 Honour of God and the Virgin *Mary*, where these Twelve Holy Men spent
 their Time in Devotions to God and the Blessed Virgin, by Fasting and
 Praying. These things he says he had received from a Charter of St. *Pa-*
trick's, as also from the Writings of the Antients; but that Charter is by
 the Learned Dr. *Stillingfleet* prov'd to be a meer Forgery of the Monks of
Glassebury: And as for ancient Writers, tho' *Malmesbury* there cites *Frecul-*
phus as an Author, who relates *Philip's* sending *Joseph* hither, yet the
 Archbishop there shews us, that this Author whom *Malmesbury* cites, had
 only taken a Passage from *Isidore's* Book concerning the Fathers of both
 Testaments: But in both those Authors it is only thus, That *Philip*
 Preached Christ to the *Gauls*, and Converted many Barbarous Nations
 lying near the Sea, to the Knowledge of the Gospel; but says not one
 word of *Joseph's* coming hither. So that, tho' Cardinal *Baronius* hath pla-
 ced this coming over of *Joseph* in his Annals, and says, That he took it
 from a Manuscript History of *England*, which was in the *Vatican* Library;
 yet the Archbishop proves in another Place, that History to have been
 written in Modern Times. So that all the *Romish* Writers on this Subject
 have borrow'd their Legends one from another, as the first of them did
 from our *William* of *Malmesbury*. The

* Chap. III.

The said Archbishop there likewise tells us, as does also *Str Henry Spel-*
 man in the First Volume of his *British Councils*, That in their time there
 was kept at *Wells*, in the House of Sir *Thomas Hughs*, Knight, a brazen
 Plate, which was formerly fastned to a Pillar of *Glassebury* Church,
 wherein was Engraven this Story with divers Additions, too long to be
 here set down: Therefore I refer you to the said Authors Works, where
 you may find it word for word, with the draught of it, as it was taken
 from the Original, where you may also see that he there conclude: from
 the modernness of the Character, as well as divers other Circumstances
 in the Inscription it self, that it could not be above Three Hundred Years
 old, and so plainly betrays the Forgery of those Monks, who set it up,
 and contriv'd the Story of St. *David's* Hand being pierced through with
 our Saviour's Finger, as it stands related in the said Inscription. But
 whosoever is not satisfied with this, that is here set down, but desires
 farther Satisfaction in the uncertainty of this Story of *Joseph* of *Arima-*
thæa, may, if they please, consult the said Doctor's above-cited Treas-
 ure; where you will find all the Authorities that have been further made
 use of for this Story, learnedly confuted.

The short Reign of *Galba* affords us nothing relating to *British* Affairs, Anno Dom.
 no more than that of *Otho*; only, that during this last Emperor's Reign, LXIX.
 * *Tacitus* relates, That whilst *Trebellius Maximus* govern'd *Britain*, he fell
 into the Hatred and Contempt of his Army, for his sordid Covetous-
 ness; and that this Aversion against him, was heightened by *Roscius Ce-*
lius, Legate of the Twentieth Legion, an old Enemy of his, inasmuch,
 that oftentimes by flight and hiding himself, he escaped the Fury of his
 Army: and that thus debasing himself in a mean and abject manner, he
 exercis'd a precarious Authority, as if he and his Army had had agreed,
 that they should enjoy a Licentiousness of Living, and he his own
 Ease and Safety. But when the Civil Wars broke out between *Otho* and
Vitellius, then began *Trebellius* and *Celius* to fly into greater and more
 open Discords: *Trebellius* laying to *Celius's* Charge the spreading of Se-
 dition, and drawing the Soldiers from their Discipline and Obedience;
 whilst on the other side, *Celius* upbraided him of defrauding and Pillag-
 ing the Legions. Amidst those shameful Contentions, the Modesty of
 the Army was so Corrupted, and their Insolence grown to that height,
 that the Auxiliary Forces stuck not publickly to speak ill of their Ge-
 neral, and most of the Cohorts openly deserting him, went over to *Ce-*
lius. *Trebellius* being thus forsaken, presently fled to *Vitellius*, who being
 then Emperor, received him but coldly, without Restoring him to his
 Command. After his Departure the Province remain'd for a time quiet,
 though without a Lieutenant; the Commanders of the Legions Gov-
 erning with equal Authority; yet *Celius* was most powerful, because
 most daring.

But *Vitellius* not long after he came to the Empire, sent hither *Ves-*
patian to succeed *Trebellius*: And it also appears by several passages in
Tacitus, that no small number of *British* Forces were Commanded over
 Sea, to serve in those Bloody Civil Wars between *Otho* and *Vitellius*,
 especially when he and *Vespasian* contended for the Empire; and particu-
 larly the Fourteenth Legion, called the Conquerors of *Britain*, having
 been removed from hence by *Nero*, to the *Caspian* War; were again sent
 into *Britain* by *Vitellius*, but recalled by *Mutianus*, on the behalf of
Vespasian.

But

LXIX.

LXIX.

ibid.

LXX.

Tacit. Hist.
Lib. II. c. 65.
Id. lib. Agricola,
lib. 16.

Anno Dom. LXX. But *Bolanus* during the Civil Wars, was not able to keep the discipline, much less to attempt any thing upon the *Britains*; since the Factions continued as great in the Army, as in the time of *Trebellius*; only with this difference, that *Bolanus* was Innocent, and not hated for any publick Vices; and carried himself so obligingly, that though he had not the Authority of a General, yet he Ruled by the Affections of the Souldiers. But now *Vitellius* fearing the power of *Vespasian*, whose Forces began daily to encrease; wrote to *Bolanus* for supplies: but he deferred it, partly because the *Britains* were not sufficiently quieted; but taking the advantage of these dissensions among the *Romans*, raised continually new Commotions, by the instigation of *Venutius*; who had hitherto carried on the War against the *Romans*, ever since they took part with his Wife *Cartismandua*; but chiefly because the Souldiers of the Fourth Legion being incensed against *Vitellius*, had sent over privately Letters of Submission to *Vespasian*: In this condition was *Britain*, during the Government of *Bolanus*, when *Vitellius* was deposed about the Tenth Month of his Reign.

Anno Dom. LXXI. *Vespasian* succeeded him, and as soon as he was declared Emperour, his great Reputation easily brought over the Legions in *Britain* to his Interest; for he had served from a Youth in the *British* Wars, and being Lieutenant of the Second Legion, under *Claudius*, had fought many Battles, and taken many Towns from the *Britains*.

Tacit. de Agricola. 17.

But as soon as *Vespasian* was acknowledged in *Britain*, as well as in the rest of the Provinces; Famous Generals and great Armies were sent hither, whereby the Enemies hopes were quite defeated: For the Emperour presently sent into *Britain*, *Petilius Cerialis* one of Consular Dignity, as his Lieutenant; under whom Valour found not only a room to show it self, but also an Example in himself: For in the first place, he attack'd the State of the *Brigantes*, which is counted the most Populous in the whole Island, in which Expedition many Skirmishes happen'd, though sometimes not without much Blood-shed; he taking in a great part of their Country by Conquest: But when *Cerialis* had indeed both eclips'd the Fame, as well as prevented the Care of a Successor; *Julius Frontinus* succeeded him, who did as worthily sustain that great Charge, being a very brave Man; he subdued the *Silures*, overcoming both the difficulties of Places, and the Valour of the Enemies.

Anno Dom. LXXVII. In this State was *Britain*, when the Emperour sent hither *Agricola* as his Lieutenant, who had learned his first Principles of War in *Britain*, under *Paulinus* a Mild, yet diligent General, who made him his Tent-fellow; neither did *Agricola* after the manner of some Young Men, turn Warfare into Wantoness, or made use of the Command of a Tribune, only for Pleasure and Luxury; but made it his business to know the Province; to be known to the Army; to learn from the more Skillful; to imitate the Best; to undertake nothing for Vain Glory; to refuse nothing for Fear; but at once to Act both Cautiously and Stoutly. For *Cerialis*, had from the beginning enured him to Labours and Dangers; and at last communicated a share of Reputation often times for a Trial, giving him the Command of some part of the Army, and sometimes encouraging his former Success, by giving him the Command of greater Forces.

This

This is the Character, which *Tacitus* gives us of this Great Man, Anno Dom. LXXVIII. whose Daughter he had Married, and this was the State of Affairs in *Britain*, when *Agricola* came over about *Midsummer*: When the Soldiers having laid aside all thoughts of any Expedition, were grown secure, and the *Britains* on the other side were as watchful for Advantages, the *Ordovices* a little before the coming of this new General, had lately almost destroyed a whole Squadron of Horse, that was Quarter'd in their Country, few escaping; whilst those *Britains*, who were desirous of War, approved the Example; and others of them rather observed the Temper of the new Lieutenant: Then *Agricola*, although the Summer was spent, and the Souldiers dispersed into their Winter Quarters, expecting nothing but Ease for the rest of the Year; and though he considered the difficulties of beginning a War at that Season; (most of his Officers thinking it sufficient to defend what was weakest, and least to be defended; yet he resolved rather to obviate danger, than to expect it; so he gathered together some of the chief Legionary Cohorts, with a small band of Auxiliaries. But because the *Ordovices* durst not come down into the Plains; he Lead the Army against them himself; that by exposing his own person to equal Dangers, he might make them all a like Courageous: and having fought the *Ordovices*, he almost cut off their whole Nation.

But *Agricola*, knowing that reputation is chiefly gained by success; and that as this first Enterprize succeeded, so it would give a countenance to those that followed; He resolved therefore to subdue the Isle of *Mona*, from the Conquest of which *Paulinus* was recalled by the revolt of the *Britains*, as you have already heard; but wanting Ships for this Expedition, which was undertaken on the sudden: He used this Policy for the Transporting his Men; he commanded them all to lay aside their Baggage, sending over first the chief of the Auxiliaries; who were acquainted with their shallows, and whose Countries use had taught them to Swim, govern their Horses, and Fight all at once, which was executed so on the sudden, that the *Britains*, who expected Fleets, and thought without Shipping nothing could attack them, were now surprized and daunted; since they believed nothing was difficult or invincible to Men, so resolutely prepared for War; whereupon they desired Peace, and delivered up the Island.

This sudden Success gained *Agricola* a great Reputation; especially since he employed even his first Entrance into his Province, in labour and War; which by other Governours was spent in Ceremonies, or bestowing of Commands; nor did he make use of his Prosperity for Ostentation, or call this Expedition a Conquest; but only that he had reduced those to Obedience, who had been before subdued; neither did he so much as adorn his Letters to *Rome* with Laurels: (as the custom was) Yet even by this, slighting of Fame and Reputation, he at the same time encreased it; all Men admiring that, having such great presumptions of future success, he could thus conceal such noble Actions. Having thus overcome the *Britains*, the next thing he set himself about, was to understand the Minds and Inclinations of the People; having learned by long experience, that little good was to be done by force, whilst open injuries and oppressions were permitted; therefore he resolved to cut up this War by the very Roots, so beginning with his Domesticks, he first of all reformed his own Family, which is not less difficult to some than to Govern a Province; he acted nothing of publick concern by

Ibid. cap. 17.

Anno Dom. LXXVIII. by his Freedmen or Servants; nor did he nominate his Officers by his own private inclinations; nor on the bare recommendations, or intreaties of others; but still chose the most Vertuous and Faithful; he would both know and do all things himself; as for small faults he pardoned them, but punished great ones; nor was he always satisfied with punishment, but more often with Repentance; putting into Offices and Commands, rather such who would not offend at all, than punish them when they had: He also rendered the payment of Corn and other Tributes more easie by the equality of the Taxation; cutting off those exactions which were invented for private gain, and which were often more grievous, than the Taxes themselves: for the People had been compelled to attend at the publick Granaries, which were on purpose kept locked against them; and when opened, the Publicans obliged them to take greater quantities of Corn than their necessities required, and that at an extravagant rate, and which they were often constrained to sell again at a lower price to make Money for other necessaries, or the payment of their Tribute; the Purveyors also commanding them, when they pleased to carry it not to the nearest but remotest Markets, compounding with such as would be excused: thus causing a scarcity where there was none indeed, they made a particular gain to themselves: the reforming these abuses in the very First Year of his Government, brought Peace into Reputation; which either by the carelessness or connivances of his Predecessors, had hitherto been not less dreadful than War.

Geoffrey of Monmouth, and those that follow him do about this time make *Arviragus* a British King, now to have reigned in some part of this Island; and then dying, that he was succeeded by one *Marius*, whom some will have to be the same with *Gogidunus*; all which being as uncertain, as whether there was ever any such a Man or not; I shall not trouble my self to dispute, since this *Arviragus*, whom they suppose to have been his Father, lived in the Reign of *Domitian*, as I shall prove when I come to it.

Anno Dom. LXXIX. About this time dyed the Emperor *Vespasian*, and was succeeded by his Son *Titus*, who rather exceeded, than equal'd his Father in Valour and Worth: He continued *Agricola* in the Government of *Britain*: who when Summer was once come drew together his Army, praising the good Discipline of his Souldiers, whilst they kept close to their Ensigns, and punishing the Stragglers; he himself always chusing the places whereon to Encamp; and before hand searched the Woods, and Sounded the Fords they were to pass; by which means he not only hindred the Enemy from taking any rest, but so continually alarmed them with fresh Excursions, that he prevented the pillaging of the *Roman* Territories: Having thus sufficiently terrified them; he then began by sparing them to show them some allurements to Peace; by which means many Cities that before stood upon Terms, now laid down their Arms, gave Hostages, and received Garrisons; which were all placed with such care and foresight, and in such places of advantage, that never any of them were attempted; whereas before no new fortified place in all *Britain* escaped unattacked.

The following Winter was wholly spent in a wise and profitable design; for to the end, that the *Britains* who then lived rude and scattered, and so apter to make War, might be accustomed to pleasure, and living at ease; he privately encouraged, and publickly promoted the building of

of Temples, Houses, and Places for Publick Assemblies; commending the Readiness of some, and quickening the Slowness of others, whilst Emulation of Honour wrought more than Compulsion among them. He also caused the Noble-Men's Sons to be instructed in the Liberal Sciences: And by commending the Wits of *Britain* before these of *Gaul*, he brought them, who before hated the *Roman* Language, to grow in love with the Latin Eloquence. And now came the *Roman* Garb to be in fashion; and the Gown no Stranger among them. Thus came in by degrees all the Allurements of Vice and Voluptuous Living; as Porticoes, Baths, with the Luxury of Banquets; which was by the Ignorant called Good Breeding, and Civility; when, indeed, it was but a Badge of their own Slavery.

† In the Third Year's Expedition, *Agricola* discover'd new Nations wast- *Anno Dom.* ing the Countries as far as the Frith called the *Tams*. Thus by the Terror of his Marches he so aw'd the Enemy, that though his Army was much harass'd by bad Weather, yet durst they not attack him: so that he had time enough to build Forts: And those that were skilful took notice, that no other General did more prudently chuse Places fit to be fortified. So that no Castle of *Agricola's* was ever taken by Force, or deserted: But from these, being well provided with Provisions for a Years Siege, his Men made frequent Sallies. So that the Enemy, who before used in Winter to re-gain what in Summer they had lost, were now alike in both Seasons straitned and kept short. Neither did *Agricola*, as too covetous of Honour, attribute to himself things done by others; since every Officer or Centurion had him for an impartial Witness, as well as Judge of his Actions; And though he were taxed by some, as too bitter in his Reproofs, yet must it be granted, that as he was gentle to the Good, so he was morose to the bad; but his Anger did not last long: Nor needed one to have fear'd his Silence, or Reservedness; for he thought it much better to displease a Man, than hate him.

The Emperor *Titus*, for these great Achievements of *Agricola*, was fifteen times saluted *Imperator*, or General: And the Honour he got by the Actions of so great a Commander, he rewarded with Triumphal Ornaments. Not long after which, *Titus* (stiled for his Goodness, *Delicia humani generis*, The Delight of Mankind) dyed (as was suspected) by Poyson.

Domitian, his Brother (a Man as wicked as the other was vertuous) succeeded to him. It was now the Fourth Year of *Agricola's* Government in *Britain*; which was also spent in securing what the Summer before had been gotten in this Island: And had the Courage of his Soldiers been answerable to the Conduct of the General, and the Fortune of the Commonwealth, he had now reach'd the utmost Bounds of *Britain*; for *Glota* and *Bodotria* (now *Dunbritain* and *Edinburgh-Fryths*) running from both Seas, far into the Continent, and being dis-joyn'd by a narrow Neck of Land; these, together with all the Creeks and Havens on this side of the *Streight*, were held by *Roman* Garisons, and the Enemies, as it were, confin'd in another Island.

* In the Fifth Year of his Government, and as soon as the Season would admit passing over the *Bodotrian* Frith, he subdued divers Nations, (until then unknown) in frequent and prosperous Battels; placing Garrisons in that part of *Britain* that lies over against *Ireland*, though more in hopes of a new Conquest, than for fear of any Invasion: For *Ireland* lying in the midst, between *Britain* and *Spain*, lies convenient for the

Anno Dom. Gallick Sea, and would have united the vast Members of the Empire, LXXXII. and render'd them highly useful to each other. This Island, if compar'd to Britain, is much less; yet exceeds all the Islands of the Mediterranean Sea: The Soil and Climate, together with the Dispositions and Manners of the Inhabitants, being not much different from those of the Britains; but its Havens are better known to Traders, by reason of its greater Commerce. *Agricola* had receiv'd one of the petty Kings of this Nation, who had been expell'd by a Domestick Sedition; and retain'd him under a Shew of Friendship, till a fit Occasion. *Tacitus* further says, That *Agricola* told him, that he believ'd Ireland might be both conquer'd and kept with only one Legion; and that it might be useful even against Britain, if the Roman Arms were extended thither, and Liberty were once, as it were, banish'd quite out of sight.

This, though it be a Digression from our History of Britain, yet I thought good not to omit, because it gives the best and most particular Account we have in any ancient Historian concerning Ireland: As also, the Reason why so great a General as *Agricola* thought it worth his Conquest.

Anno Dom. † But the next Summer, which was the Sixth Year of his Command, LXXXIII. he first discover'd by his Fleet those large Countries lying beyond the *Bodotrian* Frith; and Incursions of all those Nations lying beyond it, were much fear'd by him. This Fleet was by *Agricola* also made use of, to assist his Land-Forces; and therefore still follow'd him, making a dreadful Shew as it sail'd along. The War was thus carry'd on, both by Sea and Land; Nay, often in the same Camp, the Foot, with the Horse-men, and Marine Forces, would meet, and make merry together; where each in his Turn would extol their own Feats and Adventures; comparing the Dangers of the Woods and Mountains, with the Accidents and Hazards of the Waves and Tempests; and that as the Britains by Land, so the Ocean it self was by them subdued: Thus they boasted in a Soldier-like way. But, as *Agricola* afterwards heard from some Prisoners, the Sight of his Fleet so much dishearten'd the Britains, as that the utmost Secrets of their own Seas being now discover'd, the Conquer'd had even lost their last Refuge. But then the *Caledonians* made great Preparations for War, though with greater Fame than Reality; as it is usual for it to relate too much of things unknown, giving out, as if they had assaulted and taken some Roman Fort. This News made some afraid, who being Cowardly, under the Shew of Prudence, took upon them to advise the General, that they ought to retreat to the other side of the Frith; and that they should rather do it voluntarily, than by constraint. But when *Agricola* knew that the Enemy would invade him in many distinct Parties, lest he should be environ'd by Numbers far exceeding his own, he himself divided his Army into Three Detachments.

* Ibid. cap. 26.

* Which, when it was known to the Enemy, changing their Design on a sudden, they in one entire Body broke in by Night upon the Ninth Legion, as being the weakest, and killed the Centinels between sleeping and waking; and now they fought in the very Camp. When *Agricola*, having by Scouts learnt the Enemy's March, follow'd them at the Heels, and commanded the swiftest of his Horse and lightest Foot-men to charge upon their Rear, whilst the whole Army presently seconded them with Shouts. The Britains hearing the Enemy behind them, were dishearten'd; especially when the Day appearing, discover'd the glittering Ensigns of the

the Romans, who then took heart, and renew'd the Fight; not as Men doubtful of Victory, but ambitious of Honour: For now might be seen some of the Roman Soldiers getting into their own Camp, whilst others fought to get out; both contending, which should have the most Glory; the one, in bringing a timely Assistance; the other, in not seeming to have needed it. In this Fight the Britains were routed; and had they not betaken themselves to their old Refuge, the Woods and Bogs, that Day had put a Period to the War.

* By this constant Success, the Army gain'd fresh Courage; and they now all cried out, That nothing was impossible for their Valour; that *Caledonia* was to be pass'd through; and that at last they would fight their Way to the utmost Bounds of Britain: And they who were lately so wise and cautious, now seem'd as forward, and talk'd as big, after this Success, as the best. And this, indeed, is the hard Fate of War; All challenge a Share in the Success, whilst Misfortunes are laid upon a single Person. However, the Britains would not own themselves beaten by the Courage of the Roman Soldiers, but by the Cunning and Conduct of the General; and therefore they had no meaner Thoughts of themselves than before, but made new Levies, in order to prosecute the War; and beforehand carried their Wives and Children into Places of Safety, sending about, through all their Cities, to enter into new Confederacy; which was afterwards ratified with solemn Rites and Sacrifices: And so their Spirits being thus heightened, they at present return'd home.

The same Summer, a Cohort of *Vespasian's*, raised in Germany, and sent into Britain, having slain a Centurion, and other Soldiers that were appointed to exercise them, deserted, and went to Sea in three Pinnaces; and having kill'd two of the Masters whom they suspected, the other they constrain'd to do his Duty. Having thus escaped, and none knowing what was become of them, and having no Pilates, they were carried at random, as the Tides and Winds drove them to and fro. Thus compassing the Island, they practis'd Piracy where they landed; and often fighting with the Britains, who defended their Goods, were sometimes Victors, and sometimes worsted; till at last they were driven to that great Extremity for want of Provision, that first they devour'd the weakest of their own Men; and then drew Lots, who of them should be eaten afterwards. Thus having floated round Britain, and lost their Ships for want of Skill to steer them, getting on Shore, they were taken, and sold as Pirates, first by the *Suevians*, and afterwards by the *Frisians*, till at last they were sold into Britain; where the strangeness of the Accident render'd this Discovery of the Island more famous.

† But *Agricola* having in the beginning of this Summer lost a young Son, made use of War as a Remedy to vent his Grief; therefore he sent his Fleet before, which by spoiling many Places on the Coast, struck a greater Terror into the Enemy: He himself with a flying Army consisting chiefly of Britains, whose Courage and Faith he had long experienced, following it, march'd as far as the *Grampian Hills*, upon which the Enemy had posted themselves; for the Britains nothing daunted with the ill Success of the last Fight, and expecting nothing but Revenge or Slavery from their new Leagues and Confederacies, were got together Thirty Thousand strong, more being daily expected; nay, the aged themselves would not be exempted from this Days Service, but as they had been brave Men in their time, so every one of them bore some Badge or Mark

Anno Dom. of his youthful Achievements. Among these was *Galgacus*, chief in LXXXIV. Authority and Birth; who when the Army cry'd out for the Signal of Battel, is brought in by *Tacitus*, making a long yet noble Oration; which tho' it is likely he never spoke, and that it is contrary to my Design to stuff these Annals with long Speeches, yet since there is a great deal of good Sense and sharp Satyr express'd in it against his own Nation, I shall

Ibid. c. 30, 31.

Galgacus his Speech to the Britains.

contract some part of it, and render the rest word for word. "In the first place having set forth the Occasion of making War upon the *Romans*, from the Necessity of avoiding Slavery, as being the last People of *Britain* that were yet unconquer'd, and that beyond them there was no more Earth nor Liberty left: That now the utmost Bounds of *Britain* were discovered, and no other Nations but them left to employ the *Roman* Armies, whose Pride they might seek to please in vain by Services and Submissions; those Robbers of the World, who having left no Land unplunder'd, ransack even the Ocean it self. If the Enemy be Rich, they are greedy of his Wealth; if Poor, they covet Glory; whom neither the *East* nor *West* could ever satisfy; the only Men in the World who pursue both the Rich and the Needy with equal Appetite: To Kill and Plunder, they call Governing; and when they have brought Desolation on a Country, they term it Peace. That Nature, by nearest ties, had link'd their Children and Relations to them, yet even these were taken away and press'd into their Service: That their Wives and Sisters, if they escap'd their Violence, yet could not avoid Dishonour; since when they came as Guests into their Houses, they were sure to Debauch them: Their Goods and Fortunes they made their Tributes; their Corn, their Provision to supply their Graneries; and wore out their Bodies in cutting down Woods, and draining Fens, and paving Marishes; nay, and all this amidst a Thousand Stripes and Indignities: That Slaves who are born to Bondage, were sold but once, and afterwards kept at their Masters Charges; but *Britain* daily bought its own Bondage, and maintain'd it too.

He then proceeds to exhort them to be tenacious of their Liberty, lest (like the last Slave in a private Family, who is the Sport and Scorn of his Fellows when conquer'd) they should be flouted by those who had been used as Drudges long before, advising them to take Courage and Example from the *Brigantes*, who under the Conduct of a Woman had almost quite destroyed the *Romans*; and might have driven them out of *Britain*, had they not failed in the Attempt by their too great Security and Success. Then magnifying the Valour and Strength of his own Nation, and lessening that of the *Romans*, as made up of divers Nations, who unwillingly served them, and as soon as they durst would turn against them; he concluded with shewing what Advantages they had above the *Romans*, to make them hope for Victory, and the miserable Slavery they were like to undergo if they were vanquish'd; and therefore going now to Battel, advised them to remember the Freedom of their Ancestors, as well as the Danger of Slavery to themselves and their Posterity.

Ibid. c. 33, 34.

The *Britains* received this Speech with great Testimonies of Joy, such as Songs and confus'd Clamours, after the Custom of their Country; all which shew'd their Approbation, and now their Arms began to glitter, and every one to put himself in Array, when *Agricola*, scarce able to repress the Heat of his Soldiers, yet thinking it convenient to say something

thing to them, made a Speech to this Effect, (for, being somewhat long, *Anno Dom.* I shall make bold to Contract it:) First he told his Soldiers, That this LXXXIV. was the Eighth Year that their Valour, protected by the Fortune of the *Roman Empire*, had subdu'd the *Britains* in so many Battels, and that as he had exceeded his Predecessors in Success, so they had all former Armies. That *Britain* was now no longer known, only by Fame and Report; and that as they have had the Honor to discover, so likewise might they to subdue it: That he had often heard them ask, *When they should meet the Enemy?* but now they had their Desires, now was the time to shew their Valour, and that as every thing would happen as they could wish if they Conquer'd; so all things made against them, if they were overcome. That if it was Great and Noble to have Marched so much Ground, to have pass'd so many Woods, and both the *Friths*, yet if they fled, the very same things would be their Hindrance and Destruction: That as for his part he had been long since satisfied, that to run away was neither safe for the Soldier nor General; and that a Commendable Death was to be prefer'd before the Reproaches of an Ignominious Life; that Safety and Honour were now inseparably conjoin'd: And let the worst happen, yet how glorious would it be to die in the utmost Bounds of the World and Nature? Then putting them in mind of their late Victories, and representing these *Britains* they were now to fight with, as the Meanest and most Rascally of all the Nations they had Conquer'd, so he doubts not but they will afford them an occasion of a memorable Victory. Then concludes, in advising them to make an end of the War, and to Fifty Years Labours add one great concluding Day, by which means they should approve themselves to their Country; and that it should never be justly laid to their Charge, that they had Protracted the War, nor let slip any Opportunity of completing their Conquest.

Whilst *Agricola* was yet speaking, the Soldiers expressed great Signs of their Eagerness and Resolution, but the Conclusion of his Speech was received with loud and joyful Acclamations, whilst every Man stood to his Arms, and shewed his Impatience to march on. *Agricola* order'd the Battel after this manner; his Main Body was made up of Eight Thousand Auxiliary Foot, and Three Thousand Horse were placed in the Wings, the Legions being set in the Rear before the Camp, for the greater Glory of the Victory, if it could be won without any loss of *Roman* Blood; if otherwise for Succour and Assistance.

The *British* Army, for the greater Shew and Terror, was drawn upon a rising Ground; the first Battalion stood on the Plain, the next a degree higher, as the Hill ascended, the Field rang with the Clattering Noise of Chariots and Horsemen ranging up and down. *Agricola* perceiving the Enemy exceeded him in numbers, and fearing lest they might attack him in the Front and Flanks at once, stretch'd out his Front in length; and although by that means his Van-guard was somewhat thin, and that many Counsellors him to take the Legions into it, yet he stood firm to his first Resolution; and alighting from his Horse, placed himself at the head of the Foot before the Ensigns.

*The Fight began at a distance, with missive Weapons, wherein the *Britains* shew'd wondrous Skill and Constancy, for with their broad Swords and short Targets they either avoided the Darts, or shook them off, and in return liberally bestow'd whole Showres of their own; *Agricola* perceiving this Disadvantage, commanded Three *Batavian* Cohorts, and

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Anno Dom. Two of the *Tungrians*, that they should bring it speedily to dint of Sword, which they easily performed, as being fitted for it by long exercise, but the *Britains* on the other side having little Targets, and huge unwieldy Swords without points, lay under a great disadvantage, nor could endure a close down right fighting; so that when the *Batauvians* came to exchange blows with them, and to make at their Faces with the Pikes of their Targets, they easily bore them down, and prosecuting their Victory, advanced to the side of the Hill; the rest of the Cohorts being spur'd on by Emulation, and striking at all that were near them, run on in the same course, leaving for half many behind them, some half Dead, others untouch'd; in the mean while as the Horse-men fled, the Chariots brake in upon the Foot; so they who had lately terrified others, were now distressed themselves, being penn'd in by their own close Ranks, as well as the unevenness of the Ground.

But the manner of this Battel was not like a loose skirmish of Horse-men, but all keeping their Ranks, endeavoured by the weight of their Horses to bear down the Enemy, and now might be seen Chariots without Drivers, and the affrighted Horses running to and fro, without Riders, overturning all that met them, or thwarted their way.

Ibid. 38.

But when those *Britains*, who had not yet engaged but on the tops of the Hills despised the paucity of the *Romans*, began to draw down by degrees, and taking a compass to fall upon them in the Rear; *Agricola* having foreseen their design, with Four Squadrons of Horse, which he had reserved for such a purpose, opposed their Descent, and driving them back with as great hast as they had come forward, put them totally to flight; so that now this project of the *Britains* was turned upon themselves; some Troops of Horse being by the General's order taken from the Front of the Battel, and sent to charge the Enemy in the Rear; then might have been seen in the open Plain a great and dismal Scene of War, some pursuing, wounding, taking, and then killing those that were taken; when other fresh ones came in the way; now whole Regiments of the *Britains*, according to their several dispositions, though Arm'd, and more numerous turning their backs, whilst others though unarm'd ran desperately upon the Swords of their Enemies; the whole field was covered with scattered Arms, Dead Bodies, with mangled Limbs and Blood; whilst many wallowing in their own gore, ceased not to give some proofs of their last Anger and Revenge: But when the *Britains*, by running away, had got nearer the Woods, rallying again, they circumvented those that pursued them, as being unwary and ignorant of those places: *Agricola* (who was every where) prevented this by sending out some Light Arms, yet strong Cohorts, and as also by Commanding some of his Horse-men to alight, and scour the thickest parts of the Wood; these might have suffered considerably for their rashness: But when the *Britains* once saw that the *Romans* followed the pursuit close, and in good order, they all fled, tho' not as before in whole Troops and Companies; but dispersed and stragling into remote and by-places until Night, and the satiety of slaughter put an end to the chase: Of the *Britains* Ten Thousand were Slain: Of the *Romans* Three Hundred and Forty; amongst which was *Aurelius Atticus*, Commander in chief of a Cohort; who through Youthful heat, and the over-much merite of his Horse, was carried into the midst of the Enemy. The Night was spent with Joy by the *Romans*; being now flush'd with Victory and Spoil; but the *Britains*

Ibid. 38.

Britains ran wandering up and down; Men and Women howling together; *Anno Dom.* some lug'd on the Wounded, whilst others cryed for help, to those that *LXXXIV.* were not hurt; some forlook their Houses, and of their own accord set Fire on them, searching out holes to hide themselves in for safety, which they as quickly left, to find out others; sometimes in consult together they entertained some glimmerings of hope, and then again fell into despair, being sometimes dispirited, and some enraged at the sight of their dearest Relations; and it is certain, that many out of a cruel compassion laid violent hands on their Wives and Children to secure them from the cruelty of the *Romans*: But Day appearing gave a plainer prospect of their Victory; every where reign'd desolation and silence; the Hills being forsaken, and the Cottages smoaking afar off: when the Scouts brought word that no body appear'd, only that they found the uncertain Footsteps of their flight. Whereupon *Agricola*, because the Summer was far spent, and that no fit Season to divide his Forces; brought them in an entire body into the borders of the *Foresti*: (supposed to be the Inhabitants of *Eske-Dale* in Scotland) where having received Hostages, he Commanded the Admiral of his Fleet to Sail round about *Britain*; furnishing him with all things necessary, but the terrour of the Navy was gone before, whilst he with slow and easie marches, to the end he might strike the greater terrour into the new Conquer'd Nations, arrived at his Winter Quarters, whilst the Navy with prosperous Winds and good Success, safely arrived at the Port *Trutulensis* (supposed by Mr. Somner, to be *Richborough*, near *Sandwich*) from whence it had set out, and coasting along the nearest side of *Britain* returned thither again.

And now the *Romans* first discovered the Isles of *Orkeney*, which others, with less Reason following *Orosius*, ascribe unto *Claudius*.

Agricola, having sent a plain account of these Transactions (and that without any vain Glory or Amplification) the Emperor, as his manner was, received them with a shew of Joy, tho' with an inward Trouble of Mind; for he was Conscious to himself, that his own Counterfeit Triumph over the *Germans* was a ridiculous piece of Pageantry (to set out which, for want of real Captives, he was forced to buy such as by their Hair and Attire might personate them); whereas the great and real Victories of *Agricola*, where so many Thousand were Slain, being applauded by all Men, would give him a vast Reputation: Thinking it therefore dangerous, that the Glory of a private Man should Eclipse that of his Prince, He secretly design'd his Ruine, thinking it in vain to have suppressed the Study of Oratory, and other Liberal Arts, thereby to depress other Mens Fame; if he should suffer himself to be thus surpassed in the Art of War, which he esteemed the peculiar honour of an Emperour, being daily tormented with these Cares, and much alone in his Closet (which was always with him still a sign of some ensuing mischief) he thought it best for the present to hide his resentments, till the noise of *Agricola's* Victory, as well as the Love of the Army towards him, was a little abated; he continued him therefore in his Command for some time, and with all shews of acknowledgments for so great Services, and ordering the Senate to decree him Triumphal Ornaments, with the honour of a Statue; himself speaking highly in his Favour.

He also caused a Report to be spread abroad, that the Province of *Syria*, then void by the Death of *Attilius Rufus*, and reserved for Persons of

Ib. ch. 39.

Dion. lib. 67.

Ib. c. 40.

Anno Dom. of the highest Rank, should be bestowed upon *Agricola*; and it was also
 LXXXIV. commonly believed, that a Freed-man employed in the Emperours most
 secret Services, was sent to *Agricola* with a Commission for the Govern-
 ment of *Syria* with private Orders, if he were then in *Britain*, that it
 should be delivered: But that the Messenger meeting *Agricola* at Sea,
 never so much as saluting him, returned again to *Domitian*; whether this
 were true or only feigned (as agreeable to the humour of this Prince)
 is uncertain.

Anno Dom. However, *Agricola* delivered the Province peaceably and quiet to his
 LXXXV. Successour; and least his entrance into the City should be too remark-
 able, by the croud of those that might go out to meet him, he came (as
 he was ordered) by Night into the Palace, where being received with a
 short salute, and no particular discourse, he presently drew off amongst
 the croud of attendants.

But tho' it is not to our present Design, give me leave to wait on this
 Great Man to his Grave, and give you *Tacitus's* last Account of him,
 since he is so great an Example of Moderation in Prosperity, as well as
 of Patience under the Sights and Affronts of an insolent Tyrant.

* But *Agricola*, though he thus striv'd to lessen his own great Repu-
 tation, which is ever grievous to those that are lazy and unwarlike, yet
 by his Retirement he increased his own Glory, as well as his Virtues;
 still continuing modest in his Garb, easie of Access, and never accom-
 panied with more than one or two Friends: So that most People, who
 are accusom'd to esteem Great Men only by Titles and outward Ap-
 pearances, when they saw *Agricola* thus private, wonder'd at his great
 Reputation, and few understood his Vertues. And though, not long
 after, when absent, he had been accused to *Domitian*, yet he was also
 acquitted; there being no Crime alledg'd against him, unless it were to
 have liv'd under a Prince who was an Enemy to all Vertue. Besides,
 Had those worse sort of all Enemies, Flatterers prevail'd; there happen'd
 afterwards such Times which would not permit *Agricola's* Fame to be con-
 ceal'd, so many Armies being lost in *Germany*, *Pannonia*, and other Pro-
 vinces, through the Rashness or Cowardice of the Commanders, that *Agri-
 cola* was again desir'd by all Men to command, comparing his Constancy
 and Experience in War with the Sloth and Cowardice of others.
 Which Discourses coming often to the Ears of *Domitian*, whilst some of
 his Freed-men fairly represented his Merits, and others of the worst sort,
 through Envy and ill Will, as much misrepresenting them, it provoked
 this Prince, too apt of himself to do evil: So that *Agricola*, by his own
 Vertues, as well as the Vices of others, was often near Ruin. And
 though some time after, when the Proconsulship of *Africa* was void by
 the Death of *Cirica* lately slain, the Command of this Province was
 seemingly offer'd him, whilst some were privately to offer their Assistance
 in making his Excuse; and others, more bold and open, both persua-
 ding, and also terrifying him, brought him into *Domitian's* Presence;
 who being already prepar'd to dissemble, haughtily (though willingly)
 accepted his Excuses; nay, suffer'd himself to be thank'd for his Accept-
 ing them; nor blush'd at his own Envy of so small a Benefit; nor did he
 so much as bestow upon *Agricola*, who wanted a Salary, which had been
 usually allow'd to those that had been Proconsuls; as either being of-
 fended that it was not asked him, or out of Guilt lest he should seem to
 have bought that which he did not desire; since it is the Property of too
 many

many Mens Natures to hate those that have too much oblig'd them; *Anno Dom.*
 yet *Domitian*, though prone to Anger, and (by how much the more LXXXV.
 hidden, so much the more dangerous) was nevertheless mollified by this
 rare Moderation and Prudence of *Agricola*, since he did neither augment
 his own Fame, by any vain Boasting of his Merits; nor yet accelerate
 his Fate by Contumacy or Sullenness. So that all those whose Custom
 it is, only to believe things dangerous unlawful, may be convinc'd that
 great and good Men may often live safe under the worst of Princes; and
 that Obsequiousness and Modesty, attended with Prudence and Industry,
 do far exceed all that Glory to which many by violent Courses, but for
 no publick Benefit to the Commonwealth, and by a too much sought for
 Fate, have endeavour'd to attain. However, thus much is certain, That
 not long after this, *Agricola* died, (whether by Poyson, or not, is un-
 certain,) to the common Grief of his Friends, as well as Strangers; and
 even *Domitian* himself appear'd to be concern'd at his Loss, though he could
 more easily dissemble his Joy, than Fear. Thus died the famous *Agricola*,
 who carried the Roman Eagles to the utmost bounds of *Britain*; Con-
 quering more Nations than all his Predecessours before had done, and
 had also subdued *Ireland*, had not the Jealousie of *Domitian* too soon re-
 called him: If *Tacitus*, or some other faithful Historian had given us as
 exact an account of the Actions of these other Lieutenants, that were
 sent into *Britain*, during the Reign of this Emperour and his Successours,
 then we might have had a compleat History of those times; But we
 are now at so great an uncertainty, that we cannot tell, who it was to
 whom *Agricola* resigned his Command; only we read in *Suetonius* of one
Salustius Lucullus, to have been Legate of *Britain*, in the days of this
 Emperour; but nothing can be found of any others or of him, more
 than that he was slain by *Domitian*, for giving his own name to a sort of
 Spears which he had invented.

But this seems more certain, that not long after *Agricola's* departure; the
Britains recovering fresh Strength and Courage, under the Conduct of *Arvi-
 ragus*, rebelled against the Romans, as some gather from that Speech, which
Frabricius Veiento, is supposed by *Juvenal* to speak in flattery of *Domitian*:

Omen habes inquit, magni clarique triumphi;
 Regem aliquem capies, aut de temone Britanno
 Excidet Arviragus

— See the Mighty Omen, see;
 He cries, of some illustrious Victory;
 Some Captive King, thee his new Lord shall own,
 Or from his British Chariot headlong thrown,
 The proud *Arviragus* come tumbling down.

Dion also mentions *C. N. Trebellius* to have governed *Britain*, though
 in what time is uncertain; but *Tacitus* in his Proem, to his First Book
 of Histories, speaks of *Britain*, as though formerly Conquer'd, but as
 then lost; which though it might be true, yet that it was again recovered
 is also as certain; since during the Reigns of the succeeding Emperours,
 we find *Britain*, as far as the Friths of *Dunbritton* and *Edinburgh*, entire-
 ly reduced into the form of a Roman Province, which was not governed
 by any particular Prætor or Proconsul, but was esteemed *Præfidialis*; that is,
 under the immediate protection and Eye of the Emperour, and held by his
 Garisons, and thus it continued as long as *Britain* remained a Member of
 the Roman Empire.

As I find it
 Elegantly trans-
 lated in Mr.
 Dryden's Ju-
 venal. lib. 1.
 Sat. 4. v. 125.

Anno Dom. LXXXII. But about the end of Domitians Reign, *Arviragus* is supposed by *Geoffrey* to have deceased; and that his Son *Marinus*, called by the British Historians *Menrig*, succeeded him.

I have no more to observe during the Reign of *Domitian*, than that in his time, *Claudia Rufina*, a British Lady, was the Wife of *Pudens* a Senator, and she is famous in that Elegant Epigram of *Martial* for her Beauty, Wit and Learning; but more excellent was she for her profession of Christianity, if she were the same Woman *St. Paul* mentions in his Second Epistle to *Timothy*, as some of our English Historians have (though without any great certainty) asserted, for it is certain that *St. Paul* wrote this Epistle to *Timothy*, in the Reign of *Nero*; and therefore it is not likely that this *Claudia* should be found for her Beauty, in the latter end of the Reign of *Domitian*; or else of *Trajan*, above Twenty Years after, since by that time, she must certainly have been a Woman of more Years than Beauty.

Anno Dom. XCVI. The short Reign of the Emperour *Nerva*, affords us nothing of certainty, concerning the Affairs of Britain, only that in his Reign, as also in that of

Anno Dom. XCVIII. *Trajan* his Successour, There were great Commotions in this Island, which may be also gathered out of *Spartianus's* History. But in the Reign of this Emperour, the Britains are said by him to have Revolted; yet were soon reduced again to Obedience. To his Reign, we may also refer, that War which *Geoffrey of Monmouth* mentions, to have been made by *Roderick* King of the *Picts*; who aiding the *Caledonians*, was overcome and Slain by this King *Marinus* above mentioned; which Victory, although it be only related by this Historian; Yet Arch-bishop *Usher* in his above cited * Work, does not think it unlikely; since *William* of *Malmesbury*, before ever *Geoffrey* had published his History, makes mention of this *Marinus*, in these words, (There is in the City of *Luguballia* (now called *Carlisle*) a Room Arch'd with Stone, which can neither by Weather or Fire be destroyed, the Country is called *Cumberland*, and the Inhabitants *Cumbri*; and in the Front of this Room, there is to be Read this Inscription, *Marii Victorie*; but though *Mr. Camden* (speaking of this place) says, he has found it written *Marti Victori* in some Copies, yet those could not be true, as being quite contrary to *Malmesbury's* meaning; who presently after adds, *What this should mean I much doubt, unless perhaps some part of the Cymbrians planted themselves in these parts, after they had been driven out of Italy by Marius*: But *Ranulph* of *Chester* in his *Polycricon*, doth thus rectifie this mistake of *Malmesbury*, "As who not having seen the British History, attributed this Inscription to *Marius* the Roman; when it indeed belonged to *Marius* the British King. This Battel is supposed to have been fought in the great *Moore*, now called *Stanmore*, in *Westmoreland*; as a Monk of *Malmesbury*, in the Book called *Eulogium*, hath written.

We have nothing to Remark in the Reign of *Trajan*, unless it is what *Geoffrey of Monmouth* relates to have been performed in Britain in his time: Which I shall here give you. The publick ways (saith he) *Trajan* repaired by Paving them with Stone, or raising Causeways, even such places as were wet and boggy, or by grubbing and clearing such as were rough and over grown with Bushes and Woods; making Bridges over Rivers, where the way was too long; where by reason of some steep Hill, the way was difficult, he turned it aside through more level places; or if it

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ran through Forrests, Wastes and Deserts, by drawing it from thence, through places inhabited.

Anno Dom. XCVI. *Ælius Hadrian*, succeeded his Unkle *Trajan* in the Empire; he was also a Spaniard, and these two were the First Emperours, who were not by birth Romans; he differed from *Trajan* in his policy of extending the Empire, and rather to imitate *Augustus* his Rule, in restraining its limits to render it stronger and more united, in so much, that he excluded on the East all *Armenia*, *Media*, *Persia* and *Mesopotamia*, being the Conquests of *Trajan*: yet excepted Britain alone from this retrenchment; which Province he by no means would part with, although he somewhat streightned it, as shall be shewn by and by. Under him *Julius Severus* was Lieutenant, an excellent Soldier; and upon that account called away to suppress the Jews then in Rebellion.

After his departure, the Britains till then kept in, had entirely revolted, had not *Hadrian* made a Journey hither in the Second Year of his Empire, being then thrice Consul; where he reformed many things, and seems by Force of Arms to have reduced the Britains to Obedience; as *Mr. Camden* well observeth, from a piece of Money of his Coynage, where there is the Figure of that Emperour, with Three Soldiers on the Reverse, whom he judges to represent the Three Legions, of which the Roman Army in Britain then consisted, and under them this Inscription, *EXER: BRITANNICUS*, and another of the same Prince with this Motto, *RESTITUTOR BRITANNIÆ*; but the greatest work done by him in this Island was the building of a Wall Fourscore Miles in length, cross the Island, from *Solway Frith* upon the Irish Seas to the Mouth of *Tine* by *New Castle*, on the German Ocean, laying the Foundation thereof with huge Piles, and Stakes driven deep into the Earth, and fastned together in manner of a strong Rampire or Mound; this he did to keep out the *Caledonians* from infesting the Roman Province; who could not it seems be contained within those farther Fortifications, raised by *Agricola*, between *Glota* and *Bodotria*, now the Friths of *Edinburgh*, and *Dun Britton*; by which the Northern, and more Barbarous Britains had more room to inhabit, and quitting those colder Countries, inclosed only the warmer and richer parts of the Island; by which means the bounds of the Empire, as well in Britain, as the East, were reduced to more convenient compass.

In the Reign of this Emperour, *Priscus Licinius*, was also Proprætor or Lieutenant in this Island, as appeareth by an Antient Inscription, lately found near this Wall; which mentions this *Licinius* to have been not only Proprætor of Britain; but also before of *Capadocia*, and to have been Præfect over the Fourth Legion, as also to have been honoured with a Military Banner, by *Hadrian* in his Jewish Expedition, as may be seen at large in this Inscription in *Mr. Camden's Britannia*. I have nothing to add in this Reign relating to Britain, more than that *Geoffrey of Monmouth* makes King *Marinus* to have dyed, about the Year of our Lord 132, and to have left the Kingdom to his Son *Coil*, who loved the Romans, and was honoured by them; so that paying his Tribute, and receiving their protection, he filled up a long and peaceable Reign, governing Britain many Years.

To *Hadrian* succeeded *Antoninus Pius*, at whose first coming to the Throne that Law was made, whereby all the Subjects of the Roman Empire, were made free Citizens of Rome; by which Edict the Southern Britains,

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Anno Dom. CXXXVIII. *Britains*, within *Hadrian's Wall*, as well as other Provinces, enjoyed that Privilege; but the *Brigantes* ever least patient of Foreign Servitude, breaking in upon *Genoani*; (which *Camden* guesses ought to be read *Guinethia*, or *North Wales*, (then part of the *Roman Province*) were with the loss of much of their Territory, driven back by *Lollius Urbicus*, Lieutenant here, who drew another Wall made of Earth and Piles, beyond the former Wall of *Adrian*, and (as Mr. *Camden* proves) from *Capitolinus*) extending it self between the *Frieths of Dunbritton* and *Edinlurgh*, kept out the Incurfions of the Northern *Britains*: for these Achievements, this Emperor received the Sir Name of *Britannicus*; tho' the War was managed by his Lieutenant, it is also recorded in the *Digest*, that *Seius Saturninus* had then the charge of the *Roman Navy* on the *British Shore*.

Anno Dom. CLXII. *Marcus Aurelius Antoninus* (called also the Philosopher) succeeded *Antoninus Pius*, having been before, by him adopted and declared *Cæsar*; in whose Time, *Britain* impatient of Foreign Subjection, again raised new Commotions; for the appeasing whereof *Calphurnius Agricola* was sent Lieutenant; the Sir-name of *Agricola* no doubt, was terrible to the *Britani*, who could not but remember the great overthrows they had received formerly under a General of that Name; and indeed, these Commotions lasted not long after his arrival, but seemed to have been ended with Fortunate success; for which it is likely there was made that Inscription, *Ingratitude to the Syrian Goddes*, which has been of late Years dug up out of the Earth, near *Adrian's* (now called the *Pieths*) Wall; but this is more certain, that the glory of having dispatched this War so soon, is by *Fronto* the *Roman Orator*, ascribed to this Prince in a *Panegyric* made in his Praise; where he tells him, that although sitting at home, in his Pallace at *Rome*, he had given Commission to another General for the War; yet like the Pilot of a Galley sitting at the Stern, and guiding the Helm, he deserved the Honour of the whole Expedition: Nothing else is recorded of *Britain*, during *Antoninus* his Reign, saving that *Helvius Pertinax*, afterwards Emperour, was employ'd in these Wars; being called hither from his Service, against the *Parthians*, and here for some time afterwards remained Lieutenant.

About the end of this Emperours Reign (according to *Geoffrey*.) *Coil* the Tributary King of the *Britains* dying, left his Son *Lucius* for his Successor, who by *Nennius* is called *Lhes*, and Sir-named by the *Britains* *Lever Maur*, that is, the Great Light.

Anno Dom. CLXXX. To *Marcus Aurelius* succeeded *Commodus* his Son, having before been made partner of the Empire with his Father, in the beginning of whose Reign King *Lucius* (above mentioned) is by *Bede* supposed to have sent to *Eleutherius*, then Bishop of *Rome*, desiring that by his means he might be made a Christian, the relation you may find more at large in Arch-Bishop * *Usher's De Brit. Eccles. Ant.* from the old Book of *Landaffe*, which relates this King sent Two Embassadors to the Pope, beseeching him, that by his means he might be made a Christian, and he did not long after obtain his request; and so the *Britains* till the time of *Dioclesian*, maintained the Christian Faith without any disturbance; this is the Account which *Bede* hath given us, though there are other, (but more Modern Historians) that take upon them to give a much different and larger relation of this matter; and do not only take upon them to tell us the Message, but also who where the Messengers that carried it: The old Book of *Landaffe*, as also divers other Monkish-writers, call them *Eloanus* and

and *Medwinus*; but *Will. of Malesbury* in his *Antiquities* (lately printed Anno Dom. at Oxford) of the Monastery of *Glastenbury*, calls them *Faganus* and *De-ravianus*, and others *Faganus* and *Damianus*; yet though they differ about the Names of these Men, they all agree that these being sufficiently instructed in the Christian Faith, and Baptized, were sent back to Preach the Gospel here; who at their return converted King *Lucius*, and his whole Kingdom to Christianity; but as for the story it self, it is thought by several learned Men to be of very suspicious Credit; for tho' *Bede* places *Lucius* his writing to the Pope, in the Year of our Lord, 156: and in the Reign of *Marcus Antoninus, Verus* and *Aurelius Commodus* his Brother: yet it is certain from the best accounts in Chronology, that neither *Antoninus* then succeeded to the Empire, nor was *Eleutherius* chosen Pope, till near Twenty Years after that time; and besides all this, there is so great a difference amongst our Historians, as well Antient as Modern, about this matter, that Arch-Bishop *Usher* has given us above Twenty different accounts, some whereof differ from this of *Bede*, as also from each other; some Twenty, some Thirty Years, nay some Forty, and others near Fifty Years; only this must be acknowledged, that they all agree that such an Embassie was sent by *Lucius*, in the Papacy of *Eleutherius*, and that the Pope returned such an answer to it; now it is certain that he was not chosen Pope till the Year of our Lord, 171 at the soonest; or according to *Eusebius's* Chronicle, till 176, and so *Lucius's* Conversion must have happened in the Time of *Marcus Aurclius*, to which time the English *Saxon Annals*, as also *Bede* himself, with divers others of our Antient Historians, as well Foreign as English, do refer it; though *Roger of Wendover*, and other Authors about the same Age, refer it to Anno Dom. 184; which falls out in the Second or Third Year of the Emperour of *Commodus*, which seems most likely, if it were ever done at all.

But that there was never any such King, seems to some learned Men very probable; since *Gildas* makes no mention of any such thing; but says the time of *Christ's* being first Preached in this Island, was as early as the first Conquest of it by the *Romans*; besides which the Monks (who have since new drest up this Story) not only make him to have been King of all *Britain*, but to have settled Christianity in all parts of his Dominions; and instead of *Flamens* and *Arch-Flamens* in the chief Cities, as *London*, *Tork*, &c. to have placed the Arch-Bishops and Bishops in their rooms, which is impossible to be true: since the Title of Arch-Bishop was not then known in the Church; nor could *Lucius* settle Christianity all over *Britain*, which was then either under the power of the *Romans*, or else what remained unconquered, was absolutely Heathen and Barbarous at the time of this supposed conversion.

But however I think we may safely follow * Arch-Bishop *Usher*, and † Doctor *Stillingfleet*, in allowing the common Tradition of King *Lucius*, and that he had Regal Authority under the *Romans*, in some part of this Island; since the two Coins seen by the said Arch-Bishop, the one of Gold and the other of Silver, with the Image of a King on them, and the Letters LVC, with a Cross, do sufficiently evidence it: But in what part of *Britain* he governed, whether as Successour to *Prasutagus* among the *Iceni*, or else was King of the *Belge*, or was Successor to *Cogidunus*, over the *Regni*, in those parts that we now call *Surrey* and *Sussex*; I will not take upon me to determine, tho' I rather incline to the last, (being Dr. *Stillingfleet's* Opinion) for the Reasons and Conjectures, he gives us in

Anno Dom.
CLXXX.

* Vid. Eccl.
Brit. Antiquit.
† Vide his orig.
Britan. chap. 2.
fol. 62.

Anno Dom. in the same Chapter; but as for the Letters pretended to have been writ *CLXXX.* by Pope *Eleutherius* to King *Lucius*, tho' they are inserted among the Laws of *K. Edward the Confessor*, and are also to be found in an old Book of the Constitutions of the City of *London*; I shall not trouble you with the Contents of them, since they plainly discover their Imposture to any Man at all versed in Antiquities.

I have no more to add concerning this King, but that the *Grifons* make him to have been their Apostle, and to have first preached the Gospel in their Country, and shew his Tomb at *Cloir* to this Day, which can by no means agree with our *British*, as well as *English* Historians; who all suppose that he dyed in his own Country without any Children.

Dion. Hist. lib. 72. about

Anno Dom. CLXXXVII.

But to return again to the civil History of *Britain*, we further find, that under the Emperour *Commodus*, *Britain* as well as other Countries was much infested with Wars and Seditions, for *Xiphiline* in his Epitomy of *Dion* relates, that the *British* War was the greatest of all others, because the *Britains* having broken through the Wall, which divided their Territories from that of the *Romans*, had laid wast many places, and had cut off the *Roman* General together with his Army; whereupon *Commodus* terrified with this Rebellion, sent *Ulpinus Marcellus* against them, who was a sober and modest Man, and lived after the rate of a Common Soldier, he was also Stout and Magnanimous in his Warlike Expeditions, but tho' he was not to be corrupted with Money, yet was not at all complaisant in his Conversation; but as for the other examples, this Author gives us of his great Vigilance and Temperance, they are so trivial, that they do not merit any particular relation; and I could have wish't that *Xiphiline* his Epitomator would have been more sparing in his Character, and larger upon the Actions of this great Man; for all he tells us further of him, is, that he did very great mischief to the Barbarous People in *Britain*, for which he was very near being made away by *Commodus*, because of his Vertue; yet that nevertheless he let him alone.

Britain being again brought to Obedience by so worthy a Commander, after he was recalled, began to fall into more dangerous Commotions; for *Aelius Lampridius* in his Life of this Emperour, tells us, That now stubbornness began to break into the *Roman* Camp, and the Military Discipline of the *British* Army, being relaxed, the Souldiers began to refuse to Obey *Commodus*, and would have set up another Emperour against him; for *Perennis*, who was than in highest power with his Prince, removing Senators, set Men only of the equestrial Order to Command the *British* Army; which being made known by their Lieutenant, *Perennis* was declared a publick Enemy by the Souldiers; for as *Dion* farther relates the Army in *Britain* mutinying against *Perennis*, sent no less than 1500 of their own number into *Italy*, to represent their Grievances at *Rome*, and being admitted to the Emperour's presence, they told him that the reason of their coming, was to let him know, that *Perennis* had conspired against him, and endeavoured to make his Son Emperour; to which *Commodus* giving credit, at the Instigation of *Cleander*, immediately delivered up *Perennis* (tho' then *Præfectus Pretorii*) to the power of the *Prætorian* Bands, whom he then commanded, who soon dispatched him; but *Commodus* lifted those 1500 (who were sent out of *Britain*) among those Bands, who were his Guards. *Perennis* being thus dispatched, *Commodus* sent *Helvius Pertinax* (afterwards Emperour) in to *Britain*, though he was then employ'd against the *Parthians*, who when he came hither, did what he

Jul. Capitolinus in Pertin.

he could to hinder the Soldiers from Sedition; who would rather have *Anno Dom. CLXXXVII* had any other Man for their Emperour than *Commodus*, and especially *Pertinax* himself; yet he then underwent the Censure of an envious Person, because he was said to have accused *Amisius Burrhus* and *Aristius Antonius* to *Commodus*, of affecting the Empire; so that though he quell'd some Seditions in *Britain*, yet he escaped a great danger, being almost kill'd in a Mutiny of one of the Legions, and left for dead among the slain; which Fact, though *Pertinax* severely revenged it upon the Mutineer, yet afterwards he asked leave to be dismiss'd of his Government, alledging, that the Legions were displeased with him for holding them too close to Discipline: Having thus received a Successor, he was, after some time, made *Proconsul* of *Africa*.

After, *Pertinax* *Clodius Albinus*, a Man of great Birth and Valour, was made Lieutenant of *Britain*. He had before got himself a great Reputation, whilst he govern'd *Gaul*; but routing the *Frisians*, and after his coming into *Britain*, *Commodus* would have created him *Cesar*, and have given him the Honour of wearing the purple Robe, even in his presence, though without the Golden Embroideries; as appears by the Letters he wrote, recited at large in this Author.

Albinus, having received these Letters, yet knowing how odious *Commodus* was; because of his Vices, by which he not only destroyed the Common-wealth, but disgraced himself; fearing, lest the Emperour being killed, himself might perish with him; he therefore prudently refused these Honours, saying, That *Commodus* sought either who should perish together with him, or whom he might upon some jealous pretence destroy: Yet however he still commanded the *British* Army; but hearing, by a false Report, that *Commodus* was slain, thereupon going out to the Soldiers, he made them a Speech to this effect:

"That if the Senate of *Rome* had still preserved its ancient Power, and the Supream Authority had not been intrusted to a single Person; the publick Management of Affairs had never come into the hands of such as *Nero*, *Vitellius*, and *Domitian*: Then reckoning up the greatest of his own Ancestors, the *Albini Posthumi*, under the Government of Consuls; and setting forth the great Additions the Senate had made to the *Roman* Empire by their Lieutenants, and that they maintained their Authority to the days of *Nero*, whom they had not feared to condemn as a wicked Prince: And concluded, that he utterly renounced the Name of *Cesar*, which *Commodus* had profer'd him.

And yet this great Common-wealths Man, when time served, did not afterwards stick to assume the Titles and Honour, which now for private Reasons he refused, and against which he so much declaimed; and died in asserting to himself the Imperial Purple against *Severus*, the wearing whereof he now so much reproved. This Oration being brought to *Rome*, as it pleased the Senate, so it highly incensed the Emperour, who thereupon presently wrote Letters to all his *Pretors* and *Præfects*, wherein he let them know, "That he supposed they had heard, that it was given out that he was slain by a Conspiracy: And had likewise seen that Oration of *Albinus* to his Soldiers, wherein he so much ingratiated with the Senate, and (says he,) not without Reason, for he who denies that there ought to be one Prince over the Common-wealth, and asserts

S.

Idem in Albin.

"that

Anno Dom. LXXXVII. "that it ought wholly to be govern'd by the Senate, doth by them seek the Empire for himself; therefore bids them beware of him, for they knew the Man was to be voided both by the Soldiers and People. So Commodus, immediately upon this, sent Orders to dismiss Albinus from the Government of Britain, and to deliver it up to Junius Severus.

Herod. l. 1.
id. l. 2.

But Commodus being not long after poysoned by Martia his Concubine, Helvius Pertinax, was thereupon created Emperor, who is supposed to have confirmed Albinus in his Command of Britain; but being within the space of Three Months, slain by the Pratorian Bands, Didius Julianus bought the Empire of them for so much Money, to be given each Souldier; but kept it but Two Months, and was then overcome, and slain by Severus; who upon the news of the Death of Commodus, had been saluted Emperor by the Pannonian Army; as was also Pescenius Niger in Syria: so that Albinus in those troublesome times, under the short Reigns of Pertinax, and Didius Julianus, found means still to retain the Government of Britain, nor would surrender it to Junius Severus, whom Commodus had before sent to take it, nor yet to Heraclitus, whom Septimius Severus, after he was saluted Emperor, sent also hither to take possession of it.

Capitolin in Albinus.

It is said of Albinus, That the Senate made Addresses to Pertinax, that he would make him his Associate in the Empire, which Pertinax refused; fearing his secret Ambition, and published that Letter which Commodus had before written to the Prefects, that he might thereby bring Albinus into hatred and disgrace with the Souldiers; who hated a Common-wealth, by which action Albinus was so incensed, that it is said, he secretly excited Julian to Murder Pertinax, as hath been already related.

Spasianus in Nigro.

But Severus having got possession of Rome (the principal strength of the Empire) and having now the Senate on his side, resolved first to make War against Pescenius Niger; but knowing himself too weak to contend both with him and Albinus at once, was resolved at the present to keep fair with the latter, as knowing him to be a Man of great Riches and Power, fearing lest he should take Rome, whilst himself was busied in making War against Niger in the East; therefore he thought it best under a shew of Friendship to draw him to his Party, wherefore he gave him the Title of Caesar, anticipating his Ambition, by this voluntary Communication of Power; and sent him very smooth Letters, "beleeching him that he would take care of the Empire, which now stood in need of such a worthy Person in the prime of his Years; that as for himself he was now Old, and troubled with the Gout, his Sons being as yet but Infants; to which fair Pretences Albinus giving Credit, joyfully received the Title of Caesar, telling his Souldiers in a Speech, he made them upon this occasion; "That though he had refused the Title of Caesar, when offered by Commodus, yet now must obey in this the Emperours Commands, as well as their own desires; since it could not be denied, but that the Common-wealth might be well govern'd by one single, Valiant and Good Man: So much was his Mind charged by his Interest, so well was he pleased, that he had obtained his wishes, without any danger; but Severus to make what he did appear more credible, caused Statues to be erected, and Money coyned with the Image of Albinus, and also made what he had done to be confirmed by the Senate.

Capitol. in Albinus.

After

After which he marched against Niger, and having overcome and slain him, he had now Albinus only left to deal with, and whom, as not thinking him for his turn, he was resolved by any means to remove out of the way; therefore in the first place he raised a Report that Albinus carried himself insolently, and ungratefully towards him; and that there were divers of the chief Senators, who had wrote to Albinus, to return and seize upon Rome in his absence: Nevertheless Severus thought it not the safest way to act against him by open War, especially when there appeared no sufficient grounds for it; and therefore he sent certain trusty Messengers to him, who were privately ordered, that when they had delivered their Letters, they should tell him, That they had something more to say to him in private: But as soon as they had him alone, that they should be sure to dispatch him; and besides, gave them Poyson whereby they should make him away, if they could not succeed by open force. Albinus being warned of these treacherous Ambassadors, stood upon his guard, and would not admit them till they had laid aside their Swords; but when they desired to speak with him in private, he then seemed more suspicious, and having examin'd them by Torture, forced them to confess the whole design, and then having punished these Conspirators, he immediately declared War against Severus, and took upon him the Titles of Emperour and Augustus.

Herod. in Albinus.

Which as soon as Severus heard, he was extremely incensed, and thought it not fit any longer to conceal his Anger; but having made a sharp Oration to his Army against Albinus, and which was received with great Acclamations; he presently began his Expedition against him, who to defend himself, with the flower of Britain entred Gaul, and marching as far as Lyons, he and Severus there met at the head of their Armies; when the Battle being joyned, Albinus had at first the better, the British Souldiers not yielding to the Illyrians, either in strength or courage; so that part of the Army, which Severus Commanded, being routed, he himself was knocked down from his Horse, and casting away his Purple Robe, was for some time supposed to be slain; when Latius Severus Lieutenant General, supposing him to have been killed; came in with fresh Forces, with an intention to gain the Victory for himself, for which treachery, he was afterwards by Severus put to Death: However, at present by his assistance, he won the Victory, and put his Enemies to flight, pursuing and killing them with great slaughter; whereupon the City of Lyons being taken, Albinus was forced to fly from thence; but being pursu'd by Severus's Souldiers, and driven into a House near the River Rhodane, was there forced to run himself through with his own Sword, or (as others relate) caused one of his Servants to do that office for him; but however he was taken, and brought to Severus before he was quite dead, who quickly dispatched him; and cutting of his head, sent it to Rome, to be set over the place of public Execution; but he let the Body lye before the Pratorium till it stunk, and was devoured by Dogs. A mean revenge, for so great an Emperour, to take upon so Valiant a Person.

Anno Dom. CXCIII.
Herod. l. 3.

But now Severus having by this Victory, obtained the whole Roman Empire; and finding that Britain was a Province too great and powerful to be trusted in the hands of one Man, he divided it into two Governments; committing the North part thereof to Virius Lupus, as Proprator and Lieutenant (whom Ulpian nameth President of Britain) and to Heraclitus.

D. R. Lib. 26.
Tit. 6.

L

clitus

Anno Dom. clitus the Southern parts, as Mr. Speed gathereth by a Coyne of *Severus* CXCVIII. Minted in his Second Consulship, which fell in the Year of our Lord, 198, from whence it appears, that after the Death of *Albinus*, Britain was not reduced under the subjection of *Severus*, until he had won it by the Sword, the memory of which he left to posterity in this Medal wherein is the Goddess of Victory represented, as sitting upon spoils, with this Inscription, *Victoria Britannia*; but this Victory must have been then won by his Lieutenant, and not by himself.

Herod. lib. 3.

But *Virius Lupus*, who had the Government of the Northern parts, was forced to buy Peace of the *Meata* at a great rate, because the *Caledonians*, who had promised to check the Incursions of the *Meata*, had not performed that Article of their Agreement: This Author likewise tells us, that the former of these Nations, lived next the Wall that divided the South of the Island from the North; so that *Lupus* finding himself unable alone to curb their Inroads; after great losses suffered from them, sent for *Severus*, but he being at that time taken up with other Wars, *Lupus* was forced to buy this Peace of the *Meata*, as we have said; only some Roman Prisoners were then set free: The Memory of this *Virius Lupus* is preserved, in an Altar dug up; dedicated to the Goddess *Fortune*; upon the occasion of his repairing a Bath, or Hot house, at a Town called *Levatia* (now *Bons*) upon *Stanmoor*, in *Richmond shire*: This was done for the sake of the *Thracian Cohorts*, who lay there in Garrison with the Romans.

Vid. Camden Britan.

But *Lupus* hearing that *Severus* had at last put an end to his other Wars; he wrote him plainly the state of things here, that the *Britains* of the North made War upon him, broke into the Province, and harraßed all the Countries nigh them; that there needed suddenly either more aid, or himself to come in person.

Ibid. lib. 3.

Severus was not much displeased at this news, being in his own nature greedy of Glory, and being also desirous after so many Victories in the East, to raise also new trophies for the *Britains*; and besides he thought at best to withdraw his Two Sons from the pleasures of *Rome*, and inure the Young Men to hardship and Military Discipline.

So this Emperour, though Old and much troubled with the Gout, yet with as great Courage as any Young Man, made this expedition into Britain; and taking his Journey for the most part in a Litter, staid long in no place; so that having finished his Journey by Land, and having crossed the Sea sooner than could be expected, he entred Britain; and having Muster'd his Soldiers, and brought great Forces together, he prepared for War: But the Northern *Britains*, daunted with the Report of so great Forces brought over with him, and that more were preparing, sent Ambassadors to treat of Peace, and to excuse their former doings. The Emperour now loath to return home, without some memorable Action, whereby he might assume to his other Titles the addition of *Britannicus*; delay'd his Answer; but quickens his preparations, till in the end, when all things were in a readiness to follow them, they were dismissed without effect; when he arrived, his principal care was to have many Bridges and Causeways laid over Bogs and Moors, that his Souldiers might fight on firm ground, for many parts of Britain, were at that time over run with Bogs and Marishes, (as Ireland was some Years ago) now the *Britains* used to wade through these Marishes up to the middle, not valuing it, because they went naked: But *Severus* prepared all things which might

might be of any use for the Souldiers, or a damage to the *Britains*: And when he found all were ready to his Mind, having his Younger Son *Geta* to govern the more Southern part of the Island, by the help of *Papinian*, the great Lawyer; taking his Eldest Son *Bassianus* along with himself, he marched against the *Britains*, and having pass'd the Wall that divided their Territories, there only happen'd some tumultuary Skirmishes, in which tho' the Romans were still Conquerours, yet the *Britains* found an easie retreat, by hiding themselves in the Woods and Bogs, which were well known to them, which contributed very much to prolong the War. Yet did not *Severus* desist, till he had pass'd to the very farthest part of the Island, and had compell'd the Enemies to make Peace upon this Condition, That they should give up great part of their Territory, although he lost in this Expedition, by the sudden Assaults and Ambushes of the *Britains*, as well as by Diseases, near Fifty Thousand Souldiers; which is also confirm'd by * *Dion*, who further tells us, That he fought no set Battel, nor yet saw any Forces of the Enemies in Battell Array; but that they did often leave their Sheep and Oxen on purpose, that the Romans going out of the way to seize them, might be the more easily taken and overcome: besides all this, the want of Water much troubled the Romans, and Ambushes were laid for those that went about stragling to find it: And when they were not able to march any further for want of it, they were killed by their fellow Souldiers, lest they should be taken by the Enemy.

But in this Expedition, the wicked carriage of *Bassianus* gave *Severus* perpetual trouble, not only because he lived debauchedly; but also for that it was evident, as soon as he had Power he would kill his Brother; and had also made some attempts against *Severus* himself; for he ran once all of a sudden out of his Tent, crying out that he was much injur'd by *Castor*, who was the worthiest Man in *Severus's* Court, and was privy to his most secret Councils, being the chief of his Bed-chamber, (the same with the Lord Chamberlain with us.) Now there were before ready prepared some Soldiers on purpose, who upon *Bassianus's* thus crying out came to his Assistance, and (as *Herodian* says) proclaim'd him *Augustus*; whereupon *Severus* immediately made himself to be carried to the Tribunal, and having order'd all those Officers, and Souldiers who had been engaged in this Action, as also his Son (who had taken upon him the Name of *Augustus*) to appear before him, He commanded them all except his Son to be put to Death, when they all begging pardon for their offence, fell down prostrate before him; upon which he pardon'd them, then touching his own Head with his Hand, said, At last you'll find that it is a Man's Head, and not his Feet that Govern; but *Dion* says, he did put some of the most Seditious of them to Death; who also further relates, that at another time when both the Father and the Son were marching together into *Caledonia*, *Bassianus* did openly endeavour to kill his Father, for as they rode at the head of the Army, the Enemies Forces being in sight, he stopp'd his Horse, and privately drew his Sword, that he might run his Father into the back; which when those perceived who followed them, they presently cryed out, at which *Bassianus* being startled stopt his blow; but *Severus* thereupon turning about; saw his Sword drawn, yet then said nothing; but returning to the Camp, went into the *Prætorium*, and there called before him his Son (together with *Papinian* and *Castor*) then Commanding the naked Sword to be laid before them, he sharply reprov'd him, that not

Anno Dom. only now in the fight of his Army; but also at other times he had attempted to great a wickedness, concluding thus, "if thou desirest to kill me, kill me now, for thou art Younger and in full strength, and I am Old and can scarce stir, which if thou refusest to do with thine own Hand, here is *Papinian* our Prefect, whom thou may'st command to kill me, for he will do what ever thou bidst him, since thou art already Emperor." Tho' *Severus* said all this, he did no more to his Son, notwithstanding he had often blamed *Marcus Aurelius*, that he had not put his Son *Commodus* to Death; but *Severus*, said this only in his passion, for his Son was dearer to him than the good of the Common-wealth, tho' by this means he did as good as Sacrifice his Younger Son to the Elder: since he might easily guess what would happen when ever he should die. *Herodian* confirms the same Story, and that though several Grave and Wise Men had perswaded him to put his Son to Death, yet he refused it, too much indulging his paternal Affection.

The War being thus happily ended, *Severus* in Memory of these Victories, caused Coins to be Stamp'd with this Inscription, *Victoria Britannica*: and upon the Frontiers of what he had now Conquer'd, built a Wall cross the Island, from Sea to Sea, which our Author judges to have been the most magnificent of all his undertakings, and that he thence received the Stile of *Britannicus*. It was in length 132 Miles; *Orosius* makes it fortified with a deep Trench, and at certain Spaces, by many Towers.

Buchanan in his History of *Scotland*; will needs place it in *Scotland* between the *Friths* of *Bodotria* and *Glotta*, in the same place which *Lollius Urbicus*, and *Agricola* had fortified before, whilst **Mr. Camden* affirms it to be only *Hadrian's* Wall re-edified, and which passes through the higher parts of *Cumberland*, between the Rivers *Tine* and *Eske*; and brings very good Authorities for this Opinion out of the *Roman* Authors, as well as Inscriptions near the said Wall; in which the name of *Severus* is particularly mentioned: which Wall is called by the *English*, the *Picts* Wall, by the *Britains*, *Gual Seider*, and by the *Scots*, *Mur Sever*; all which denominations do manifestly denote the name of its Founder: whereas the name of *Greames Dike*, by which the present *Scots* call the Ruins of that Wall or Trench, which is still to be seen in *Scotland*, doth no way denote *Severus* to have been its founder. There is also another Argument that this was the place where he built this Wall we now treat of; for between *Dun Britton*, and *Edinburgh Friths*, although there be many Ruins of continued Fortifications; yet are they not so visible as this of ours: nor doth the Wall in *Scotland* seem to have been of that strength and solidity, as this of *Severus* is related by all Authors, and as by its Ruines still appears to be. But the former Wall or Trench seems to have been only faced with Stone about Two Foot thick, and then lined within with Earth: there are also divers other Arguments to prove it was the same with *Hadrian's* there built before, as first the number of Miles, which *Spartianus* hath truly reckon'd to be Eighty; whereas between *Edinburgh*, and *Dunbritton* there is not half that distance; but if any shall object that *Entropius* hath reckon'd the length thereof to be but Thirty Five Miles, and *Aurelius Victor* Thirty two; yet how even this can agree with the distance between the *Friths* of *Edinburgh* and *Dunbritton*, let them consider, who maintain this Opinion, since even that will not agree with the distance between those two Rivers; and tho' it is true, that *Aurelius Victor* (one

Spartianus in *Severo*, *Entropius*, *Orosius* lib. 7.

In Rege. XXVII.

* In Briton.

See the Description of this Wall in the New Edition of *Cam. Brit. Scotl.* p. 958, 959.

(one of the most authentic Authors that writes of this Matter) makes Anno Dom. the space that this Wall extended it self between the two Seas to be CXCVIII. 30 Miles, and *Entropius* 35, whilst some later Authors have stretch'd it to 132 Miles; yet Arch-Bishop *Usher*, in his Learned Work already cited, hath shewn us, that these different Accounts may be reconciled, by supposing, that both *Victor* and *Entropius* at first writ LXXXII. Miles in Roman Figures, and that afterwards, by the carelessness of some Transcribers, the L. was left out, whilst by others it was turned into a C, which if added to the following Figures, viz. XXXII, make CXXXII; but with an L. before them, they make only LXXXII. Miles, as they are indeed no more. But to conclude this Subject, on which, I doubt, we have dwelt too long already, if *Buchanan* had not desired to have been singular, and to have differed not only from our *English* Authors, but from his own Country-men, *John Fordun*, and *Major*, (who in their Histories of *Scotland* are both of our side) he had never fallen into this Mistake.

Whilst this Peace with the Northern *Britains* lasted, it may well be supposed, that remarkable Meeting between the Empress *Julia*, the Wife of *Severus*, and the Wife of *Argentocoxus* a *British* King, might have happened; wherein the Empress upbraiding the *British* Ladies, that they lay with so many Men promiscuously, according to their Custom, of one Woman's having several Husbands, (as hath been already related:) The *British* Lady made her this quick Return; "We *British* Women do much better satisfy the Desires of Nature than you *Roman* Ladies, for we have to do only with the best Men, and that openly, whilst you commit Adulteries with every mean Fellow in a corner. A sharp Reproof, though no good Excuse for her Country-women.

But no sooner was *Severus* returned into the *Roman* Province, but the *Caledonians* and *Maeta* again took Arms, which so incensed the old Emperor, that calling his Soldiers together, he commanded them, (repeating a Verse of *Homer*) That they should enter the Country, and kill all they met, both Men, Women, and Children; but being now worn out with Years and Infirmities, he could not go himself, but sent *Bassianus*, his Son, against them; yet whether he did any thing considerable, is uncertain, since *Severus* died not long after: Whose End, whether it was hastened by his Son's wicked Practices, or whether he died of meer Age or Sickness, is not truly known, since Historians differ much about it; but before he died, he is said to have spoke thus to his two Sons, *Bassianus* and *Geta*; See that you agree between your selves, and pay your Soldiers, and then you need care for no body else. A notable Maxim, which hath been observed not only by them, but by all who are, or desire to be absolute Monarchs. He is likewise said by *Spartianus* to have rejoiced before his Death, that he left the Empire to his Sons, according to the Example of *Antoninus Pius*, who left the two *Amonini* (his Sons by Adoption) his Heirs; whereas he had left two Sons, gotten by himself, Rulers of the *Roman Commonwealth*. But he was deceived in his Expectation, for the one by the Parricide of his Brother, the other by his own evil Manners, were soon destroyed; and to expect otherwise, shew'd him not to have been so Prudent in that, as in his other Actions: Upon which, the Author last cited, in his Life of this Prince, makes this shrewd Observation; That scarce any great Men had left behind them a Son good for any thing, but either they have had no Children, or else such, that it had

Antiquitat. Eccl. Britan. cap. xv.

Dion. ibid.

Id. ibid.

Herodian.

In Severo.

Anno Dom. had been better for Mankind if they had died without any at all. This Author also CXCVIII. makes him to have further spoke these as his last Words: *I received the Commonwealth every where disturbed, but leave it even as far as Britain, in Peace, a firm and stable Empire to my Antonines if they prove Virtuous, but if otherwise, a weak one.*

bid.

Dion tells us, That his Corps being carried out in great Pomp, and laid upon the Funeral Pile without the Walls of *Tork*, at a place called to this day *Sever's-Floe*, or *Sever's-Hill*, the Souldiers rid round it on Horse-back full speed whilst it was burning, his own Sons having first kindled the Fire. *Herodian* gives us a long Description of his Funeral Pile, and of the manner of burning the Body of a Roman Emperour, which being too tedious to be here recited, those who are desirous of reading the Description of this Spectacle, may find it at large in this Author. His Bones being put in an Urn of Porphyry, were carried by his Sons to *Rome*, and placed in the Sepulchre of the *Antonines*: It is also said by *Dion*, That *Severus*, a little before his Death, commanded this Urn to be brought to him, and holding it in his hand to have spoke thus, *Must thou hold him, whom the whole World could not contain? Severus* is described by this Author to have been in his old age Corpulent, but of a strong Constitution, tho' much afflicted with the Gout; of a sharp and excellent Wit; a Lover of good Letters, in which, tho' he was a sufficient Master, yet was more able to express it by Writing, than Words; grateful towards his Friends; most cruel to his Enemies; diligent in Affairs, but careless of what Men said of him; greedy of Money, which he gathered by all means, yet for that cause alone he never put any Man to Death: He was magnificent in his publick Expences, and built many new Edifices, and repaired the old ones; so that tho' he spent vastly, yet he left a great Treasure behind him. But to add somewhat farther from others, he was a great Enemy to Incontinence and Adultery, and made strict Laws against it; and had certainly as great a mixture of good and evil Qualities as ever were found in any one Man: That he was both Perfidious and Cruel, appears by his Dealing with *Albinus*, as also with the Wife and Children of *Niger*, whom, tho' innocent, he caused to be put to Death, whilst his own Son, who had attempted upon his Life and Empire, he easily Pardoned; which whether he did out of Love to him, or weariness of Life, as sated with Honour and Power, may be doubted; and if he had been then a young Man, perhaps he would have acted otherwise. I have insisted the longer upon the Character of this Prince, as being one of the greatest and most fortunate of all the Roman Emperours.

But having given you an account of the last Words and Actions of *Severus* in *Britain*, I cannot but here take notice of a notorious Falshood in *Geoffery* of *Monmouth* in this part of his History, and whereby you may judge of his Skill in the *Roman* History, and I shall give it you in the Words of a Learned Bishop. *Geoffery* having found that *Severus* the Emperour died in *Britain*, thought it most for the Honour of our Country to kill him fairly in Battle, and therefore by power of Fancy he creates one *Fulgentius* to be General against him, who being overpowered here at home, went and fetched in the *Picts* out of *Scythia*, and with their Aid fought *Severus* and killed him, and was killed together for Company: All which was *Geoffery's* own proper Invention. And then having found that *Severus* left a Son, *Bassianus*, that was his Successor in the *Roman* Empire, he makes

Vid. the Lord Bishop of St. Asaph's Preface to his Historical Account of Church-Government in Britain.

makes his *Britains* set up this *Bassianus* to be their King on his Mother's *Anno Dom.* account, who (must be the Sister of *Fulgenius*) then having found, that CXCVIII. *Britain* was Governed by *Carausius* some time after, tho' he knew not when, putting both these together, he makes the fore-mentioned Emperour *Bassianus* (being betrayed by the *Picts* that came in with his Uncle *Fulgenius*) to be killed in Fight by this *Carausius*, tho' there was a distance of some 70 Years between them: But that was nothing with *Geoffery*, he writ (I dare say) what might be true for ought he knew; nor has *Geoffery* erred alone, but hath also led *John Fordun* and *Hector Boethius*, the Scotch Historians, into the same Error, who (as the said Learned Bishop observes) make this *Fulgenius*, whom they call a *British* Consul, (his Name a little altered into *Fulgentius*) to have headed the *Scots* and *Picts* in this War with *Severus*: But I need say no more of this, for *Geoffery* being once exposed, (as he deserves,) those that write from him will need no other Confutation.

After the Death of *Severus*, his Sons *Bassianus* and *Geta* (having before *Anno Dom.* taken the Sirname of *Antonini*.) succeeded in the Empire; and altho' CCXI. the Elder pretended to hold it in common with his Brother, yet he presently began to Reign alone, soon ending the War with the *Britains*, and relinquishing the Garisons; not long after left this Island together with his Brother *Geta*, with whom when he had some Quarrels, *Julia* the Empress, together with their Friends and Councillors, patched up a Reconciliation between them, which was only in outward Appearance, and more by Constraint than Good Will: So both of them enjoying the like Imperial Honours, passed into *Italy*, leaving *Virius Lupus* as their Lieutenant in *Britain*; but as soon as they came to *Rome*, their Hatred to each other breaking out afresh, *Bassianus* coming into his Brother *Geta's* Bed-chamber, when he looked for no such thing, cruelly murdered him in his Mother's Arms; and then bestowing a great Donative upon the Souldiers to gain their Good Wills, was alone declared Emperour, and his Brother *Geta* condemned as an Enemy, as having conspired against him. But one thing is very remarkable; That when he had committed this Parricide, he would have had *Papinian*, the great Civil Lawyer, to have wrote a Defence of it; but he, like an honest Roman, utterly refused it, plainly telling him, "That it was easier to commit Parricide, than to defend it when it was committed. But this plain Answer cost him his Life, the Emperour commanding his Soldiers to kill him in his Presence; which one of them doing with an Axe, the Emperour chid him for it, saying, "That he ought to have performed his Commands with a Sword.

Herodian l. 4.

Dion. lib. 77. Spartianus in Caracalla.

The Reign of *Antoninus Bassianus Caracalla* affords us nothing transacted in this Island, only, that after the Death of his Brother *Geta*, he commanded his Name to be razed out of all Monuments; which was accordingly observed in *Britain*, as appears by an Inscription dug out of the Earth in *Monmouthshire*, which was erected for the Safety of the then Emperour *Severus*, and *Antoninus*, and *Geta*, Cæsars: wherein the Name of *Geta*, by the tract of Letters, may be discovered to have once been there, though now razed out: The like is to be seen, in another Stone mentioned by *Camden*, in *Richmondshire*.

The Emperour *Caracalla*, (so called from a Military Cloak he wore,) *Anno Dom.* being made away by *Opilius Macrinus*, who was then *Præfectus Prætorii*, CCXVII. and succeeded him, being chosen Emperour by the Army in his Reign, as likewise of many other of his Successors. We find no mention made of *Caracalla* in *Britain*.

Capitolinus in Caracalla.

Anno Dom. CCXVII. Britain, whether it were that the Empire declining apace, good Authors grew scarce, or are now lost; or, which is more probable, that the succeeding Princes being advanced by the heady Affection of the Soldiers, and quickly again deposed and murdered, had no time to perform any thing considerable in this Island, lying so remote. Hence it is that for some years were left in the dark, having only a few Fragments left us, lying scatter'd here and there in divers Authors, which give us just Light enough to discover, that Britain as yet continued a Roman Province, and still had its *Proprators and Presidents*: Nay, *Geoffery* himself hath here left wide Gaps and *Interregnums* for many years together. So that if we would, we could not piece up a History of these Times, even out of his Romances; and were it not undecent to leave so great a Breach in the midst of this History, many of the following Emperor's Names might be spared: But however we will give you the following Emperors in the order they stand in the Roman Histories we have left us.

Anno Dom. CCXIX. To *Opilius Maximinus* succeeded *Anton. Heliogabulus*, being, as the Soldiers falsely believed, a Bastard Son of *Bassianus Caracalla*; but this Monster, after three Years Reign, was killed by the Pretorian Bands, and

Anno Dom. CCXXII. *Alexander Severus*, his Cousin-German, succeeded him, having been before declared *Cesar* by the Senate. It is thought by some, that he made an Expedition into Britain; for *Lampridius* says, he was slain in a Town called *Sicila*, but whether it were in Britain or Gaul he leaves it uncertain; howbeit somewhat we find in the same Author of his Actions in this Island, That he first gave unto the Captains and Soldiers near the Marthes, or Wall of *Severus*, those Lands which were won from the Enemy; so that they should be their Propriety so long as their Heirs served as Soldiers, and that they should not revert to private Men, supposing they would go to the Wars more willingly, and take better Care to defend their own peculiar Possessions: From whence, as Mr. *Camden* very well notes, may be deduced either a kind of *Feudum* or *Fee*, or at least the first Foot-steps we can find of Military Feuds, which were afterwards so much in use amongst the *Goths*, and those Nations derived from them, as the *Normans* and others. The same Author also adds, that before his Death a *Druid* Woman cry'd out to him in the *Gaulish* Tongue, *Go on, but hope not for Victory, and trust not thy Soldiers*: A good Advice, if he could have taken it, for he was slain by some of his own Army, at the Instigation of *Maximin*, who succeeded him: The true cause of his Death was, that the Soldiers, grown loose under *Heliogabulus*, could not endure the Severity of his Discipline; so that though he were one of the best and most virtuous Emperors that ever govern'd, yet he found the same Fate from his Soldiers as the worst had done: In so sad a Condition are those Monarchs whose Lives or Deaths depend upon the good or bad Humours of a standing Army. The place of his Death is uncertain, for * *St. Hierom* and *Orosius* suppose him to have been killed at *Mentz* by the Conspiracy of his Soldiers, together with his Mother, whose covetousness was a great cause of his Ruin.

Anno Dom. CCXXXV. *Julius Maximinus* succeeded him, who was as wicked and cruel as his Predecessor was good and gentle; he, being condemn'd by the Senate, was slain by the Soldiers; but before his Death, the two *Gordians*, Father and Son, were made Emperors by the Army in Africa; but being in a short time both made away,

Pupienus

Pupienus Maximus, and *Clodius Balbinus*, were both together elected Emperors by the Senate, and were both slain by the Pretorian Bands; during whose short continuance in Power, we find not the least Remembrance of them in our Island. These two, before their Deaths, adopted

M. Anton. Gordianus, the Grand-son of *Gordian* the Elder, who was also elected Emperor by the Pretorian Bands; by whom though we find nothing done in Britain, yet that he had an Army here under the Command of *Nonnius Phillipus*, his Lieutenant, appears by an Altar-Stone found in Cumberland, at a place then called *Castra Exploratorum*, with a votive Inscription for the Health of this Emperor.

Marcus Julius Phillipus, an Arabian, having deposed and murdered *Gordian*, succeeded in the Empire, but was himself also made away by his Army: He is said by *Eusebius*, *Orosius*, and other Authors, to have been the first Christian Emperor; but this hath been confuted, and sufficiently exploded by *Scaliger*, and other learned Men. His Memory is preserved in Britain by an Inscription upon a Pyramidal Stone dug out of the Earth not far from *Carlisle*, which is dedicated to this Emperor, as also to his Son *Philip* then *Cesar*.

I shall here omit two other Emperors which are mentioned by *Zozimus* to have reigned at the same time with this *Philip*, one in the East, and the other in *Pannonia*: And shall pass on to

Quintus Trajanus Decius, who was elected Emperor by the Persian Legions. He was a great Enemy of the Christians, and raised the Seventh Persecution against them; but having seen his Son *Decius*, whom he had made his Associate in the Empire, slain by the *Goths*, with whom he fought, being betray'd by *Hosilius* his General, in his Flight, he fell into a Bog or whirl Pool. To whom succeeded

Trebonianus Gallus Hosilianus, who had betrayed him into that ruin, but he being in a short time depos'd and slain by the same Soldiers that had advanced him to the Imperial Throne.

Then *Emilianus* succeeded him, but enjoyed the Imperial Throne but three months, and then the Legions near the Alps created

Publius Licinius Valerianus Emperour, who being taken Prisoner in a Battel against *Sapores* King of Persia, for 7 Years lived in a most miserable Captivity, being made the Foot-stool of that Tyrant, till at last by being dead alive, he died. But before his Death,

Publius Licinius Galienus, his Son, Governed in his stead, (his elder Brother of the same Name, who had been Associate in the Empire with his Father, being dead long before;) this *Galienus* being given up to Lust, Gluttony and Riot, and careless of the common Danger, and through a haughty Ignorance unapprehensive of his own, met with that Fate, which commonly attends such Princes: So that in his time the Empire was on all sides invaded by the barbarous Nations bordering upon it, and had been utterly ruined through his careless Neglect; had not divers Generals in several places undertaken the Defence of it; they were near Thirty together, who all assumed the Imperial Purple, and are call'd by Historians the Thirty Tyrants: Six of them, namely, *Lollianus*, *Vitorianus*, *Posthumus*, the two *Tetrici*, Father and Son, with *Marius*, are conjectured to have ruled in this Island, as appeareth by many of their Coins found in England, but especially about *Colchester*; whence *Porphyrus* the Philosopher, (who lived in those Times,) said, That Britain was a Soil fruitful of Tyrants; *Gallienus* being slain by the Treachery of three of his own Captains.

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Anno Dom. CCLXVIII. *Mar. Aurel. Flau. Claudius* was chosen Emperor in his stead; who, having performed several great Actions, and intending to reduce the Roman Empire again under one Head, died suddenly as he was making Preparations against *Tetricus*, who then held the Western Provinces, together with *Britain*.

Anno Dom. CCLXIX. To whom succeeded *L. Domitius Aurelianus*, who, being chosen Emperor by the Souldiers, and confirmed by the Senate, set himself immediately to reduce the Empire again under one Head; a Work wherein *Claudius* his Predecessor had been prevented by Death, which was at last worthily performed by this Emperor; for *Tetricus*, who ruled in *Gaul* and *Britain* by the Terror of his Arms, being brought to submit himself, was led in Triumph through *Rome*. *Aurelian* was afterwards killed by *Mnesitheus*, his Secretary. This Emperor raised the Ninth Persecution against the Christians. After him

Anno Dom. CCLXXVI. *M. Claudius Tacitus*, descended from *Tacitus* the Historian, was elected Emperor by the Senate and Army, though much against his Will: He reigned but Six Months, and died of a Fever; but before his Death he adopted

Anno Dom. CCLXXVI. *M. Aurelius Valer. Probus*, who succeeded him; in whose Reign *Bonofus*, the Son of a Pretorian Souldier, bred in *Spain*, (though by Descent a *Britain*), and a matchless Drinker, not so much to be blamed, if (as they write,) he were still wisest in his Cups, having attained by the course of War to great military Honours, tho at last, in his Charge over the *German* Navy, having (willingly as was thought,) suffered the Ships to be burnt, trusting on his Interest with the Western Legions, he joined with one *Proculus*, and seizing upon *Spain*, *Gaul*, and *Britain*, made himself as Emperor for a time; but after a long and bloody Fight near *Collen*, being vanquished by *Probus*, he hang'd himself, and gave occasion of that sharp Epitaph made upon him for his great Drinking; *Here hangs a Tankard*.

After this, *Probus* prevented a new Rebellion in *Britain*, by the severe Loyalty of *Vi Florinus*, a Moor, (one of his Ministers) at whose Recommendation he had placed a Lieutenant here, (whom Mr. Camden supposes to have been *Cornelius Lallianus*, since his Coins are found in this Island, but in no other Countrey,) who rebelled and set up for Emperor; but *Probus* upbraiding *Victorinus* with the Disloyalty of him whom he had recommended, he undertook to rectifie this Mistake; so hastning over hither, and finding the Governor in actual Rebellion, by some Contrivance, not mentioned by our Historians, he privately, in the Night, found means to kill him. *Entropius* also relates, that *Probus* was the first Emperor who gave leave to the *Spaniards*, *Gauls* and *Britains*, to plant Vines, and to make Wine: But he having subdued the *Pandals* and *Burgundians* in a great Battel, sent over many of them to inhabit in *Britain*, where they did good Service to the *Roman* Empire, when any Insurrection hapned in this Isle: They are supposed to have had their Camp upon those Hills near *Cambridge*, commonly called *Gogmagog-Hills*, where on the top of a Hill may be seen at this day a Plain, encompassed round with Trenches of a large Circumference, with only one Entrance.

But though this Emperor well deserved the Name of *Probus*, yet could he not avoid the Fate of his Predecessors, being slain by his own Army; the occasion whereof was that worthy Saying of his, *That in a short time he hoped to bring it to pass, that the Empire should want no more standing Armies*: He was thus made away.

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M. Aurelius Carus was advanced to the Empire by the Army; he created his two Sons *Carinus* and *Numerianus*, Cæsars; to *Carinus* he gave the Charge of *Britain*, with the rest of the Western Provinces, but taking *Numerianus* along with him into the East, he invaded the *Persians*, where he died suddenly, (as some relate,) being struck with Lightning; (tho **Volsiscus* saith, he died a natural Death; and that the Souldiers firing his Tent gave occasion to the former Report:) His pious Son *Numerianus* was slain by *Aper*, one of his Captains, and he again underwent the same Fate by *Dioclesian*, who also in a set Battle not long after slew *Carinus*, who by his Riot and Luxury had much wasted *Britain*, and the other Provinces: All these Tranfactions happened within the space of two Years.

C. Aurel. Dioclesian being advanced to the Empire by the Choice of the Eastern Army, adopted *Mar. Aurel. Maximinianus*, surnamed *Herculus*, his Associate in the Empire; five Years after which, the former of these Emperours nominated *Galerius*, and the latter adopted *Constantius Chlorus*, Cæsars; constraining them to divorce their former Wives, and to marry their Daughters.

In the beginning of this Emperour's Reign, *Carausius*, a Man of mean Parentage born in *Menapia*, (that is) about the Parts of *Cleves* and *Flanders*, who, through all Military Degrees, was advanced at length to be Governour of *Bononia*, Admiral of the *Belgic* and *Armoric* Seas, then much infested by the *Francks* and *Saxons*; but what he took from the Pirates, he neither restored to the Owners, nor accounted to the Publick, whereby he much enriched himself; not so much as guarding the Seas, but rather conniving at those Pirates, till at length he grew too great a Delinquent to be less than an Emperour; therefore hearing that *Maximinian* had ordered him to be slain, he then took upon him the Imperial Robe, and hearing that this Emperour was marching against him with the Fleet under his Command, passed over into *Britain*, where he built a new Fleet after the *Roman* fashion, getting into his Power the Legion that was left here in Garrison, with other Outlandish Cohorts; he detained and lifted the very Merchants and Factors of *Gaul*, and with the Allurements of Spoil, invited great numbers of other barbarous Nations to take his part, and trained them to Sea-Service; wherein the *Romans* had so much lost their Skill, that *Carausius* with his Navy at Sea did what he listed, robbing on all the Sea-Coasts, whereby *Maximinian* not able to come nearer than the Shore of *Bononia*, (now *Bologne*), was forced to conclude a Peace with *Carausius*, and yield him up *Britain*, as one fittest to guard that Province against the Incurfions of the Northern *Britains*. This is the reason that in all *Carausius*'s Silver Coins we find two Emperours taking hands, with this Inscription on the Reverse, *CONCORDIA AUGG*.

But not long after, *Maximinian* sent *Constantius Chlorus*, now Cæsar, against *Carausius*, who in the mean while had made himself strong, both within the Land, and without. *Geoffrey of Monmouth* writes, that he made the *Picts* his Confederates; to whom, as being lately come out of *Scythia*, he gave *Albania* (now called *Scotland*) to inhabit: And it is indeed observable, that about his time the *Picts* are found to be first mentioned by *Eumenius* in his Panegyrick to *Maximinian*, † where he also mentions the *Hiberni* together with *Picts*, both which he there calls *Half-naked Enemies*: But whether by those *Hiberni* are to be understood Irish-men, (as that word Gramatically imports,) and as our English Antiquaries

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Anno Dom. CCLXXXVI. understand it; or else *Scotch-men*, (called *Hiberni*, because they first came out of *Ireland*;) as *Buchanan* and *Scaliger* would have it, since it depends upon so nice a Criticism in the *Latin* Tongue, as whether the words *Soli Britanni* were intended by the Author for the Nominative Case Plural, or else for the Genitive of the Singular Number, I shall not take upon me to decide; only the Reader may please to take notice, that those who understand these words in the former sense, do suppose the *Scots* to have first come out of *Ireland* into *Britain* after this time; but I have given you the words themselves in the Margin, that you may pass what Judgment you please upon them.

This is supposed to have been a Temple dedicated to the God Terminus, and is seen to this day in Scotland near the said River. See its Description in Camd. Brit. in Scotl. Dr. Sterling Sheriffdom: You may see also the Figure of it in the new Editions, p. 1104. An. CCLXXXIII.

But (as *Nennius* relates) *Carausius* repaired and fortified the Walls of *Verus* with Castles, and a round House of polish'd Stone on the Bank of *Caron*, which River, he saith, was from him so called; also in *Gaul* he kept *Bo-nonia* with a Garison, and all the *Francks* which had by his permission seated themselves in *Belgia* were at his command; but *Constantius* hasting into *Gallia*, besieged *Bo-nonia*, (now called *Bologne*, as I said before,) and with Stones and Timber blocking up the Harbour, kept out all Relief that could be sent in by *Carausius*; but before *Constantius* with the Fleet which he had prepared could arrive thither, *Carausius* was slain in *Britain* by the Treachery of *Allectus*, one of his chief Friends and Commanders, who likewise for three Years usurped the Empire; when *Carausius* worthily (as some say, or as others, Tyrannically) had Ruled this Island 7 Years.

But *Constantius* presently took hold of that Opportunity before *Allectus* should settle his Affairs, therefore, tho' the weather were ill, he put his Army to Sea with all expedition, and that from several Havens, the more to spread the Terror of his Landing, and render it doubtful where to expect him; so in a Mist passing by *Allectus* with the *British* Fleet unseen, that lay cruising near the Isle of *Vecta*, (now *Wight*;) he no sooner got on shore but he fired his own Ships, to leave his Men no hopes of Safety but in Victory; then forthwith the poor oppressed *Britains* came flocking in to *Constantius*, offering themselves, together with their Wives and Children, to him, as their Deliverer sent them from Heaven; which when *Allectus* heard, being much dismayed at this News, he passed over to the *British* Shore, where landing, he resolved to try his Fortune in a Battle on the Land; where being encountered by *Asclepiodotus* Captain of the *Prætorian* Bands, and desperately rushing on, being unmindful both of the well-ordering of his Men, and of bringing them all in to fight, (except the noted Accessories of his Treason, and his Outlandish Hirelings:) He was overthrown, and slain with little or no loss to the *Romans*, but great Execution on the *Francks*. *Allectus* having before flung away his Imperial Robes, that he might not be known, his Body was found almost naked in the Field; the rest of his Men flying to *London*, and purposing with the Pillage of that City to escape by Sea, were met by another part of the *Roman* Army, whom the late mentioned Mist at Sea had separated, and now by chance had brought up the *Thames*, where landing, they killed almost all the rest, even in the very City, whilst the Citizens had the pleasure to behold their own Deliverance. By this Victory, this Province was totally recovered to the *Roman* Empire, as *Ennenius* witnesses in his Panegyrick above-mentioned, after it had been 10 Years in Rebellion. But before I dismiss this part of our History, I cannot omit what *Geoffrey* of *Monmouth* also adds, tho' with no shew of probability, to this History of *Carausius* and *Allectus* his Successor in this Usurpation, viz.

That

That *Allectus* going about to punish those *Romans* and *Britains* who had adhered to the Party of *Carausius*, and been partakers in his Robberies; who resenting this Severity, chose one *Asclepiodotus* a *Britain* to revenge it, exhorting him to set upon *Allectus* then in *London*, whilst he was celebrating a Feast to his Gods; at whose arrival *Allectus* forsaking his Sacrifice, and marching out with the choicest of his Souldiers, joyned Battel with him; but being slain, *Gallus* a Captain of *Allectus* still held *London*; to the reducing whereof, *Asclepiodotus* (now made King) summoned the *Dameta* and *Venedoti* (i. e. the Inhabitants of that part of the Island now called *Wales*) to his Assistance; with these Forces he beleaguere'd the City, and with warlike Engines battered down great part of the Wall. *Gallus* perceiving himself not able to hold out any longer, came to a Parly, and surrendered the Town upon condition to march out Armed; which being agreed to, *Asclepiodotus* enters *Walbrook*, whence it had its Name; but the *Venedoti*, contrary to the Articles, fell upon *Gallus* and slew him, at a Brook's side within the City, now called from his Name *Gallbrook*, or *Walbrook*. But it is certain, there was never any King of *Britain* called *Asclepiodotus*, who was indeed no more than the *Præfect* to *Constantius*, nor had he any such Captain as this *Gallus* as we can any where find, except in this Author.

But *Ennenius* who then lived, (and was of *Constantius* his Household, and who upon this Victory made the Panegyrick but now mentioned in Praise of *Maximian* and *Constantius*, then Emperours,) relates this to have been done in the course of one continued Action: So also *Sigonius*, a Judicious Historian, tho' others allow 3 Years to the Tyranny of *Allectus*. In those Times there was such great store of good Workmen and excellent Builders in *Britain*, that during these great Disturbances here, the *Æduans* in *Burgundy* entertained them to build their Temples and publick Edifices.

Dioclesian having hitherto successfully shewed his Valour against the Enemies of the *Roman* Empire, now exerted his Rage in a bloody Persecution against his obedient and harmless *Christian* Subjects; from the feeling whereof, this Island (though the most remote) was not, it seems, yet far enough off from having some share of his Rage; for our Historians, *Gildas* and *Bede*, relate, That in this Persecution, *Albanus* a Citizen of *Verulam* suffered, as also *Arron* and *Julius* Citizens of the City of *Legions*, (now *Caerleon* upon *Uske*;) and many others of both Sexes, in divers places, who were put to Death by various Torments. Of the Martyrdom of *St. Alban*, *Bede* gives us this particular Account, viz. That he being as yet a *Pagan*, when the Edict of those Heathen Emperours raged against the *Christians*, received into his House a certain Priest who had then fled from his Persecutors, whom whilst he beheld employ'd Night and Day in Watchings and Prayers, upon a sudden (being touched by the Divine Grace) he began to emulate his Faith and Piety, and being by degrees instructed by his saving Precepts, at last leaving his Idolatry he became a *Christian*. Now when this Priest had lived with him some time, it came to the Ears of the *Roman* Governour, That this Confessor (who was not yet to be Martyr'd) lay hid in the House of *Alban*: The Governour presently sent Souldiers to find him out, who when they came thither, *Alban* offered himself to them in stead of his Guest, in that very Habit he used to wear; and being immediately brought before the Judge, who at that very time was standing

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Anno Dom. CCCIV. at the Altar sacrificing to his Idols: when he saw *Alban*; he was highly incensed, because he had voluntarily delivered himself up instead of his guest, so commanding him to be drag'd before the Images of those false Gods, he was then worshipping; said thus, "For that thou hast rather chosen to conceal a Rebellious, Sacrilegious Fellow, than to deliver him up to my Guards; that as a contemner of the Gods he might suffer the punishment due to his Blasphemy; whatsoever torments therefore were due to him, thou thy self shalt endure, if thou persistest in this new Superstition. But *Alban*, who had of his own accord owned himself to be a Christian, did not at all fear the threats of the President; but plainly told him, that he would not obey his commands (the rest of their Dialogue being somewhat tedious, I omit) but the Judge being thereupon more provoked, told him again, that if he intended to live, he must immediately offer Sacrifice to their Gods; which he again not only refused, but also reproved others for so doing, and thereupon was condemned to most cruel Torments, all which he manfully overcame; and although they did all they could to invent new Tortures for him, yet he endured them all with exquisite patience, till their weariness, not pity made them desist. And here we must bewail our want of a true Story of this good Man's Martyrdom, which the Monks have mixed with so many improbable Circumstances, that it is even nauseous either to read or hear them. But I shall proceed to relate what I find in *Bede*, without passing my word for the truth of the following Miracles.

Alban being sentenced to be beheaded, much People flock'd to the place of his Execution; which was on a Hill (afterward called in *English Holm hurst*) to which they were to pass over a River, where a narrow passage admitted of very few a-breast. *Alban* being to follow after all the company, and perceiving it would be very late before he could attain his desired End, obtained by his Prayers, that the River parting assunder, afforded a free passage for a great many together; this Miracle so wrote upon him, who was appointed to be his Executioner, that he utterly refused the Employment, desiring rather to suffer himself for him, than to offer him any violence: But another soon took his place.

Alban being come to the top of the Hill, where he was to suffer, found himself very dry; when presently by his Prayer, a Spring brake forth at his Feet, to the amusement of all that saw it, except the Executioner, who notwithstanding the Miracle, struck off his Head; when instantly his own Eyes fell out of his Head, upon the ground, as a just punishment for his infidelity: and presently after suffer'd also the Convert Executioner above mentioned.

The body of *St. Alban* was privately buried; That Age not knowing the Vertue of keeping Saints Relicks; but many Years after, *Offa* King of the *Mercians*, is said to have discovered his Bones, and to have removed them into a stately Shrine; where he built a noble Church and Monastery, as shall be particularly shown in its proper place.

Not long after the Martyrdom of *St. Alban*, suffered also the Priest who converted him, and whose Name *Geoffrey* will have to be *Amphibalus*; tho' we had never heard of it at all, but from this Author, that word signifying properly not a Man's name, but a long shag Cloak, which it is supposed that good Man wore: I shall also pass by the Martyrdoms of many other Christians, said to be at *Lichfield*, and *Winchester* and other places, as being of very uncertain credit, having no other Authors, but

Geoffrey

Geoffrey and our Monks; who lived and wrote at a great distance from those Times.

But the Emperors *Dioclesian* and *Maximinian*, having both on the same day (tho' in different places) resign'd the Empire to the two *Cesar's* above-mentioned, and *Constantinus* choosing the *Western* Provinces (whereof *Britain* was one) for his share, came over hither to settle affairs in this Island; and *Eutropius* supposes *Helena* his Wife to have been a *Britain* by Birth; whereupon our *Geoffrey* presumes further, and makes her to have been the Daughter of one King *Coil*, whom he supposes to have succeeded *Asclepiodotus*: But since there is no ground for this fancy in any Authentick Writer, I shall wholly slight it, especially since *Nicephorus* and other *Greek* Historians relate her to be a *Bithynian*; but to return to that which is more to our purpose; it is certain that as soon as *Augustus* was declared, he immediately put a stop to the Persecution against the Christians in his Provinces; and then passing over into *Britain*, *Constantinus* not long after made an Expedition against the *Caledonians*, whom he overcame; and not long after died at *Tork*: having been all his life time a great favourer of the Christians, though no professed Christian himself: to whom succeeded

Constantine his Son, who came luckily Post from *Rome* to *Bologne*; just about the time (saith *Eusebius*) when his Father lay Sick upon his Death-bed; where being by him nominated for his Successour, he was immediately after his Father's Funerals, by the whole Army saluted Emperour; tho' he declined it all he could; concerning whom, there is a great dispute whether he were a *Britain* or not; our *British* Historians produce a passage out *Eumenius's* Oration to *Constantine*, wherein he calls *Britain*, the most blessed and fortunate of all Lands, quia *Constantinum* *Cesarem* *primum* *vidisti*; which words may yet be thus interpreted, that is, it did not behold *Constantine* Born; but saw him first created Emperour: which is undoubtedly true, but since most of our *English* Historians understand it in the former Sense; (there being nothing of conclusive certainty deliver'd by Antient Authors concerning it.) I shall leave it as I found it; tho' it must be confessed that the learned *Dr. Stillingfleet* in his *Orig. Britannice*, Not only from several passages in *Eumenius's* Panegyrick, but also by other Arguments, hath made it highly probable that *Constantine* was born in *Britain*.

But this is more certain, that *Constantine* before his departure hence, seems to have had some Bickerings with the *Britains* in the Northern parts of this Island, which having in some time composed, he passed again into *Gaul*; where leaving a great Army (many of whom were before raised in *Britain*) he from thence went into *Italy*, and near *Rome* overthrew the Tyrant *Maxentius*, who had seized that City, together with the rest of *Italy*; immediately after which Victory, he declared himself a Christian in the presence of his whole Army, which yet he would not have perhaps ventured to have done, had he not been sure that a considerable Party of his Souldiers had been so before.

About the Fourth Year after, *Constantine* return'd again into *Britain*; but what he performed here is not left us by any Historian now extant, more than what * *Eusebius* tells us in general, That *Constantine* passed over to the *Britains*, (who had it seems then revolted) whom, when he had subdued, he turned his Eyes to those other parts of the World, that he might relieve those that wanted his assistance; which this Author supposes

Anno Dom.
CCCIV.

Ensb. Chron.
Zozon. Ep. 1.
H. 1. Eccl. 1.

Anno Dom.
CCCVI.

De vita Const.
lib. 1.

Anno Dom.
CCCX.

De vita
Constant. lib. 1.
cap. 25.

Anno Dom. CCCX. to be the rest of the Empire then oppressed by *Mercurius*, tho' all others make him to have been subdued in the very beginning of *Constantine's* Reign.

But *Geoffery* (could he be believed) gives us a very plausible account, why *Constantine* came now again into *Britain*, which is to this effect; That *Octavius* Duke of the *Gewisses*, taking advantage of the Emperor's absence had seized upon *Britain* for himself (the circumstances of which I omit, to shorten the Story) as also how one *Trabern* (who is there supposed to be this Emperor's Uncle by the Mother) obtained a great Victory over this *Octavius*; but that upon *Trabern's* being kill'd at *Verulam*, by the treachery of a Nobleman of *Octavius's* Party, he again returned into *Britain*, and making a Confederacy with the Northern Nations, renewed the War; whereupon *Constantine* coming upon *Octavius* on the sudden, soon overcame him, yet suffer'd him though Conquer'd still to Reign here as a Tributary to the Roman Empire: But it is not likely *Constantine* would have given so great an encouragement to Rebellion; nay, what is yet more improbable, he makes this *Octavius* to have Govern'd this Island, even to the days of *Gratian* and *Valentinian*, which must needs be false; since the Coyns of all those Roman Emperors, who succeeded between *Constantine* and *Valentinian* are found in this Island; whereas no Coyn or Monument of this *Octavius*, was ever yet to be seen; and further none of the Historians of this Age do mention any such King of *Britain*, as it is likely they would have done, had they known of such a person.

But this is more likely, that the Emperour *Constantine* alter'd the Ancient Divisions of *Britain*, by adding to the former Provinces, viz. *Britannica Prima* and *Secunda*, Two others, viz. *Flavia*, and *Maxima Caesariensis*.

I have no more to add concerning Civil Affairs in this Emperor's Reign; but as for Ecclesiastical History, it is certain, the British Church was now grown so considerable, that * it sent divers Bishops to the Council of *Arles* in *Gallia*, which was held in the Year of our Lord 114, as you may see in the First Tome of *Gallick* Councils; where *Eboracius* Bishop of the City of *Eboracum*, in the Province of *Britain*, and *Restitutus* Bishop of the City of *London*, and *Adelphius* Bishop of the City of *Colchester* appeared as Deputies for the rest of the Bishops of *Britain*.

And though in the great Council of *Nice*, which was assembled Anno Dom. 325, there is no express mention of the Names of the British Bishops which appear'd there, because the Subscriptions to that Council are lost; yet *Athanasius*, as also *Hilary* Bishop of *Poitiers* do sufficiently confirm their being there, as well as *Constantine* himself, who in his Letter to the *Alexandrines*, says; that *Easter* was observed according to the manner prescribed in that Council, by all the Nations he there mentions, among whom the *Britains* are reckon'd for one.

Constantine dying, divided the Empire amongst his Three Sons, *Constantinus*, *Constans*, and *Constantius*; to the Eldest he gave *Britain*, *France*, and *Spain*, with part of *Germany*; but he not content with his share in the Empire (though most considerable) invaded the Right and Possession of his Brother *Constans*, and was by him Slain; he is reported to have been kill'd by his Brother's Generals, near to the City of *Aquileia* in *Italy*.

Whereupon

Whereupon *Constans* his Brother seized upon his Dominions, and together with his Brother *Constantius* (though in Winter time; sailed into *Britain*, that they might quiet the Commotions of the Northern Britains, as *Libanius* and *Julius Firmicus* witness; but as for Ecclesiastical Affairs in this Emperour's Reign, the Council of *Sardica* being called by these Emperours, Anno Dom. 347, It is certain that the Bishops of *Britain* appeared there, as is acknowledged by *Athanasius* in the beginning of his Second Apology against the *Arrians*.

But *Magnentius*, whose Father was a *Britain*, conspiring against this Emperour; and having beset him in a Town in *Gaul*, called *Ephlena* as he was hunting thereabouts with a small Retinue, there slew him; whereupon, though the Western Empire ought by right to have fallen to *Constantius*; yet *Magnentius* having possess'd himself of it, and having drawn in the *Britains* to side with him in his Rebellion, he maintained it for Three Years against *Constantius*; the success at first was various; but at last the heat of the Revolt being pretty well over, and *Constantius* still by degrees increasing upon him, he was no longer able to hold up his Head; so that at last he slew himself at *Lyons*: The peaceable possession of this part of *Britain* being thereupon left to *Constantius*.

About this time the General of all the Forces throughout *Britain*, was *Gratianus*, surnamed *Funarius*, from his great strength in pulling a Rope from Four Men, tho' not long after this (as *Ammianus Marcellinus* relates) one *Paulus* a notary was sent into *Britain*, that he might enquire what Military Men were engaged in the Rebellion of *Magnentius*, many of whom he maliciously prosecuted, carrying away like a Flood the Fortunes of divers Innocent Men, imprisoning the Free-born Subjects, and putting others into Irons and Fetters, heaping together false Accusations against them, by which severity he committed such great oppressions, as cast an eternal blot on the Reign of *Constantius*, who supported him in his Cruelties.

But one *Martinus* then Governing those Provinces as *Praefect*, grievously lamenting the sufferings of these Innocent Men, often beseeching him, that he would spare them; who, when he could not prevail, threatened that he would depart hence, hoping that this malicious Inquisitor might at last cease from his so violent prosecution: But *Paulus* fearing his trade might by this means decay, being cruelly artificial in framing of Counterfeit Plots, (from whence he obtained this Surname of *Catena*) brought the *Praefect* himself into a participation of those very dangers, resolving to send him with divers *Tribunes* and *Prisoners* to the Emperour, with which the *Praefect* being provoked, endeavoured to stab *Paulus*; but missing his pass, he thrust the same Sword into his own body, and so unfortunately perish'd this Honest Man, who lost his life in trying to relieve the miserable Fortunes of others. All which things being thus wickedly perform'd, *Paulus* stain'd with Innocent Blood, return'd to the Emperours Prefence; against whose coming with his Prisoners, all sorts of Tortures and Executioners were prepared, so that many of them were proscribed and Out-law'd; some banished, and others most cruelly put to Death. But God some Years after, justly punish'd this Villain; when by the Command of *Julian* the Emperour he was burnt alive.

Sometime after this, the Council of *Arminium* was called by *Constantius*, being the most numerous that ever had yet appear'd, as consisting of above Four Hundred Bishops, both of the Eastern and Western Churches,

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Anno Dom. CCCXL.
id. ibid.

Anno Dom. CCCXLIX.
Libanius in Basilic.

vid. Jul. Tirac.
cum.
Lib. 14.

* Vid. Affrit
Antiquitates
Britan. Ecclef.
cap. 8.

id. ibid.

Anno Dom. CCCXVII.
Amonian.
lib. 20.

Anno Dom. CCCLIX. and in which Council, by the Emperour's long detaining the Bishops against their wills, till they were quite tired out, the major part of them was forced to subscribe the New Creed, made not long before at the pretended Council of *Syrmiun*, wherein the Word *Omoious* being omitted; the Son of God was declared only to be *Omoious*, i. e. of like substance with the Father: I have been the more particular as to this Council, in respect to the Bishops sent from *Britain*; to whom, as well as to the rest, *Sulpicius Severus* tells us, the Emperour allowed all sorts of Provisions; which seemed undecent to the *Aquitanian*, *Gallick*, and *British* Bishops to accept of; who therefore refusing the publick allowance, chose rather to live at their own Charges; only Three Bishops of *Britain* for want of Revenues, were forced to make use of the publick stipend, when they had refused a Contribution offer'd them by the rest, thinking it more honourable for a publick Service to subsist on the publick Treasury, than to be burthensome to private Men; and this must be said in commendation of most of the *Western* Bishops, that notwithstanding their being out Voted, yet (if *Athanasius* tells true) in a Letter he writ to the Emperour *Jovian*, the most part of them still persisted in the Faith profest by the Council of *Nice*.

But to return again to Civil Affairs, from whence we have made too long a Digression; about these times *Alypius*, a Heathen, was Lieutenant of *Britain*, who afterwards bestowed much labour (tho in vain) to Rebuild the Temple of *Jerusalem*; but the Year following this Council, *Ammianus Macellinus* relates, that the fierce Nations of the *Scots* and *Picts* combining together, breaking the Peace, wasted all places near the borders, by a cruel Incurſion; so that the fear of it terrified the other Provinces, already wearied out with a continued ſucceſſion of ſo many Calamities: But *Julian* then lately made *Cæſar* (who was afterwards Emperour) Wintering then at *Paris*, hearing this ill news, was diſtracted in his Thoughts what to do, fearing to leave *Gaul* to the *Almans*, then preparing for War; therefore he reſolved to ſend *Lupicinus*, at that time Keeper of the Arms and Warlike Stores, into this Iſland to compoſe theſe Troubles, being a Man Warlike, and well ſkill'd in Military Affairs; but of a haughty boaiſting humour: Beſides, it was much doubted whether he were more Covetous or Cruel. But having raiſed an Army of Light-armed Men, to which were added the *Herculians*, *Batavians* and many companies of *Miflans*, being now made General, and arriving at *Bononia*, having put all his Men on Board, paſſed over with a proſperous Wind, and landed at *Rutipe* (now called *Sandwich*, near *Richborough* Caſtle in *Kent*;) and from thence marched to *London*, and there taking Council according to the exigency of Affairs, made haſte to meet the Enemy; but what he did againſt them, it is great pity this Author hath not told us; all he ſays further of this *Lupicinus*, being only this, that when the Army had ſaluted *Julian* Emperour, and that a War was like to happen with *Conſtantius*; *Lupicinus* was feared (tho abſent,) being ſuſpected as a Man of a haughty Spirit, that if he ſhould know theſe things (ruling then in *Britann*) he might hinder *Julians* proceedings, and therefore a notary was ſent to *Boloign*, on purpoſe to watch that no body ſhould paſs over into *Britain*: So that all Intelligence being ſtop'd, between this Iſland and the Continent, *Lupicinus* returning back before he knew any thing of theſe matters, could give him no diſturbance here.

But

But *Julian* having now taken the Title of Emperour and *Augustus*, *Anno Dom. CCCLXI.* marched againſt *Conſtantius*; who coming out of the *East* to meet him, as far as *Mopſueſtia*, on the borders of *Cilicia*, there died of a Fever: Whereupon *Julian* his Couſin was quietly received as Emperour, even by thoſe who had been of *Conſtantius*'s ſide: who (from his renouncing the Chriſtian Religion) was commonly called the Apoſtate, of whom I ſhall ſay no more (ſince his ſhort Reign affords nothing relating to *Britain*) than that he was kill'd by an Arrow, in a Battle againſt the *Perſians*; but whether it were Shot by an Enemy, or by one of his own Chriſtian Souldiers who hated him, is uncertain.

Whereupon *Jovianus*, then an Officer of good note, was choſen Emperour by the Army; but he reſuſing to Command Heathens, the Souldiers cried out with one accord, that they were all Chriſtians; upon which he accepted of the Empire; from whence it plainly appears, that his Army was outwardly Heathens before, having complied for fear of the Emperour's diſpleaſure.

But *Jovian* Reigning but Seven Months, it is not to be expected that any thing conſiderable could happen in *Britain* in ſo ſhort a Reign; and therefore, all I ſhall ſay further of him is, That in his Journey to *Conſtantinople*, at a place called *Daduſtana* on the Borders of *Galatia*, he died a very unuſual Death; being killed by the damp of a new-plaiſtered Chamber in which he lay, ſome Charcoals having been kindled in it when he went to bed.

Whereupon, not long after, *Valentinian* was at *Nice* in *Bythinia* declared Emperour by the Army, being the Son of *Gratian*, ſirnamed *Funarius*, above-mentioned; but *Valentinian*, not long after he arrived at *Conſtantinople*, declared *Valens*, his Brother, to be his Partner in the Empire; in the beginning of whoſe Reign the *Almans* wasted *Gaul* and *Rhetia*; the *Sarmatians* and *Quadi*, *Pannonia*; the *Picts*, *Saxons*, *Scots*, and *Attacotti*, alſo vexed the *Britains* with their continual Incurſions.

Not to mention the Irruptions of the barbarous Nations into other parts of the Empire, particularized by *Ammianus Marcellinus*, who is the firſt Roman Author by whom we find the *Scots* to have been mentioned: tho *St. Hierome* (in his Epiſtle againſt *Crefiphon* the *Pelagian*) has given us a much more ancient Paſſage, which he tranſlated out of *Porphyrie* the Greek Philoſopher, who writ an Age before *Ammianus*, which is to this effect; That neither *Britain*, a Province fertile of Tyrants, nor the *Scottiſh Nations*, nor all the barbarous Nations round about to the very Ocean, did ever acknowledge *Moses* and the Prophets: For tho *Scaliger* in his Notes upon *Propertius*, and afterwards in his Animadverſions on *Enſebius*, takes upon him to correct the common Editions of *Seneca*'s Satyrical Comedy upon *Claudius*, by reading in ſtead of the words *Scuta Brigantes*, *Scoto Brigantes*; tho it be ingenious, and would make better ſenſe in that place; yet it is not to be relied upon, ſince no ancient Manuſcript Copies are found to countenance that Correction; nor do we any where read, that *Claudius* made War againſt the *Scots*, or ever paſſed further than the Southern Parts of *Britain*; nor can we find in *Ptolomy*, or other ancient Authors, any mention of the *Brigantes* (much leſs of *Scoto Brigantes*) beyond the River of *Tweed*. But as for *Dempſter*'s reading of *Scoticas Prui-nas* in ſtead of *Scythicas* in the Poet *Florus*'s Verſes to the Emperour *Adrian*, ſince it is back'd by no ancient Manuſcript that any body ever ſaw but himſelf, it is not to be charged upon his bare word, as the learned

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* This was the name of a Legion ſo called.

Vide Mr. Somner's Diſcourſe of the Roman Ports and Forts in Kent. p. 34.

Anno Dom. CCCLXIV.
Id. Ibid.

Ammian. Marcell. l. 26. c. 4.

Anno Dom. ned Arch-Bishop *Usher* in his 16th Chapter of his *Ant. Ecclef. Britan.* very well observes: But who these *Attacotti* were who are joyned in *Am-
CCCLXIV.* *manianus* with the *Scoti*, very much perplexes our modern Criticks, there being so many various readings of this Word in divers Copies of this Author, in some of whom it is written *Attacitti*, and in others *Attiscotti*; *Lib. 2. advers.* and is supposed by Mr. *Camden* in his *Britannia* to be the same Nation mentioned by St. *Hierome* by the Name of *Scots*, some of whom this Father tells us, he saw eat Man's Flesh when he was in Gaul: But in the ancient *Notitia Imperii* they are called *Attecotti juniores*, and *Attecotti seniores*, tho in one Edition of the said *Notitia* they are written *Attacotti*, (as Monsieur *Labl * well observes;) whence the Learned Dr. *Gale* conjectures them to have been a barbarous sort of *Britains* living in the North of *Scotland* about *Attarish*; but of this, since we have no certainty, I leave every Man to take which of these Readings he thinks most probable.

Am. Marcell.
l. 27. c. 8.

Anno Dom.
CCCLXVIII.

But how the poor *Britains* were relieved out of these Difficulties, this Author says nothing till four Years after, when he relates, That the Emperour *Valentinian* in his Journey from the *Ambians* (in *Gaul*), to the *Treviri* (in *Germany*), received the unwelcome News, that *Britain* was reduced to the last Extremity by the joyned Invasion of the barbarous Nations, and that *Nectaridius* Count of the Sea Coast was slain; and *Tullasandes*, another of his Commanders, being circumvented by the Enemies Ambuscades there perished, which when he had heard with a great deal of concern, he immediately dispatch'd away *Severus* (then Comes *Domesticorum*, i. e. Lord Steward of his Household) to correct these Disorders; who being a little after recalled without doing any thing, *Jovinianus* was sent into *Britain*, the Emperour having dispatched before with all speed all such Provisions as were necessary for a powerful Army, and which the pressing Necessities then required.

But at last, upon the News of such sad and fearful Calamities which then befel *Britain*, *Theodosius* was chosen for this Province, who resolved to hasten thither with all speed, who being a Man of great Reputation for Martial Actions, and having raised a sufficient number of fresh, youthful Legions and Cohorts, he set forward with much Resolution.

Id. Ibid.

At this time the *Picts* were divided into two Nations, the *Deceadonia*, (or rather, as Mr. *Camden* supposes, *Deucaledonii*), and *Pecturiones*, with whom came also the *Attacotti* (already mentioned,) together with the *Scots*, who roving up and down through divers places did a great deal of mischief; whilst at the same time the neighbouring Coasts of *Gaul* were grievously infested by the *Francks* and *Saxons*, each of them striving (as it were) who should exceed the other in Rapines, Burnings, killing and taking Prisoners. *Theodosius* being sent hither to put a stop to those Incurfions, taking Sea at *Bononia*, (or *Bulloign*) landed at *Rulpia*, whence, after the arrival of his Forces called by divers Names according to their several Nations and Legions, as the *Batavi*, *Herculi*, *Jovii*, and *Victores*, he marched toward *London*, that ancient City, (which was afterwards called *Augusta*), and dividing his Forces into several Parties, fell upon these Rovers, whilst they marched scattered up and down laden with Booty, so that easily routing them, the Plunder and Captives he quickly recovered; and having restored all to their respective owners, except some small Portion bestowed on the weary Soldiers, he returned to the said City in a triumphant manner; and tho before it laboured under many Difficulties, he hereby restored it to its former Splendour, being em-

emboldened with this Success to undertake greater Matters; entering *Anno Dom.* into a serious consideration what was further to be done, he found by *CCCLXVIII.* what he got out of the Prisoners and Fugitives, that the Enemy, consisting of divers Nations, was too fierce and numerous to be mastered by downright Force, but rather by Stratagems, and sudden Attacks: He first therefore by Promises of Pardon brought most of his own Deserters and Stragglers to return to their Colours; but being himself taken up with divers Cares, he sent for *Civilis* to govern *Britain* as Vice-Præfect, a Man of a sharp Wit, and a strict observer of Justice, with *Dulcinius* a Commander, very famous for his Military Skill.

Of which Expedition, the same Author gives us this short general Account in another place, That *Theodosius* having by his industry got together an Army of well-disciplined Souldiers, marching from *London*, he extremely relieved the Calamities of the *Britains*, seizing upon all Places from which he might infest the Enemy, and commanding his common Souldiers nothing which he did not first undertake himself; by which means he performed both the Duties of a valiant Souldier, and a famous Commander, divers Nations being put to flight, who had before been encouraged by Impunity to assault the *Roman* Territories, and repaired the Cities and Castles which had before suffered very much; so that a firm Peace was hereby established for a long time.

But the Year following, whilst *Theodosius* was thus employ'd, there happen'd a horrid Conspiracy, which had like to have proved of dangerous Consequence, had it not been stifled in its very Birth: For one *Valentinus* of *Pannonia*, a Man of an insolent and unquiet Spirit, being for some great Crime banish'd into *Britain*; this wretch impatient of rest, contrived a Plot against *Theodosius*, who was the only Obstacle to his wicked designs; so that considering by what means he might bring them to pass, (his Ambitious desires still encreasing) he excited some Souldiers, and Outlaw'd persons, by promising them both Pardon and Preferment: And now the time drawing near for effecting his Treason, the General being informed thereof, and being now become more bold to take Revenge on the Conspirators, seized them, and delivered them all to *Dulcius* the Præfect to be put to Death; but judging of things future, by that long Military Experience, (in which he excelled all others of his time) he forbid any further enquiry into the rest of the Plotters, lest many being thereby made afraid, those troubles which had been already compos'd, should be again revived.

Then falling to the reforming more necessary things, now the danger was over, and that it was evident, good fortune attended all his undertakings, he restored the Cities and Garisons (as we have already said) fortifying the Borders with constant Watches and Guards, which though now recovered, had been formerly given up to the Enemy; so that the Northern Province being restored to its former condition, appointing a new Governour over it, he order'd that it should for the future be called *Valentia*, in Honour of *Valentinian* the Emperour.

He also removed the *Arcans* from their Stations, a sort of Men Instituted in former times to good purpose, (tho who these Men were we know not, but there seems here to be somewhat wanting in the Copy,) but our Author tells us, That he had said somewhat more of them in the *Acts of Constans*, which Book is lost; but these sort of Men now fallen into Vices, were openly convicted, that being allur'd by Promises and Rewards, they were often wont to betray to the Barbarians whatsoever

Anno Dom. CCCLXIX. soever was done among the Romans; though it ought to have been their business, by running to and fro to give notice to the Roman Generals of the Motions of the neighbouring Nations: So that all these actions being so well executed, when Theodosius was recalled, he left this Province in Peace, and being attended with the general applause of all Men to the Sea-side, he passed over to wait upon the Emperour, who received him with great commendations.

Nor can I here omit inserting that noble Eulogy, which Claudian the Poet hath given this renowned General Theodosius, in his Panegyrick to his Grandson Honorius, in these Verses,

In III. Consul. Honorii.

*Facta tui numerabit Avi, quem littus adusti
Horrescit Lybia, ratibusque impervia Thule,
Ille leves Mauros, nec falso nomine Pictos
Edomuit, Scotumque vago mucrone secutus,
Fregit Hyperboreas remis audacibus undas.*

He shall relate thy Granfier's Acts, whose name }
Burnt Libya dreads, and Thule known by Fame, }
Who the light Moores and Painted Picts did tame: }
And with his Sword the roving Scots pursued,
Whil'st with bold Oars He Northern Seas subdued.

By which last Verses he seems to intimate that as he tamed the Picts by Land, so he pursued the Scots by Sea; but what are meant by those Hyperborean Waters, whether the Irish Ocean, or the Friths of Dunbritton (called in the Old Scottish Laws, *Mare Scoticum*) I shall not take upon me to determine.

But those Antiquaries, who would have the Scots to be planted in Ireland in the time of Claudian, do urge these Verses of the same Poet in the next Panegyrick to that Emperour; when speaking in praise also of his said Grandfather, he thus proceeds,

Claud. in IV. Consul. Honor.

*maduerunt Saxone fuso,
Orcades, in caluit Pictorum sanguine Thule,
Scotorum tumulos flevit glacialis Ierne.*

The Orcades were moistened with a Flood
Of Saxon Gore, and Thule by the Blood
Of Picts was warmed, nor did Ierne fail
Whole heaps of Scots (then slaughter'd) to bewail.

Amian. Mar. c. l. 29.

And about these times the Picts and Scots raising fresh disturbances, the Emp. Valentinian sent Framarius King of the Almans (whose Country had been totally destroyed by a late incursion) into Britain, though with no higher a command than that of a Tribune over a Regiment of his own Country Men, then highly in request for their Valour and Fidelity; but what he did here Ammianus ceases to tell us: So that being for the future bereft of the help of good Historians, we must be forced to take up with such scraps as we can pick up here and there out of Zosimus, Orosius, and with other Epitomators of better Authors, now lost.

The

The Emperour now Valentinian, dying, his Sons Flavius, Gratianus *Anno Dom. CCCLXXXII.* and Fl. Valentinianus succeeded him in the Western Empire, in the Fifth Year of whose Reign the Emperour Gratian, created Theodosius Son to the former, his Partner in the Empire, assigning him the East for his share. In the Ninth Year of Gratian, Maximus a Spaniard by Birth, (or Education at least) tho' most of our own Writers suppose him to have been Born in Britain, and one who had long served in the British Wars, being now General of the Roman Armies, assumed the Imperial Purple; being either discontented that Theodosius the Younger, who had served with him in Britain, had been prefer'd before him to the Empire, or (as Orosius reports) being constrained thereto by the Souldiers, who hated and despised Gratian. The first Essays of his usurp'd power were indeed employ'd to the good, and preservation of this Island; for the Scots and Picts, who with their Inroads continually wasted the Roman Territories, he subdued and drove back, the former into their own Country, Ireland; the latter beyond the Picts Wall; and indeed all the Scottish Historians do now acknowledge that the Scots were so beaten and quelled by Maximus, that with their King Eugenius they were forced to quit Britain, and did not return again to renew their Kingdom in Britain, till above Twenty Years after, if they were here at all before that time, which many of our best English Antiquaries utterly deny, as I shall shew further, when I come to those Times.

But the Year following, when Gratian had further provoked the Roman Souldiers; who took it very ill that the Allans were lifted for Souldiers. *Anno Dom. CCCLXXXIII.* Maximus taking hold of this occasion, carried over his Army (then much encreased with a multitude of British Youth) and landing at the mouth of the Rhine, were there joyfully received by the Roman Souldiers, in Belgia and Germany, where he made Triers the seat of his Usurp'd Empire; whence he is by called Gregorius Turonensis, Trevericus Imperator; and then (saith Gildas) spreading one of his Wings as far as Spain, the other into Italy, with the very terrour of his Name, he brought under his Subjection the yet unconquer'd Germans. Against this Usurper, Gratian raised what Forces he could of Mercenary Allans, which the Romans, and especially the Moores, taking for a fresh affront, as if those Barbarians had been prefer'd before them in Courage and Fidelity, they deserted him, and went over to his Enemy; so that Gratian, being quickly put to Flight by the Forces of Maximus, was forced to flye with Three Hundred Horse towards the Alpes; Maximus, tho' glad of this advantage, yet thought it not safe to let him escape, so he dispatched after him Andragathius, then his Magister Equitum (or General;) who following him with all speed, with some Light Horsemen overtook him near the Bridge of Singidunum, and there killed him, by which Act he Establish'd Maximus in his Usurp'd Empire. This is the account which Zosimus gives us of this Action: I know other Writers make a long relation of a Wile that Andragathius invented, to make the Emperour believe that the Empress his Wife was coming to see him; which he believing, and coming to the Litter where he thought she was; Andragathius leaping out of the sudden, Murders him: But this does not seem so likely as the former Account Zosimus gives us of it; for if Andragathius were stronger, as without doubt he was, What need was there of this device, or who can believe that the Emperour should have no account of his Wives Motion, nor of the Enemies coming in her stead?

All

Anno Dom. CCCXCI. All things thus succeeding, according to his wicked desires, having settled Gaul, and cashier'd those Officers, who had sided with Gratian, his Son Fl. Victor, having been declar'd Cesar, and his Partner in the Empire, to which he required (or rather demanded) of Theodosius to be admitted, which was for the present consented unto by him, since he was not in any capacity to resist him; so he received from him the Title of Emperour, and his Image was sent to Alexandria, and set up in the publick Market-place, to be revered according to the custom of those Times.

Maximus having thus by Treason and Murther, made himself Master of so great a part of the Western Empire, he now pretended a great concern for the Catholick Religion, and by that means drew many Pious Bishops into an acknowledgment of his power; and therefore to shew his Zeal, he Sentenc'd Priscilla, and other Hereticks of his party to Death, who being Condemn'd in the Council of Bordeaux, and appealing to his Tribunal, were by him Sentenced to be beheaded, although dissuaded from it by St. Martin, that good Bishop of Tours, alledging it was sufficient, that they were excommunicated by the Catholick Church, to which in matters of Faith they were only answerable: These were the first that were ever executed by any Christian Prince, for meer matters of Faith; which practice as it was only fit for such a Tyrant and Usurper to have begun, so it had been well for the Church, if Lawful Princes had not been too much led away by the intemperate Zeal of some Church-men to imitate so cruel an Example.

Sulpitius Severus Hist. Eccl. lib. 11.

Orosius lib. 7.

Neither did Maximus rest contented with what he had already got, but then making War upon the Emperour, Valentinian drove him out of Italy; who thereupon was forced to fly Constantinople, where he earnestly solicited Theodosius to undertake his quarrel, who at last (tho with some difficulty) granting his request, with all his Forces marched against the Tyrant, who then lay secure at Aquileia, and in two Battles overthrew him; and not long after being besieged in that City, his Souldiers finding his Affairs in a desperate Condition, to make their own Peace, delivered him up to Theodosius, who by Three days after, order'd him to be beheaded: Whereupon Andragatius his Lieutenant, who was then at Sea, hearing this ill News, cast himself head long out of the Ship, and so was drowned, and thereby prevented that publick Execution, which he so justly deserved, for thus murdering his Sovereign.

I have insisted the longer upon the Actions of Maximus, not only because he first begun his Usurpation in this Island; but also to let you see that great and prosperous Villanies do often meet with that punishment they deserve, as well to the actors as contrivers.

But, I cannot quit the Reign of Maximus, without taking notice of that notorious invention of Geoffery of Monmouth, who makes Dionotus Duke of Cornwall (to whom Maximus at his departure committed the Government of Britain) to have sent over his own Daughter Urfula with no fewer than Eleven Thousand Noble Virgins for her Attendants, besides Sixty Thousand others of meaner Condition, to Conan Duke of Britain, (on whom he with like truth supposes Maximus had before bestowed Armorica) Urfula was to be the Wife of Conan himself, and the rest to be bestowed upon the Britains, who came over with him: of which Virgins a great part perished by Sea, and the rest being taken by Gumnurs King of the Flems, and Melgas King of the Picts, were either killed or

or made Slaves: Yet this Fable (as improbable as it is) has been greedily swallowed by Card * Baronius, who cites no better an Author than our Geoffery for it: Though indeed, † Archbishop Usher proves it not to have been he, but one of as little Credit, viz. the Author of the Acts of King Lucius: However this is the only Authority for this Legend, tho the Bones of these Virgins are pretended to be shown at Cologne to this day.

* In no is ad Roman. Martyrolog. Off. 21. † Brit. Eccles. Ant. cap. 5. and 8.

After the Death of Maximus, Valentinian II. was again restor'd to the Empire of the West by Theodosius, though he held it not long; Eugenius being set up against him by Arbogastes his chief Comes or General, and by whom this Young unfortunate Emperour, was afterwards strangled at Vienne in Gallia: but Eugenius was soon overcome by Theodosius, and put to Death as he deserv'd, and Arbogastes made himself away; upon which Theodosius took the whole Empire to himself both of East and West; tho after this we find little mention made of the Affairs of Britain, more than that during this Emperour's Reign, this Isle having been so lately bereft of its choicest Men by Maximus, had for some time lain open to the incursions of the Picts and Scots, who took this opportunity to invade it; so that Chrysanthius the Son of Marcian a Novation Bishop, is supposed to have been sent over about this time by Theodosius as his Lieutenant to suppress them; and governing with great reputation he did very much settle and restore this Island; but not long after, this Emperour dyed unexpectedly in the prime of his Years, leaving the Eastern Empire to his Eldest Son Arcadius, and the Western to his Second Son.

Anno Dom. CCCXCI. Zozimus lib. 4. Oros. lib. 7.

Honorius, during whose Minority Stilico was appointed for his Government, a Man of great Reputation, having been an intimate Councillour to his Father, and after his Death defended Britain, and is supposed by some to have sent a Legion over hither, under the command of Victorinus, to repress the incursions of the Scots and Picts in the beginning of * Honorius's Reign, as appears from Claudian the Poet's Panegyrick, upon Stilico's first Consulship; where he introduceth Britain, thus speaking in his praise,

About An. Dom. CCCXCVI. CCCXCVII.

Me quoque vicinis pereuntem gentibus, inquit,
Munivit Stilico, totam quum Scotus Iernem.
Movit, & infesto spumavit remige Tethys,
Illius effectum curis ne bella timerem,
Scotica, ne Pictum tremere, nec litore toto:
Prospicerem dubiis venientem Saxona ventis.

Me to ill Neighbours long a Prey exposed,
With safety now hath Stilico inclosed,
Whil'st the fierce Scots the Irish shoar Alarms,
And with these Vermin all the Ocean swarms:
'Tis through his Care no longer Wars I fear;
The Scots and Picts alike now dreadless are:
No longer on the Coasts I quivering stand,
Nor fear a Fleet of Saxons on the Strand.

From which words totam quum Scotus Iernem movit, &c. divers of our English Antiquaries have infer'd that the Scots were not at this time planted in Britain, since tota Ierne here mentioned, seems too large a place for one

one single Province, viz. *Strathern* in *Scotland*, which the *Scotish* writers will have to be understood by the word *Ierne*; nor is that Province, or the River that gives name to it, called *Ierne* in any Ancient Author. But this is a Controversie which I shall not take upon me to decide, being beyond the bounds of our History; However this seems much more certain, That about this time, according to the most Ancient *Scotish* Historians now extant, the *Scots* returned again into *Britain*; "For the *Scots* (says

Scotichron. l. 9. c. 1. 2.

Anno Dom.
CCCCIII.

"|| *Fordun* in his *Scotichron*) now made a strict Alliance with the *Picts*, in order to the recovering their Country, since (as they relate) *Maximus* had made use of the *Picts* to drive the *Scots* out of *Britain*, and had put also Garisons among the *Picts*, to keep them under; so that upon this agreement, Anno Dom. 403, in the Sixth Year of *Arcadius* and *Honorius*, *Fergus* the Son of *Erk*, the Son of *Ethodius*, Brother of that *Eugenius* who was driven out by *Maximus*, came with his Two Brothers *Loarnus* and *Cenegus* (in all probability *Loarn* and *Aengus*, being the names the *Irish* Annals give to the Brothers of this *Fergus*) bringing great supplies of the *Scots* from *Ireland* and *Norway*, whither they had been driven by the *Romans*; and then the *Picts*, to prevent all suspicion of Treachery, surrender'd up many of their Forts and strong places to *Fergus*.

Who thus became King of that part of *Scotland*, called anciently *Albany*, North-west of the Mountains of *Braid-Albain*, though the same Author confesseth it doth not appear whither he obtained these places by the Sword, or by any other right, since none of his Predecessors had any power there before; but the *Picts* and *Scots* being thus united, their first work was to drive out the *Romans* and *Britains* from their Country, and then to invade the *Roman* Province, which was at that time left destitute of any defence: And so by their incursions they either killed the Common People, or made them Slaves.

From which supposed return of *Fergus* with his *Scots*, *Jo. Fordun* begins to date the certain Years of their Kings Reigns, for before that time he confesses he had not found them any where set down; so that it seems he either had not so good Intelligence, or else not so good an Invention as *Heitor Boethius*, who hath given us the Succession of Forty Five *Scotish* Kings Reigning in *Britain*, before this *Fergus*; together with the Years of their Reigns, and the exact time when they began; and this he says he had from the writings of *Uteremundus* a *Spanish* Priest, who is reported by him to have writ the History of *Scotland*; as also from one *Cornelius Hybernicus*, Authours whom none but himself have seen as I can yet hear of. But in a certain old Latin Manuscript, cited in *Camden's Britannia*, in *Scotland*, this Action of *Fergus* is thus related, "Fergus the Son of *Eric* was the first of the Seed of *Chonare* that enter'd upon the Kingdom of *Albany* from *Brun Albin* (or *Drum Albin*, that is, the Ridge of *Scotland*) to the *Irish* Sea, and *Inch-Gal*, and that after him, the Kings of the Race of *Fergus* Reign'd in *Brun Albin*, or *Brunhere*, unto *Alpinus* the Son of *Eochal*.

So that according to this Author, the Ancient *Scotish* Kingdom of *Albany*, reach'd from the farthest ridge of Mountains, called *Braid-Albain*, all along those Countries of *Argile* and *Leghquhater*, &c. now called the *Western Highlands*: And from whence the Genuine *Scots* still call all *Scotland* *Albin*; p rhaps from the Ancient Name of *Albin*, once given to the w. ole Island.

But

But to return to our History, from whence we have made too long a digression; it must be confessed that the History of this Island is very obscure and uncertain, (especially in point of time when things were done) from the Death of *Maximus*, to the coming in of the *Saxons*; for *Gildas* and *Nennius* either being wholly ignorant of the Emperours that Rul'd here, from that time to the Reign of *Vortigern*, suppose the *Britains* to have from that very time cast off all Subjection to the *Roman* Empire, which is not so, as hath been already shewn, and shall be made clearer by and by.

For *Bede* is more exact, and takes notice of some of those Princes that Reign'd in *Britain*, from the Death of *Maximus* to the coming in of the *Saxons*, which *Gildas* and *Nennius* had omitted.

Lib. I. c. 2.

But thus much is agreed on by *Gildas*, *Nennius*, and *Bede*, that *Britain* owed its first Ruine to *Maximus* his carrying over so great a number of *Britains* and *Romans* into *Gaul*; from which time *Britain* being bereft of all its Military Forces and choicest Youth who followed that Tyrant, and never returned again, being either slain, or else planting themselves in *Armorica*; so that (as *Gildas* saith) the Island was thenceforth left to such cruel Rulers as stayed behind, who being unexperienced in Warlike Affairs, were still tormented by two transmarine Nations, the *Scots* from the Northwest, and the *Picts* from the North. But *Bede* expressly tells us, that he calls those, *Transmarine Nations*, not because they then dwelt out of *Britain*, but because they were divided from its Southern Parts by two Streights or Bays of the Sea; whereof one from the West, and the other from the East, doth separate the Regions of *Britain*, so that they do not joyn to each other; these are the two Streights which were then called *Glotta* and *Bodotria*, (now the *Firths* of *Edinburgh* and *Dunbritton*;) from which Passage of *Bede* it is evident, that he supposed the *Scots* to be at this time settled in this Island: Whereupon the *British* Nation being unable any longer to bear the continual Incursions of the *Scots* and *Picts*, sent Ambassadors to *Rome* with lamentable Letters, desiring some Military Forces to be again sent to defend them; which if it were performed, and the Enemy once repulsed, they vowed perpetual Subjection to the *Roman* Empire; whereupon *Stilico* being at that time Tutor to the Emperour *Honorius*, immediately dispatched to their Assistance a Legion sufficiently furnished with Arms, and all Things necessary, which arriving in this Island, and fighting with its Enemies, killed a great many of them, and drove the rest out of the *British* Borders, and so delivered the Inhabitants both from Spoil, and inevitable Captivity.

Anno Dom.
CCCCIII.

Lib. I. c. 12.

Id. Ibid.

Anno Dom.
CCCXCV.

This Action, tho confounded by *Gildas* with the second Succours that were sent in the time of the Emperour *Honorius*, seems most likely to be sent by *Stilico* in his first Consulship, as hath been already said. The *Britains* being thus relieved, the *Roman* General, whose Name is not told us, tho *Camden* supposes him to be called *Victorinus*, commanded them to build a Wall cross the Island between the two Seas, which might be a Terror to the Enemies, and a Defence to the Natives; but the *Britains* not building it with Stones, but Turfs, as not having Artificers sufficient for so great a Work, it served to no purpose, tho they drew it between the two Streights or Bays already mentioned for many thousand Paces; and where the Defence of Water was wanting, there they defended their Borders from the Irruption of the Enemy with a Trench; of which Work, *Bede* relates there remained most evident To-

In Dr Stillingfleet's Antiquities of the British Churches, chap 5.

Bede, l. I. c. 12.

Anno Dom. CCCXCV. kens in his time: "For (says he) it begins near the space of two Miles from the Monastery of *Abercorne* towards the East, in a place which "is called in the *Picts* Tongue *Penwahel*, in the English *Penwellum*, and "which running towards the West, ends near the City of *Aldcluth*: So far *Bede*. This I have set down to shew, that as yet the old Bounds were continued between the *Picts* and the *Britains*.

Anno Dom. CCCXCVI. But this Legion returning home with great Joy and Triumph, the same Enemies, as soon as they saw the *Roman* Souldiers, departed, passing over in their small Vessels or Curroughs, entering the Borders, destroyed all before them.

11. *Ibid.*

How long they continued so to do, is hard to determine; but this is certain, that fresh Ambassadors were thereupon again dispatched to *Rome*, imploring new Aids; and that they would not suffer this miserable Country to be destroyed, nor a *Roman* Province, which had been long so famous, to be over-run by barbarous and foreign Nations; whereupon another Legion was again sent over, which coming unlook'd-for in the time of Autumn, made great slaughter of the Enemies, and drove out all those who escaped beyond the *Friths* above-mentioned, over which they were wont to carry their Prey without any resistance. But the *Romans* being now resolved to return home, plainly told the *Britains*, That they would not be any more wearied out in such laborious Expeditions for their Defence, admonishing them to take Arms, and to undergo themselves the Toil of encountering their Enemies; nor should the *Roman* Ensigns march so far by Sea and Land to curb a few unwarlike wandering Robbers, but that for the future they should defend themselves by fighting manfully for their Country, in defending their Wives and Children, and, which is more, their own Lives and Liberties; and that they might do what good they could to these Confederates, whom they were now forced to desert, they made them build a Wall of Stone from Sea to Sea, with *Towers*, near the Shore, to hinder the landing of the Enemy; and having exercised them in Arms, then took their Leave of them, telling them, They must expect their return no more. This is the substance of *Gildas* his Relation, with whom *Bede* also agrees; yet adds, that the *Romans* at their departure did not only give this sluggish People fresh Encouragements by Words, but also left them Patterns of the Arms and Weapons they would have them make; and then gives a more particular description of this last Wall, and saith, That it was 8 Foot in breadth and 12 in height, and that it stood where the Wall of *Severus* was before, being made all of Stone, and not of Turf, as that unserviceable Wall was, which the *Britains* had before, without any Skill, built by themselves, betwixt the two *Friths*, *Glotta* and *Bodotria*.

1. b. 1. c. 12.

But before I quit this Subject, I cannot but take notice of the great mistake of the *Scotish* Historian *Buchanan*, who persisting in his former Error, will needs have this last Wall to be built in *Scotland*, in the same place where he (tho' falsely) supposes *Severus's* Wall to have been, and where *Bede* makes the Turf Wall already mentioned to have been built: But Arch-Bishop *Usher* plainly proves in his above-cited Work from the Authority of ancient Authors, that *Severus's* Wall was built in the same place where *Adrian's* was before, viz. between the Rivers *Tine* and *Esk*: So that if as *Bede* saith this last Wall was built in the same place where the Wall of *Severus* stood, it must also have been between those two last menti-

Brit. Eccl. h.
Antiq. c. 15.

on'd Rivers, and not between the two *Friths*, (as *Buchanan* would have it;) who, if he had but carefully perused *Bede*, would have found, that he sufficiently distinguishes between the place where this last Wall was feared, and that of the former, which he supposes to have begun near *Abercorne*, and reached to *Alclud*, (now called *Dunbritton*;) for in several other places of his History he plainly shews, that by the Wall of *Severus*, he meant that which is now called the *Picts Wall*, which began from the River *Tyne*; but since the Passages in which he shews this to have been his meaning, are too long here to be set down, I have put them in the Margin, for which the Reader may consult the Author if he pleases. So that *Bede* is only mistaken in this, that being deceived with the equivocal use of the words *Murus* and *Vallum*, which, as Arch-Bishop *Usher* very well proves, were used promiscuously in *Roman* Authors either for a Trench or a Wall, when he supposes that of *Severus* to have been no more than a Vallum or Trench cast up of Earth and Turfs; whereas it was indeed a Wall of solid Stone, (as hath been already shewn;) nor does the Arch-Bishop think this Author less mistaken, in supposing the first Wall of Turfs to have been in *Scotland*, but this last of Stone to have been in *England*; whereas it was not at all likely, (as the Arch-Bishop very well observes,) that the *Britains* should have retreated above 100 Miles backward, and have quitted so great an extent of Ground as lies between the two Walls, if it could have been as easily maintained and fortified as the other, much more when it was so much easier to be done, the space between the two Rivers *Tine* and *Esk* being above thrice as large as that between the two *Friths* above-mentioned, had they not found that they could not keep those Countries; and therefore were resolved to give those Nations that invaded them as much Elbow room as possible, so that they might have no occasion to invade their Territories.

Anno Dom. CCCXCVI.

† *Ar. Bed. Hist.*
1. 3. c. 2.
Ibid. c. 21, 22.

But to return to our History, from which I hope we have not made too long a Digression, since it hath served not only to confute a Mistake in so celebrated an Historian as *Buchanan*, but also to settle so considerable a Point in Antiquity. I suppose it was to this second departure of the *Roman* Legions, that *Claudian* designed these Verses in his Poem *De Bello Getico*, when describing the Forces which were mustered together for that VVar, to the General Rendezvous he also mentions who came from this Island.

Venit & extremis Legio pratenta Britannis
Que Scoto dat frena truci, ferroque notatis.
Perlegit exangues Picto moriente figuras.

Hither the Legion too from *Britain* came,
VVhich curbs the *Scots*, and does fierce Nations tame:
VVho whilst the painted *Picts* expiring lie,
Surveys those bloodless Figures as they die.

But before I dismiss the History of these Affairs, give me leave to take notice of a great Error in *Heclor Boetius* and *Buchanan* as concerning this last VVar between the *Romans* and the *Britains*, where, in the Year of our Lord 403, he does not only make one *Maximinian* to have then commanded the *Roman* Legion last mentioned, but also to have fought

against

Anno Dom. against *Fergus* King of the *Scots*, and *Durftus* King of the *Picts*, together with one *Dionethius* a *Britain*, whom, against all Reason and Probability, he makes to have brought them Aids against his own Countrymen, and a Fight ensuing, that the *Scots* were repelled; and yet that this *Maximinian* having but few Souldiers then in his Army, was forced to retreat into the inland parts of his Province, whilst *Dionethius* made himself King of the *Britains*, (without any Subjects to make him so;) but that *Maximinian* being vexed at this Disgrace, reinforcing his Troops with fresh Supplies, marched against the *Scots* and *Picts*; where a great Battel ensuing, *Fergus* and *Durftus* were slain, but King *Dionethius* (whom I suppose to be the same with *Geoffery's* *Dionatus* Duke of *Cornwal*, already mentioned,) was carried off much wounded. But of this King, neither *Gildas*, *Nennius*, nor *Bede*, no nor so much as *Geoffery*, says any thing; and therefore not being to be found in any Historian before *Heftor*, all this Tale concerning this imaginary King, is to be looked upon as a pure Invention of his own.

But this is certain, that the *Britains* being thus deserted by the *Romans* for 19 Years after the Death of *Maximus*, (as *Zosimus* relates, viz. about the Year 400, or 407,) the *British* Army all in a mutiny Elected one *Marcus* to be their Emperour, a Man of great Power in this Island, (and perhaps Lieutenant here) whom, not answering their Expectations, they soon took off and then set up one *Gratianus*, making him put on the Imperial Purple, who seems to be a Native of *Britain*, for so much *Orosius* his words imply, when he calls him *Municeps ejusdem Insule*; but he not pleasing them, after 4 Months Reign, they deprived him both of his Life and Empire. * Of him, *Nennius* saith nothing, but mentions one *Severus*, between *Maximus* and *Constantius*, whom others omit; but † *Geoffery* of *Monmouth* makes this *Gratian* to have assumed the Royal Authority as soon as he heard of the Death of *Maximus*, and that he was so Cruel and Tyrannical, that the common People rose up and killed him; and that after his Death, the *Britains* sent to *Rome* to beg Help against the *Picts* and *Scots*. But *Zosimus* and *Orosius* both relate, That after the Death of this *Gratian*, the *Roman* *Britains* set up one *Constantine* an ordinary Souldier, (chiefly for the good Omen of his Name,) yet *Procopius* differs somewhat from the former Authors, and calls this *Constantine* no obscure Man, but whether he meant for Valour or Nobility, I will not determine; but however he being by them declared Emperour, gathered what Forces together he could, (being the remainder of those that had been carried away before by *Maximus*;) and putting to Sea from *Britain*, landed at *Boloigne*, and by the Terrour of his Name, and the Numbers of his Followers, easily brought over to his Party all the *Roman* Forces on this side the *Alps*: *Valentia* in *France* he manfully defended against the Puissance of *Honorius*; the *Rhine*, which long time before had been neglected, he fortified with Garisons; and even upon the very *Alps*, and towards the Sea-Coasts, wherever the Passages lay open, he built Forts and Castles; whilst in *Spain*, under the Conduct of his Son *Constans*, (whom of a Monk he had made *Cesar*) he waged War with the like good Fortune.

And now grown Insolent by this constant Current of Success, not content that *Honorius* had admitted him his Partner in the Empire, and upon an Embassy sent to him on purpose accepted his Excuse, That the Souldiers had advanced him to the Throne against his Will; in hostile manner he passed the *Alps*, intending to march directly against *Rome*, but on the

* Hist. l. 7.
c. 40.

† Nen. c. 24.
† Galf. l. 2.
c. 4.

Anno Dom.
CCCCVII.

Geop. in Brit.
Brit.

the sudden he returned to *Arles*, where he settled his Imperial Seat, and commanded that City to be called *Constantia* after his own Name.

Whilst with the like Success his Son *Constans*, by the Conduct of *Gerontius* his General, he brought all *Spain* under his Obedience.

But when *Constans* upon some Suspitions turned *Gerontius* out of his Command, (for the Cause is not expressed,) the Affairs both of the Father and Son presently declined; for as he returned from *Constantine* out of *Gaul* into *Spain*, by the way he received the unwelcome News of *Gerontius's* having revolted from his Obedience, and set up one *Maximus*, one of his own Creatures, for Emperour, and that having raised a powerful Army, consisting of divers barbarous Nations, that he was upon his march against him. *Constans* alarmed with these Tydings, immediately dispatched away one *Eddobeccus* unto the *Germans*, whilst himself attended with *Decimius Rusticus* (who of the Master of his Offices was advanced to be *Prefect*;) and accompanied with an Army of *Franks*, *Almans*, and other Nations, passed into *Gaul*, intending with all speed to return again to his Father; but being intercepted by *Gerontius*, and by him besieged in *Vienna*, (in *Dauphine*;) the City being taken, he was there slain. Then *Gerontius* marching to meet *Constantine*, found him at *Arles*, against which City he laid close Siege, but was hindered from taking it by the sudden coming of *Constantius Comes*, whom the Emperour *Honorius* had newly made his General; at whose arrival with an Army out of *Italy*, *Gerontius*, being deserted by his own Souldiers, retired into *Spain*, where growing also into Contempt and Hatred with those few that remained, his House in the Night being beset by them, he with his own Servants manfully defended himself, and slew above 300 of them; and when his Darts and other Weapons were spent, tho he might have escaped at a back Door as his Servants had done, yet out of kindness to his Friend *Allan*, and his Wife *Nunnichia*, he refused it: and having first cut off the Head of his Friend, (as was agreed between them,) he then slew his Wife, (tho with great Reluctancy,) being prevailed upon by her Importunity so to do, refusing to our live her Husband, and desiring to be freed from the Violence of the enraged Multitude; for which her Resolution, *Sozomen* the Ecclesiastical Historian gives her great Commendations: This done, *Gerontius* turned his Sword against himself, but failing in his Design, he finished it with his Dagger. This Man being supposed to be a *Britain*, I have been the more particular in his History; and *Humphrey Lloyd*, in his Discourse concerning *Britain*, makes him to have been so famous here, as to be celebrated by the *British* Bards, whose Verses upon his Death he there gives you.

But in the mean while, *Constantine* now streighten'd on all sides, and discouraged with the ill Success of *Eddobeccus*, (who was slain but a little before,) after having been besieged 4 Months with his other Son *Julian* in the City of *Arles*, there flings off his Purple Robes and entered into Priests Order, hoping under that Protection to secure his Life, and so not long after surrendered the Town. But his new Habit proved no Sanctuary to him, for he was carried into *Italy*, and there beheaded by the Emperour's Order, together with his Son *Julian*, and Brother named *Sebastian*. Whilst these Things were acting, the *Scots*, *Picts*, and *Vandals*, taking advantage of the Negligence of *Constantine*, (who whilst he stayed at *Arles*, and minded his Pleasures more than publick Affairs) invaded his Territories, the latter breaking into *Gaul*, and then invading *Britain*.

Anno Dom.
CCCCVII.

Zosim. l. 9.
c. 13.

Anno Dom. Britain; but the *Britains* now destitute of the *Roman Aids*, and kept under by them who had not Power to protect them, (as *Zosimus* relates,) as well the *Gauls* as *Britains*, forthwith took Arms, and resolving to stand on their own Defence, renounced all further Obedience to the *Roman Empire*, which they believed they might justifie, being then left without its Protection. Being thus harrassed by their wonted Enemies, having before sent Messages to *Honorius* for Relief, but all to no purpose, for he at that time not being able to defend *Rome* it self, (which the same Year was taken by *Alaric King of the Goths*;) the Emperour permitted them by his Letters to provide for their own safety, acquitting them of the *Roman Jurisdiction*. They therefore being thus deserted, the Government of course devolved to the People, who thenceforth betook themselves to live after their own Laws, and to defend their Country as well as they were able.

But since the Chronology of these Times we are now Treating of is very perplexed and obscure, by reason of the great scarcity of good Authors; and since some Writers place the *Britains* casting off their Subjection to the *Roman Empire* immediately after the Death of this *Constantine* above-mentioned, and others defer it 20 Years later, give me leave here to subjoin what the Learned *Dr. Stillingfleet* hath said in his above-cited Treatise concerning the time when this great Change happened in this Island, for it hath been already proved; for though all Authors agree, that the *Britains* petitioned the Emperour *Honorius* for the first Supplies against the *Picts* and *Scots* that then invaded them, yet they differ about the time: I shall therefore first take notice what *Bede* saith concerning this matter, who makes *Gratianus Municeps* to be set up two Years before the sacking of *Rome* by *Alaric*, which happened *Anno Dom. 410*; and he also therein follows *Orosius's* Relation concerning *Constantine*, and his Son *Constans*, without ever mentioning their continuing to Govern here, and much less losing their Lives in *Britain*, (as *Nennius* falsely supposes;) but then he applies that Passage in *Gildas* concerning that lamentable condition of the *Britains*, and there first demanding Help from the *Romans* to the Times immediately following the Death of *Constantine*; whereas *Gildas* indeed mentions it as happening upon the Usurpation of *Maximus*, and his withdrawing the Forces from hence; and that therefore this first Invasion of the *Picts* and *Scots* was between the Death of *Maximus*, and the setting up of *Gratianus Municeps*, when the *Britains* so earnestly suing for Assistance, had a *Roman Governour* and a Legion sent to their Relief. And *Mr. Camden*, in his Introduction to his *Britannia*, supposes, that *Claudius Rutilius* mentions *Vitorinus* as a *Roman Governour* here about that time; but this is very uncertain, when he there only speaks of the taking *Tholouse* by the *Goths*, which was done by *Ataulphus* some time after the Death of *Alaric*, and therefore could not be before the time of *Gratian* and *Constantine*.

Now that the first Supplies that were sent over into *Britain* were all of them sent before the Death of *Stilico*, the said Learned *Dr. Stillingfleet* in his above-cited Treatise goes on to prove in the same place: "It is evident (says he) from many Passages in *† Claudian*, that *Stilico* took particular care of sending Supplies to the *Britains* against the *Scots* and *Picts*, but *Stilico* was killed by the Army when *Bassus* and *Philipinus* were Consuls, *Anno Dom. 408*, before the first Siege of *Rome* by the *Goths*, and therefore the *Roman Forces* sent by him must be before the Usur-

Vid. Dr. Stillingfleet's Annals of the Brit. Chronicle, c. 5. p. 295.

De laud. Stilic. l. 2. c. 25.

"Usurpation of *Gratianus* and *Constantine*; *Stilico* being killed the same *Anno Dom. Year*, that these Usurpers were set up in *Britain*, it is not possible he should do it after their Death; and it seems not probable, that any Supplies should be sent through *Gaul*, while *Constantine* remained Master there; the Army in *Gaul* then taking part with him against *Honorius*; and withal *Gildas* saith, That the *Roman Legion* having driven out the *Picts* and *Scots*, returned in Triumph. And so much is confessed by *Bede*: But at what time can we suppose that to have happen'd? Is it likely that after the Usurpation of *Constantine*, a *Roman Legion* should return in so much Triumph? For immediately after *Constantine's* Usurpation, the *Roman Empire* began extremely to decline in those parts, through which they were to pass; *Gaul* being upon Composition * not long after delivered up to the *Goths* by *Honorius*, and besides, the *Franks* and *Burgundians* making continual incursions there: I conclude it therefore most probable, that the first supplies sent to the *Britains*, were not after *Constantine's* Usurpation, but between the Death of *Maximus*, and the setting up of *Gratianus Municeps*.

Now let us see if we can hence discover when the second Assistance was sent to the *Britains*, for which we must own our selves beholding to the aforesaid learned Doctor in the same place, where he thus makes it out.

The Second time, the distressed *Britains* were forced to sollicite the *Romans* for supplies, is placed by Arch-bishop *Usher*, *Anno Dom. 426*; when *Gallio* of *Ravenna* was sent hither, (as he supposes;) because the next Year *Prosper* saith, that *Gallio* was sent against *Bonifacius* in *Africa*; but then the Arch-bishop makes the first supplies to have been sent in the latter end of *Honorius's* Reign, for which the Doctor says, he can see no reason; for the Lord Primate grants that immediately after the Death of *Maximus*, the *Scots* and *Picts* did waste *Britain*, and that then *Stilico* did send assistance to them. Why then should the first wasting of the Island, mentioned by *Gildas*, and the Legion sent thereupon, be that in the latter end of *Honorius's* Reign, and not rather in the beginning? since the latter was very perplexed and troublesome, the *Alani*, *Swevi*, and *Vandali*, having possessed themselves of great part of *Spain*, whilst the *Franks*, *Burgundians* and *Goths* had all *Gaul*; so that *Honorius*, the Year before his Death, was forced to send his Forces under *Castinus* into *Spain*, against the *Vandals*, as *Prosper* in his Chronicle affirms: And that also prov'd the occasion of new Troubles in *Africa*, by the difference between *Castinus* and *Bonifacius*, who for his own security sent over the *Vandals* thither. Is it not therefore most probable, that the first Supplies of the *Britains* should be sent in the latter end of *Honorius's* Reign, especially since the learned Primate confesseth, that *Honorius* did not in his time recover the Province of *Britain*: and he proves it against *Sabellicus*, from *Procopius's* Authority, a much more ancient Authour, besides that of *Bede*; so that the single testimony of *Sigebert*, that *Honorius* sent assistance to the *Britains* at the same time that he did to the *Spaniards*, (when *Prosper*, *Idatius*, and *Cassiodore*, who all mention the latter, say not one word of the former) cannot bear down the more weighty Reasons on the other side.

But it is certain that in this interval between the sending of the two supplies, the *Roman Affairs* became so desperate, That the *Saxon Annals*, as well as *Eitelward* in his Chronicle, relates, that now the *Romans* hid their Treasures in the Earth, or else carried them away with them into *Gaul*; so that

* Jernand. 30.
Paul. dia. l. 14.
Sigebr. Chron.
Anno Dom. 412.

Ant. Brit. cap. 11. P. 318.

Anno Dom. CCCXVIII.

Anno Dom. it seems most likely during all the rest of the Reign of the Emperour *CCCCXVIII. Honorius*, the *Britains* did no more return to his Obedience; tho' notwithstanding, they did again endeavour to put themselves under the protection of the *Roman Empire*, in the time of his Successour *Valentinian III.* as the learned Dr. above cited makes it more than probable in the same place, from divers other Circumstances too long to be here particularly set down.

So that the second supplies which were sent upon the mighty opportunity of the *Britains*, were in all probability in the beginning of the Reign of *Valentinian III.* after that *Aetius* had somewhat recovered the credit of the *Roman Empire* in *Gaul*; for after his success there, both against the *Goths* and *Franks*, he had liberty enough to send over a Legion to the assistance of the *Britains*, who were again miserably harassed by the *Scots* and *Picts*: And at this time it was that *Gildas* faith, the *Romans* upon the sad representations of the *British* Ambassadors, sent them speedy supplies. So far we have been beholding to the learned Dr. *Stillingsfleet*, now Lord Bishop of *Worcester*; but if I may interpose my own Opinion, I should assign the sending of these last supplies by the *Romans*, to have been in the Year of our Lord 435; when *Aetius* had good success against the *Burgundians* in *Gaul*: To which Year also the *Saxon Annals* refer the ceasing of the *Roman Empire* in *Britain*; only the Compiler was mistaken in two things, the first in making *Rome* to have been taken this Year by the *Goths*; the other in supposing the time of the *Romans* ruling here, to be but 470 Years; whereas indeed it was 488 Years, as I shall presently make out.

Anno Dom. So that from this last departure of the *Roman Legion*, (which no doubt was done by the Emperour's express Order,) I think, I may very well date the total dereliction of *Britain* by the *Romans*; who now by refusing them their protection, left them by the Laws of Nature to provide for, and defend themselves. And from hence I may also date the final period of the *Roman Empire* in this Island; which had now lasted from *Julius Caesar's* second landing in *Britain*, in the 53d Year before Christ, to this Year (being the 535th Year after Christ) the space of 488 Years; but if you account from the more absolute Conquest of it by *Claudius*, in the Forty Fourth Year after Christ, it continued but 391 Years.

But that the *Britains* were at last very unwillingly cut off from being any longer a part of the *Roman Empire*, appears by the last message they sent to *Aetius*, again imploring assistance; which the Emperour not being able to grant, they had no other way left, but to provide for themselves as well as they could; which since it happened after the time that I suppose the *Roman* power to have ceased in this Island, I shall refer the further Relation of it to the next Book.

But before I conclude this, I shall give you a short account of Ecclesiastical Affairs in this Island, in these Two last Centuries; where, after the last Persecution under *Dioclesian*, *Bede* tells us, the *British* Church enjoyed a perfect Peace, till the *Arrian* Heresie over-ran the whole World, and at last infected this Island, though divided from the rest of it; but though neither *Gildas* nor *Bede* hath set down the Year when this Heresie first began to spread it self here, yet he seems to refer it to the Reign of *Constantius*, when this Pestilent Opinion carried the face of Authority, as having been confirmed in several pretended Councils.

But

But in the beginning of this Century, though the Year be uncertain, yet between the Years 402, and 406, *Pelagius* a *British* Monk (whose Welsh Name is supposed to have been *Morgan*; as being of the same signification with the Latin Name of *Pelagius*;) broached his Heresie, for absolute Free will; without the assisting Grace of God; which Opinion was afterwards condemned by divers Councils in *France* and *Africa*, and was also confuted by St. *Augustine*: About which times also flourished *Festinus*, a learned Bishop (if not an Arch-bishop) of *Britain*, who writ a Pious Treatise, *De Vita Beata*, and who by some late *Romish* Writers hath been accused of *Pelagianism*, from which imputation, he is justly vindicated by the said Reverend Dr. *Stillingsfleet*, in his above cited work.

Nor did this Island remain long free from this *Pelagian* Heresie; for he having (as it is supposed) perverted divers of his Country-men abroad, they afterward returning home, brought it over and dispersed it here, and was especially propagated by one *Agricola*, the Son of *Severian* a *Pelagian* Bishop, (as *Bede* informs us) who farther says, that the *Britains* when they would by no means receive so perverse a Doctrine, that blasphemes the grace of Christ, nor yet were able by disputing to refute so settled an Error, they took a safer course, to send for aid in this spiritual warfare, from the Bishops of *France*; for which cause a great Synod being there assembled, it was proposed, who was most fitting to be sent to succour the true Belief then assaulted; when by the common votes of them all, *Germanus* Bishop of *Auxerre*, and *Lupus* Bishop of *Troyes*, were chosen to go and confirm *Britain* in the Catholick Faith; who, when they had received the command of that Church, passed the Sea, and landed here; though not without great danger from Storms, which *Bede* supposes to be raised by the Devil, and which, he also says, were to be lay'd by the Prayers of Bishop *German*; as soon as they landed, they were joyfully received both by the Clergy and People, to whom they forthwith preached not only in the Churches, but also in the High-ways and Streets, whereby the Faithful Christians were confirmed, and many Hereticks brought back to the Truth; at which the Heads of the Heretical party being very much concern'd, though they lay for a great while private, yet at last, fearing their silence would be interpreted as a quitting of their cause; a publick disputation was agreed upon between them, which was (as some of our Authours relate) at *Vernulam*, where the Hereticks appeared in a splendid garb, and encompassed with a great number of Followers; so that there met a great multitude of People on both sides, to be as well Spectators as Judges; where in the first place *Germanus* and *Lupus* allowed their Adversaries a full liberty of disputing, which took up much time to little purpose; then the Bishops with a Torrent of proofs drawn from the Holy Scriptures, bore down all before them, backing their Reasons with Divine Authorities; whereby the *Pelagians* being non-plus'd, had nothing to reply; so that the People (being the Judges) could scarce refrain their Hands from them, and testified their resentment by their great clamour against them.

Nor did these Bishops think this enough; but, as *Bede* further relates from one *Constantius* (who lived within Fifty Years after this was done) they thought fit likewise to confirm their Doctrine by Miracles; for a certain Magistrate bringing his Daughter of Ten Years Old, being Blind, offer'd her to the *Pelagians* to be cured, who refusing to undertake it, the

P 2

Bishops

Anno Dom. *CCCCXXXV.*
Vide Arch-
bishop Uthens
Antiquit. Brit.
Eccles. cap. 8.

Lib. 1. cap. 17

* Ann 329,
according to
Arch-bishop
Uthens account
vid. Brit. Ecc.
Antiq. cap. 11.

Constant. lib. 7.
ch. 15.

Anno Dom.
CCCCXXXV.

Bishops were desired to do it; who, (as this Authour relates) after Prayers to God restored the Girl to fight, by the Application of certain Saints Relicks to her Eyes; whereupon the People were so astonished, that banishing all Errour from their Minds, they followed the Doctrine of these Holy Bishops; who it seems, were not however very fond of these Relicks, but (as the same Authors have it) opening the Tomb of St. *Alban* at *Verulam*, buried them all therein, to the intent that one Grave might contain the Bones of all those Saints, collected from so many several Regions, who being equal in merit, the same Heaven had also received; this done, *Germanus* only took away in exchange a small lump of Earth, which was yet stained with the Blood of the Martyr.

I shall pass over the rest of the real or pretended Miracles of these Bishops, though related by *Bede*, as being of less moment, and come to that famous Victory, which he from the same Authours relates, to have been obtained by their means, which was thus; That not long after their coming, the *Picts* and *Saxons* made a fierce Invasion upon the *Britains*, who marching out against them, and mistrusting their own Forces, sent to *Germanus* and his Colleague to help them, reposing more confidence in the Spiritual strength of those Two Holy Men, than in their own Thousands; so these Bishops being arrived, their presence in the *British* Camp seem'd not less than if a whole Army had come to second them: It was then the time of *Lent*, and the People instructed by the daily Sermons of these Pastors, came flocking to receive Baptism, to which purpose a place in the Camp was made up of Green Boughs like a Church, against the Day of the *Lords* Resurrection; the Army being there Baptized march'd out to Fight, and condemning the Defence of Arms, only expected Divine assistance; the Enemy hearing how they were employ'd, seem'd assured of the Victory; when *Germanus*, who also had intelligence of their approach, undertook to be their Captain, and riding out with some select Troops, to discover what advantages the place might offer, happen'd on a Valley encompassed with Hills, through which the Enemy was to pass, and placing there an ambush, warned them, that what words they heard him pronounce aloud, the same they should all repeat with an universal shout: the Enemy march'd on securely, and *German* thrice aloud cryed *Hallelujah*, which being answered by the Souldiers, with a sudden noise and clamour, was also much encreased by the Echoes from the Neighbouring Hills and Woods; the *Scots* and *Picts* startled hereat, and supposing it the shout of a Mighty Army, flung down their Arms and fled, and for hast many of them were drowned in that River they had newly passed. The Victory thus obtained without fighting, yielded the *Britains* great store of spoil, and procured to Bishop *German* greater Authority and Reputation than before: The place of this Fight is reported to have been near a Town called *Guiderac* in the *British* Tongue, but in the *English* Mould in *Flintshire*, and the place is called *Maes German*, that is *German's Field* to this Day: But there are two Objections to be made against the Truth of this Relation. The first is, how the *Britains* could fight against the *Saxons*, before their arrival here under *Aengist*, which was not till above Twenty Years after: Secondly, how the *Britains*, who had been Christians for above Three Hundred Years, should need to be new Baptized. To the former of these Objections, Arch-bishop *Usher* in his *Ant. Brit. Ecclesie*, gives us a satisfactory answer, viz. That before the

coming

coming in of the *Saxons* to settle here; it appears, that they made several Incurfions by Sea, as hath been already proved from divers Authorities; and further *Palladius* *Diaconus* in the Relation of this story expressly says, That whilst these Bishops were here, a strong Army of *Scots* and *Picts* Invaded *Britain*.

But as for the rest of the Miracles and Actions of *Germanus* and *Lupus* in *Britain*, since they are only related by *Nennius*, and some of our *English* Monks from certain Legends of little or no Credit, as written long after those Times, I shall wholly omit them; only could wish that the Writers of this Story, would have given us as exact a Relation of Civil Affairs in this Island, as they do of those concerning the Religion of this Age, that we might have known what Kings or Governours the *Britains* had, from the time of the last departure of the *Romans*, to the making of *Vortigern* King; the want of which no doubt was a great encouragement to *Geoffrey* of *Montmouth* to forge so many Fictitious Princes, during this interval.

But for the other Objection, it is, I confess; somewhat harder to be answer'd; some Modern Writers suppose, that in that sad Confusion and Corruption of Manners, that happen'd after the departure of the *Romans*, a great many of the *Britains* turned Idolaters, or else (which is most likely) were Christians but in Name, and so had never been Baptized at all till now.

I shall now conclude with the rest of the Ecclesiastical History of these Times: This Year as our *Saxon* Annals (from *Prosper's* Chronicle) relate, *Palladius* the Bishop was sent by Pope *Caelestin* to the *Scots*, to confirm their Faith, or as *Bede* in his Epitome, *Lib. 1. cap.* as well as in his Epitome at the end (under the Year CCCCXXX.) expresses it almost in the words of *Prosper*, viz. *Palladius* was sent the first Bishop by the said Pope, to the *Scots* believing in *Christ*, but in one of the * Copies of the *Saxon* Annals (now in the *Cottonian* Library) it is thus: *This Year* *Palladius* was sent by Pope *Caelestin* to Preach Baptism (i. e. Christianity) to the *Scots*, in which it agrees with *Nennius*, who speaking of this matter, says, "That this Bishop was first of all sent by the said Pope to convert the *Scots* to *Christ*: But being hinder'd from God by certain Tempests, departed from *Ireland*, and arrived in *Britain*, and there died in the Country of the *Picts*; in which he is also followed by *Probus* and *Joseline*, in their Lives of *S. Patrick*; who, tho' they agree, that *Palladius* was sent to Convert *Ireland*, yet differ from him in the account how he came to fail in his design, laying the fault upon the obstinacy of the *Irish*, who would not receive his Doctrine; but they both agree with *Nennius*, that thereupon he left *Ireland*, and dy'd in the confines of the *Picts*.

This difference in these Copies hath bred a great dispute between the *English* Antiquaries on the one side, and the *Scottish* Historians and Antiquaries on the other; the former supposing from the Authority of *Nennius*, and the above cited Copy of the *Saxon* Chronicle, besides that of the *Irish* Annals, that the *Scots* were not converted to Christianity, till the Year above mention'd, and consequently were not made Christians so early as their Historians relate; which Opinion hath been strenuously asserted by Arch-bishop *Usher*, in his *Britan. Eccles. Antiquitat.* as also by the Bishop of *St. Asaph* (now Bishop of *Litchfield*) in his Historical account of Church Government, and been also further improved by the learned

Dr.

Anno Dom.
CCCCXXXV.

vide the various
Lectures in
the margin of
the Oxford Edition
of these
Annals.
Cap. 54.

Cap. 15. p. 41.

Anno Dom. CCCXXX. Dr. *Stillingfleet* (now Bishop of *Worcester*) in his *Antiquity of the British Churches*, who all conclude, that the *Scots* were converted to Christianity long before their planting in *Britain*, which they suppose not to have happen'd till about the end of the Fifth, or the beginning of the Sixth Century.

Against which Opinions, though asserted by so many learned Men, Sir *George Mackenzie* (late Lord Advocate of *Scotland*) hath Written two Treatises, which he calls a defence of the Royal-line of *Scotland*; in the former of which written against the said Bishop, as well as the latter against Dr. *Stillingfleet*, he alters the state of the Controversie from an Ecclesiastical to a Civil dispute; making it a crime of lèse Majesté so much as to question the reality of the Kings of *Scotland*, before *Fergus* the Second; but omitting the Proofs that he produces for the Antiquity of the *Scotish* Kings before that time, as also what he writes for the *Scots* Conversion, as performed in *Scotland*, and not in *Ireland*; being beyond the bounds of our History, I shall leave the Reader for his farther satisfaction to peruse those Treatises, if he think fit, being writ with great Wit and Smartness.

But since I found the time of *Palladius's* being sent by the Pope to the *Scots*, mentioned not only in *Bede*, but in our *Saxon Chronicles*, I could not well omit putting it down; yet without taking upon me positively to determine whither the *Scots* of *Scotland*, or those of *Ireland* are there meant; since I confess the Words are Ambiguous, and the Copies differ, as I have already shewed.

Anno Dom. CCCXXX. But the Year after *Palladius's* being sent to the *Scots* (whether in *Ireland* or *Scotland*) the *Saxon Annals* tell us, that *Patrick* was sent by the same Pope *Celestine*, to Preach Baptism (i. e. Christianity) to the *Scots*: Although I find in the Notes of — upon *Nennius*, p. 129; a Chronicle noting, Anno Dom. 475, *Venit S. Patricius ad Hiberniam*.

Now that these were the *Scots* of *Ireland*, is agreed on by all; yet this Controversie is made more intricate, by what *Ranul. Higden* writes in his *Polychron.* (l. 4. c. 33. *Celestinus Papa missit S. Patricium, ad Hiberniam Convertendam; & Palladium Romanum Diaconum, ad Scotos Convertendos, Anno Scil. Pontificatus sui IX.*

And also by what is found in a Manuscript Copy of *Dicetus* thus; *Celestinus Papa ad Scotos Palladium Primum mittit Episcopum; Postquam ad eodem; ab eodem Celestino, missus est S. Patricius filius Conches. Sororis S. Martini Turonensis.*

For which last Notes I must own my self obliged to the Learned Doctor *Gale*; but on the other side, if the *Scots*, to whom *Palladius* is said to have been sent, were not the same with those in *Ireland*, but the *Scots* then living in *Scotland*; it must then be confessed that the promiscuous use of the Name of *Scotia*, sometimes for *Ireland*, and sometimes for *Scotland*, and of *Scoti*, sometimes used by *Bede*, and other Writers of those times for *Irish* Men, and sometimes for Native *Scots*, have so confounded the Histories of both these Nations, that no Man without other Circumstances can tell when they mean the one, or the other.

But since the Ecclesiastical History of *Britain* in these Times is very obscure, and deficient, there being so little to be found concerning it, either

either in *Bede*, or any other Writer, and the Age also being become Anno Dom. very Corrupt and Ignorant, during the frequent Wars and Revolutions CCCXXX. that happen'd in this part of the Island; It is not to be expected that we should be able to set down the Names of any Bishops, or others, Remarkable in this last Age for Piety or Learning: So having given as good an Account as I am able, and as the broken History of those Times will allow, of the Rise and Fall of the *Roman Empire* in *Britain*, and the State of Affairs, as well Ecclesiastical as Civil, during the space of near 490 Years that the *Romans* had to do here; I shall in the next Book give you a Prospect of the lamentable State of this part of *Britain*, after the departure of the *Romans*, and that the *Britains* had set up Princes of their own Nation.

The End of the Second Book.

T H E

THE
General History
OF
BRITAIN,
NOW CALLED
ENGLAND:

As well Ecclesiastical, as Civil.

BOOK III.

*From its Desertion by the Romans, to the Preaching
of Christianity by AUGUSTINE the Monk,
being One hundred Sixty two Years.*

BEING now come to the Third Period of this First Volume, it is fit we say somewhat by way of Introduction before so great a Change as you will here find to have followed the Desertion of *Britain* by the *Romans*: For with the *Roman* Empire fell also what before were chiefly *Roman*, Learning, Valour, Eloquence and Civility, and consequently History too, which is but the Product of these; all which at first encreasing by means of the *Roman* Power and Encouragement, did also diminish and decline upon its Departure, till it was at last quite extinct by the coming in of the *Pagan Saxons*, and the long cruel Wars they made upon the *Britains*, as you may observe from the barbarous Latin of *Gildas* and *Nennius*, which are the only Authentick *British* Historians that are now extant.

As for the *English Saxons*, they were at first so illiterate, that it is much doubted, whether they had the use of Letters and Writing among them or not, since we have no Histories or *Annals* of their Times elder than their receiving Christianity; for tho' there are some few Stones to be found in *England* inscribed with the ancient *Runick* Characters, (as appears from the late *English* Edition of Mr. *Camden's Britannia*,) yet that

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they are wholly *Danish* Monuments, and made after the time of their Conversion, I need only refer you to the Inscriptions themselves as they are to be found in the said **Britannia*, with the Additions that follow it; so that it ought not to seem strange, that the *Saxon* Annals are so short and obscure in many places, and that the Relations of Things done before the entrance of Christianity among them are contradictory to each other in point of Time, and other Circumstances; since they were only delivered by Memory and Tradition, which must be acknowledged for a very uncertain Guide in Matters of Fact, as well as of Doctrine.

Nor is this Uncertainty to be found only in the *Saxon* Chronicles, but also in those of the *Britains* of that Age, since from the Reign of King *Vortigern* to that of *Cadwallader* is indeed the darkest and most confused part of all the *British* or *Welsh* History: Hence it is that we are forced in this Period, not only to make use of Authors who lived long after the Things they treat of were done, but also are otherwise of no great Credit; such as *Nennius*, and *Geoffrey* of *Monmouth*, whom we sometimes make use of for want of those of better Authority. As for the *English* *Saxon* History, we have nothing more ancient than *Bede*, and the *Saxon* Chronicle, which we shall here give you almost entire, since it seems to be writ faithfully as far as it goes, yet being only *Annals*, (extracted out of *Bede* as far as he goes,) they barely relate the Succession of their Kings with their chief Wars and Actions, without expressing the Grounds or Causes of either, or giving us any Account of their particular Laws, and original Constitutions; so that I confess, they cannot prove so instructive to Humane Life, as is required of a just History.

Anno Dom.
CCCCXXXV

Gildas, and
Bede, l. 1. c. 12.

Britain being thus deserted by the *Romans*, as you have seen in the last Book, with an intention to return no more; and having caused the *Britains* to rebuild the Wall in the manner already related, the *Scots* and *Picts*, tho' in Manners differing from each other, yet still unanimous to rob and spoil, hearing that the *Roman* Forces were withdrawn, landed in Shoals out of their Curroghs or Leathern Vessels, in which they passed over that part of the *Irish* Sea, which lying next *Britain*, is called by *Gildas*, *The Scythic Vale*; these (upon the Assurance that the *Romans* would never return) becoming more bold than ever, took possession of all the *Northern* Parts, even from the outmost Bounds of the Land as far as the Wall already mentioned; in the mean time, the Guards which were placed upon it to defend it being cowardly in Fight, and unable to fly, stood trembling on the Battlements, keeping their Stations day and night to little or no purpose, whilst the Enemy from below with long Hooks pluck'd them down, and dashed them against the Ground, thus preventing by a speedy Death those languishing Torments which attended their Countrymen and Relations. In short, both the Wall and the Towns adjoining to it being deserted, the Inhabitants saved themselves by flight, which yet could not long secure them, for the Enemy pursuing them, a fresh Slaughter quickly followed more bloody than the former; and, which was worse than all the rest, being tormented with Famine, to get Subsistence, they fell upon and robbed each other; for they who came from the North, (as may probably be supposed,) and had fled from the Enemy, being unable to pay for their Quarters when they came into the Southern Parts, seized what they could find; from whence rose Disorders and Quarrels among them, and thence Civil Wars; for this Na-

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tion, (as *Gildas* observes,) tho' feeble in repressing Foreign Enemies, yet in home-bred Quarrels was very bold and obstinate.

But whilst they thus for some Years wore themselves out with continual Acts of mutual Hostility, the Famine grew General upon all, so that those half-starved Men that remained were forced to maintain their Lives with what they could get by Hunting; so that at last the miserable Remnants of this afflicted People having now no other Remedy left, were constrained to write doleful Letters to **Actius*, then the Emperor's Lieutenant in *Gaul*, directed, *To Actius, thrice Consul, the Groans of the Britains*; wherein they thus complain: "The *Barbarians* drive us to the Sea, whilst the Sea driveth us back to the *Barbarians*; between these two sorts of Deaths, we must be either slain, or drown'd. What Answer they received is uncertain, but *Gildas* expressly tells us, That they received no Assistance by those Letters, because *Actius* then expected a War with *Attila* King of the *Huns*.

And indeed about these Times a terrible Famine invaded not only *Britain*, but extended it self as far as *Constantinople*, where the Famine, together with the corrupt Air, produced a great Pestilence; whilst this Scarcity prevailed in this Isle, it forced many of the *Britains* to yield themselves up to their Enemies, that they might get wherewith to sustain Nature, tho' others of them chose rather to fall out and resist them, from the Woods and Mountains to which they retreated; yet now it was, (as *Gildas* tells us) that not putting their Trust in Man, but in God alone, they first of all made some slaughter of their Enemies which had preyed upon their Country for so many Years; but tho' the Boldness of their Enemies was abated for a while, yet so was not the Wickedness of the *Britains*, "Who (as the same Author describes them) were very backward to perform the Duties proper to Peace, viz. Justice and Truth, but were prone to Lies, and all Wickedness; so that (says he) tho' these impudent Robbers (the *Irish*) went home, yet it was to return again within a short time whilst the *Picts* remained, being both then, and long afterwards, in the farther Parts of the Island, sometimes taking Prey, and making IncurSIONS; so that during the Truce, whilst this Wound was slightly skin'd over, another Malady more Contagious was breeding.

"For tho' during this short interval of Peace, there succeeded so great a Plenty of all sorts of Provisions that no Man's Memory could parallel, yet was it attended with great Luxury, and all sorts of Wickedness began also to increase, but chiefly Cruelty, together with the Hatred of the Truth, and the Love of Lies, the taking Evil for Good, and the Love of Darkness rather than Light; so that what was pleasing to God, or not pleasing with them, weighed both alike; and the worst side of the Cause most commonly prevailed, whilst all Things were done contrary to the Publick Good and Safety; nay, not only by Secular Men, but even the Clergy (whose Example should have guided others) were grown Vicious and Corrupt, many of them being given to Drunkenness, or swollen with Pride, or else full of Envy and Contention; indiscreet and incompetent Judges of what in the common Practice of Life was good or evil, lawful or unlawful.

This is the general Character that *Gildas* and *Bede* give us both of the *British* Clergy, and Laity of these Times; from whence we may easily conclude, that People of this temper were not fit to be trusted with the

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Anno Dom.
CCCCXLVI.

Gild. Bede, l. 1. c. 12, 13.

In some Manuscripts it is written: Agitius, but in the Bodleian Manuscript it is written: right, as thus.

vid. Chron. Roman. Continuati.

Anno Dom. C. CCXLVI. Government of themselves: but being more fond of the Name of Liberty, than apprehensive of the Charge of Governing well, they grew heady and violent in their Affairs, and positive in what they understood not, none being more stout and daring in Councils, none so fearful when it came to Action, all pretending to know what ought to be done, yet all drawing back in the Performance. Thus in a short time, when the Heat of Liberty was once spent, and the Enemy daily increased, they quickly found their old Temper returning upon them, a slavishness of Mind, and slothfulness of Body, then they might have perceived it was not meer Stomach, or a hot and sudden Love of Liberty that could protect them; but that Diligence, Wisdom, and a publick Spirit, were still wanting; so that they shrunk by degrees into their former tameness of Mind, and grew as weary of their new-tried Liberty, as they had been of their old Subjection, which made them write those Abject Letters to *Aetius*, but now mentioned.

What particular Kings or Governours the *Britains* set up after they were set free from the *Roman Empire*, is hard to determine, only *Gildas* tells us in general, "That Kings were by them anointed, but none of God's anointing, but such as were most cruel, who were soon after as inconsiderately laid aside without any Examination of the Truth, whilst some were put to Death by their Anointers, to set up others more Fierce and Tyrannical; but if any of them seemed Milder, and more inclined to the Truth, against him as the Subverter of his Country, the general Hatred of all Men was presently directed.

So that the Office of a King seems to have been a very dangerous Employment in those wicked and turbulent Times, tho' by what we can guess by *Gildas's* Epistle setting forth the Faults of all Orders and Degrees of Men, there had been divers Kings ruling in *Britain* at once, not only in his own, but in former Times, but who they were, he does not particularly mention.

But to fill up this Interval, *Geoffrey of Monmouth* furnisheth us with one *Constantine*, Brother of *Adroenus* King of *Armorica*. This *Constantine* he makes to have been elected King, and crowned at *Cirencester*, and being killed by a *Pict*, was succeeded by his eldest Son *Constans*, who from a Monk at *Winchester*, was made King; and that he being made away by the Procurement of *Vortigern*, he caused himself, being at that time Consul or Count of the *Gevises*, to be elected King in his room; but if you please to look back into the former Book, you will there find how *Constantine* the Usurper, with his Son *Constans* the Monk, the one being made Emperour, and the other Cæsar, perished in *France*, may easily confute the fallhood of this Story.

But since neither *Gildas*, *Nennius*, nor any other *British* Historian, make mention of this *Constantine* or his Son, all that we can conclude to be true in this Relation, is, That the *Britains* about this time finding themselves quite deserted by the *Romans*, and being now without any Head, and hard pressed by the *Scots* and *Picts*, chose this *Vortigern*, being then a popular Man, (tho' he proved neither Wise, Valiant, nor Virtuous,) for their King; in the beginning of whose Reign God was willing to purge his Family, (as *Gildas* words it;) the *Britains* not being amended with so many Corrections, were again frightened with a fresh Rumour, that the *Scots* and *Picts* were returning with greater Forces than ever, and that they threatened the Destruction of the whole Country,

An. Dom. C. CCXLV. C. CCXLVII.

try, and intended no less than to plant themselves from one end thereof to the other; but before their arrival, as if the Instruments of Divine Vengeance were at strife, which should first destroy a wicked Nation, "The residue that the Sword and Famine had left alive, were now swept away with a sore Pestilence, insomuch that the living scarce sufficed to bury their Dead; but neither were the *Britains* at all amended for all this, for now it seems the time drew near, that the measure of their Iniquities were full.

But before we relate how this Vengeance was executed, we shall here set down from the aforesaid Authors, * *Constantinus* and † *Bede*, *Germanus's* Second Voyage to *Britain*; the substance of which is, That it being told *Germanus* that *Pelagianism* prevailed here again, thorough some promoters of it, the *British* Clergy (too weak it seems at dispute) renewed their addresses to him, that he would come over and defend God's Cause, which he had once before undertaken; which Petition he readily granted, taking along with him as an assistant not *Lupus*, but his Scholar *Severus*, who being ordained Bishop of *Triers*, then preached the Gospel to the *Germans*; as soon as it was divulg'd, that *Germanus* was come over, one *Elaphius* a Principal Magistrate of that Country, brought a Youth, (a Son of his) the Sinews of one of whose Legs had been long shrunk up, and desired *Germanus* that he would restore them, who granting his request immediately upon his stroaking the place with his hand his Leg was restored, as the other, whereupon both the Priests and the People who had followed *Elaphius* to the place, being astonished at the Miracle were again confirm'd in the Catholick Faith, which was followed by an admonition *Germanus* made them to amend their errours; but the Authors of this apostacy, being by the sentence of them all banished the Island, were delivered up to the Bishops to be carry'd into the Continent, that so the People might quietly enjoy the benefit of this Reformation, who for the future persisted in the true Faith.

But after this the *Britains* being again pressed and over power'd, by fresh invasions of the *Scots* and *Picts*, King *Vortigern* called a Council to consider what was to be done, and where they might best seek assistance to repel these frequent and cruel Invasions of the said Nations; whereupon all his Councillours together with the King (being as it were blinded) found out such a defence as indeed proved the destruction of their Country, which was that the Heathen *Saxons*, who were then hateful both to God and Man, and whom when absent they fear'd almost as bad as Death it self, should be sent for to repel these Northern Nations, "which seems to have been ordained by Divine providence, to take vengeance on so wicked a People, as the event more evidently prov'd. Though at present the Council seem'd very specious, because the *Saxons* were then a Nation who were very terrible to all others: this Council being thus approved of, Ambassadors are immediately sent into *Germany*, representing to the *Saxons* the *Britains* request, and promising them very advantageous Conditions, if they would come over to their assistance; *Witichindus* an ancient *German* Writer, in his History *De gestis Saxonum*, represents these Ambassadors making a long Speech, wherein they promised an absolute subjection to the *Saxons*; but this being not at all likely, nor agreeable to the *British* account of it, I omit; only this is certain, that the *Saxons* were very well pleased with this Proposal, and their Country being then overcharged with People, beyond what it was able to bear, immediate-

Anno Dom. C. CCXLVII.

Anno Dom. C. CCXLVII.

Anno Dom. C. CCXLVII.

Bede, l. i. c. 13.

Anno Dom. ly yeilding to this request, made what haste they could to come away; and being as it is said chosen out by *Lot*, were put on board Three long Ships or Vessels, called in their Language *Chiuks*, under the conduct of Two Captains, *Hengist* and *Horfa*, being Brothers, and descended from that ancient *Woden*, from whom almost all the Royal Families of the Saxons derive their descent. These leaders together with their followers arriving in Britain at a place called afterwards *Ipswine's Fleet*, are welcomed with great joy and applause both of the Prince and People, the Isle of *Thanet*, (where they landed) being given them for their habitation; and a League was made with them on these Conditions, that the Saxons fighting for, and defending the Country against Foreign Enemies, should receive their Pay, and Maintenance from those for whom they fought; this is said to have happen'd in the beginning of the Reign of the Emperour *Martian*, and in the Four and Twentieth Year of *Pharamond*, first King of the French: *Anno Dom.* 149, as the Saxon Chronicle, and almost all our Historians agree. What the number was of these Saxon Auxiliaries now brought over, is not related in the Saxon Annals, or any other; but certainly they could not be above 1500, since they all came over in Three Ships, and 500 Men was as much as one of those small Vessels could well be supposed to carry.

But before I proceed further in this History, 'tis fit we should give some account of the Name, Original, and Manners of this Great and Warlike Nation of the Saxons, whose Posterity enjoy this Kingdom to this very day.

Lib. 1. cap. 26. *Bede* in the first place tells us, that these People came from Three Valiant Nations of Germany, viz. the Saxons, Angles, and Jutes; from which latter were derived the Kentish Men, and the Inhabitants of the Isle of Wight, and of the Province lying over against the said Isle, (now called Hampshire) and which was afterwards part of the Kingdom of the West Saxons, was also Peopled by the same Nation. From the Saxons (that is the Country which was then called old Saxony) came the East Saxons, South Saxons, and West Saxons, and from the Angles, that is, that Country which is called Angulus, and which lyes between the Countries of the Jutes and Saxons, are derived the East Angles, the Middleland Angles, or Mercians, together with the whole Nation of the Northumbrians, that is, those Northern People which live beyond the River Humber, so far *Bede*: But *Ethelwerd*, one of our most ancient Historians in his Chronicle, tells us more plainly, that Old England is seated between the Saxons, and the Jutes, having for its Capital City that which is called in the Saxon Tongue *Sleswic*, but by the Danes *Heathaby*, and that Britain taking its Name from its Conquerors, is now called England.

But as for the Bounds and Extent of Old Saxony, there is a great difference between the Writers about it; yet that it bordered upon Old England they all agree: "Arch-bishop *Usher* supposes Old Saxony to be that Country, that beginning with the River *Elbis*, is extended towards the North, and was afterwards called *Northalbingia*, being bounded in its lower parts by the Rivers *Albis*, *Billa* and *Trava*, and in its upper by the Rivers *Eidora*, and *Slia*; for *Ptolemy* appoints the same Southern Bounds to his Saxons, placing them between the Bounds of the River *Albis* and *Calusus*, or *Trava* (which runneth by *Lubec*) but the Northern bounds *Egenharus* hath given us in his Annals, in the Year of our Lord 808; where (speaking of *Godefrid*, King of Denmark) he sets

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" it out thus: He resolved to fortifie the Limits of his Kingdom which looked towards Saxony with a deep Trench, in such a manner, as that from that Eastern Bay of the Sea which they call *Ostfalsk*, as far as the Western Ocean, this Trench should defend all the Northern Banks of the River *Eidor*. And *Adam* of Bremen, in his Treatise concerning the Situation of Denmark, and other Northern Nations, divides Denmark from the Inhabitants of Saxony (whom he calls *North Elbings*) by the River *Eidor*; of which *Transelbian Saxons*, in another Book, he reckons up three Nations: The first, of *Dithmars*, lying upon the Ocean, whose chief Church was *Mildentroppe*; the second, *Holsteimers*, through which runs the River *Sture*, whose chief Church was *Scolenfeld*; the third, who were more noble, are called *Stormars*, whose Metropolis is *Hamburg*; so that this Country was the farthest part of Old Saxony. Herewith agreeth the Anonymus Geographer of Ravenna, writing thus of the Saxons; The Saxons came into Britain under their Prince, by Name *Anschis*, i. e. *Hengist*. And then in another place, having spoke of the *Frisians*: After them (saith he) are the Saxons, and on the back of them certain Islands; then followeth the Country of the Northmanni, which is also called *Dania*. Those Islands *Ptolemy* calls *Insula Saxonum*. And therefore it was not *Westphalia*, as *Theodoric Engelbus*, *Wernerius*, *Lairius*, *Albert Kanex*, and others of the Moderns have supposed; yet the Archbishop does not deny, but that in following Times that Country (as well as *Frizeland*) might be also possess'd by the Posterity of the ancient Saxons, but was then rather that which is now the Dutchy of *Holstein*, comprehending *Dithmars*, *Stormar*, and *Wagria*, in breadth from *Sleswick* to the City of *Hamburg*, seated in the further part of Old Saxony; and in length is extended from the West to the Eastern Sea, or from the German Ocean to the *Baltick Gulph*, having Old France next adjoining to it, then lying between the Mouths of the *Elb* and *Rhine*; for as *Ammianus Marcellinus* teacheth us, the Franks then reached as far as the River *Rhine*, yet so, that they had the Saxons next Neighbours to them; and *Julian*, in his Oration in Praise of the Emperour *Constantius*, calls both these Nations the most Warlike of all those that inhabit beyond the *Rhine* and Western Ocean.

Here give me leave to add what the Learned Dr. *Stillingsfleet*, now Lord Bishop of Worcester, in his *Antiquity of the British Churches*, has given us on this Subject, Chap. 5. where he tells us, that Mr. *Camden* is of another Opinion, who, in the Introduction to his *Britannia*, saith, That the Saxons originally came from the *Cimbrick Chersonese* in the time of *Dioclesian*; and after passing the *Elb*, they partly went into those Parts of the *Suevi*, which is since called Saxony, and partly into *Frisia* and *Batavia*; from whence he saith, All the Inhabitants of the German Shore, who used Piracy at Sea, were called Saxons; by whom he understands, the People from *Jutland* to *Holland*, for which he produces the Testimony of *Fabius Ethelwerd's* Chronicle, one of the Saxon Blood-Royal, who saith, " That the Saxons lived upon the Sea-Coast, from the Rhine, as far as Denmark. But *Ammianus Marcellinus* makes them in his time to border upon the Parts of Gaul, which is much behither the Bounds of *Jutland*, *Holstein*, or *Sleswick*. And the same Author farther says, That the *Chamavi* (whom he makes a part of the Saxons) had the Command of the *Rhine*, that *Jutland* made Peace with them, because without their leave Corn could not be brought out of Britain: as also

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Anno Dom. CCCCLXIX. *Eunapius Sard'anus saith, That the Saxons in Julian's time had the Command of the Rhine. Nor was this only a sudden Incurſion, ſince in Valentinian's time (when Ammianus wrote) they ſtill bordered upon Gaul.

* Excerpt. L. 1. cap. p. 15.

Rev. Friſc. L. 1.

Utko Emmius a Learned and German Hiſtorian, gives this Account of the Saxons and their Neighbouring Nations, who inhabited on the North Parts of Germany. That the *Friſii* dwelt from the middle Stream of the Rhine, about *Utrecht*, to the River *Amasus*, (or *Eemas*;) from thence to the *Elb* lived the *Chauci*, divided into the Greater and Leſſer by the *Weſer*; a great part of theſe leaving their Native Soil, joyned with the *Sicambri* on the Rhine, who from their aſſecting Liberty were called *Franks*: beyond the *Elb* were the Saxons, and the *Cimbri*; the Saxons being preſſed by the more Northern People, or for their own Convenience, came Southwards, and took poſſeſſion firſt of thoſe Places where the *Chauci* dwelt; and by degrees prevailing over all the other People, who joyned with, or ſubmitted to the Saxons, they were called by their Name, and among the reſt the *Friſii*, from whoſe Coaſts he ſuppoſes, the two Brothers, *Hengiſt* and *Horſa*, to have gone into Britain; and returning thither, carried over a far greater Number with them, not ſo much to fight, as to inhabit there; therefore he thinks it moſt probable, that *Hengiſt* and *Horſa*, by their deſcent, were originally Saxons; but that the greateſt part of the People, who went over with them, were rather *Friſians*, than Saxons; which he proves, not only from the greater facility of Paſſage from the Coaſt of *Friſeland*, and the Teſtimony of their own Annals, but from the greater Agreement of the *Engliſh* Language with theirs than with the Saxon, or any other German Dialect; and alſo, becauſe *Bede* reckons the *Friſians* among thoſe from whom the *Engliſh* Saxons are derived; and *Wilfrid*, *Wickbert*, and *Willibrod*, all preached to the *Friſians* in their own Tongue. as *Marcellinus*, in his Life of *Suidebert*, relates. But this Author ſaith further, That the Affinity of their Language continues ſtill ſo great, that from thence he concludes many more to have gone out of *Friſeland* into Britain, than either of the Saxons, *Jutes*, or *Angles*.

Ibid.

But to all this, our Learned *Primate* answers, That *Hengiſt* and *Horſa* might be truly called *Friſians*, there being a *Friſia* in the Southern Parts of *Jutland*, which *Saxo Grammaticus* calls the *Leſſer Friſia*, and is parted by the *Eidore* from the Country of the *Angli* on the Eaſt, and the Saxons on the South; yet even *Utko Emmius* quits the Point upon *Bede's* Genealogy, and grants they were really Saxons, as being derived from *Woden*, from whom the Race of *Kings* of many of thoſe Northern Parts are deſcended. But yet for all this it may probably be, that thoſe Princes were not Native *Friſians* themſelves, yet ſome of thoſe Nations that followed them, and were in a large acception called Saxons, might come from *Friſeland*, and the reſt of the Sea-Coaſt as far as *Old Saxony*, properly ſo called. I omit what other German Authors have ſaid upon this Subject, becauſe I would not be tedious; but whoever deſires farther Satisfaction herein, may conſult the Reverend Doctor above-mentioned, to whom I muſt own my ſelf beholding for what I have now ſaid concerning the Countries from whence the *Engliſh* Saxons originally came.

But

But as for the Original of theſe Saxons that now came into Britain, Anno Dom. there is a much greater Diſpute. *Cluverius* in his ancient Germany, as alſo our Country-man *Verſtegan*, in his Treatiſe, called, *A Reſtitution of decayed Intelligence*, Chap. 2. would needs have them to be derived from the Germans, which is denied by the Learned *Grotius* in his *Prolegomena* to the Gothic Hiſtory, as alſo by Mr. *Sherringham*, in his Treatiſe *De Anglorum Gentis Origine*, where he undertakes to prove, that they were a Branch of the ancient *Geta*, who were the Poſterity of *Japhet*; and coming out of *Scythia* into Europe, firſt fixed themſelves under the Conduct of one *Eric* their King in the ancient *Scandinavia* or *Gothland*, which is now called *Sweden* and *Norway*; and from thence ſome Ages, after under the Conduct of *Berig*, another of their Kings, ſent out Colonies into all the Iſles of the *Baltic Sea*, and the Northern Coaſts of Germany, as far as the *Cimbrie Chersonese*, now *Jutland*; ſo that the *Swedes*, *Danes*, and *Saxons*, had one and the ſame *Scythic* Original, as the Learned *Grotius* in his ſaid *Prolegomena* hath fully proved; as alſo Mr. *Sherringham*, in Chap. 7. of his laſt-cited Treatiſe, as well from the ancient Gothic Chronicles written in that Language, both in Proſe and Verſe; as alſo from *Jornandes de Rebus Geticis*, Chap. 4. that theſe *Geta* or *Goths* multiplying more than theſe Countries could well bear, in the time of *Filemar* the 5th King after *Berig*, great multitudes of them under his Conduct removed their Dwellings into the *Aſiatic Scythia*, called *Oudin* in their Language; from whence in proceſs of Time they ſpread themſelves as far as the *Palus Maotis*, and the Northern Countries near the *Euxine Sea*, even to *Thracia* and *Mæſia* towards the South, where they ſtill retained the Name of *Geta* or *Gotti*, thoſe they were alſo from the Countries where they lived often called *Thracians* or *Mæſians*, being divided into ſeveral Tribes, viz. *Viſigoths* or *Western Goths*, and *Oſtrogoths* or *Eastern Goths*, the former of which invaded Spain, and the latter Italy.

But ſome Ages before this, (as the *Norwegians* and *Swediſh* Annals, cited by Mr. *Sherringham* relate,) one *Woden*, King of a Territory and City in *Aſia*, called *Aſgard*, near the River *Tanais*, led back a great multitude of theſe *Goths* out of the *Aſiatic Scythia* into Europe, and partly by good will, and partly by force, ſeized on all thoſe Countries afterwards called *Saxony*; but that afterward leaving his Sons Princes of thoſe Regions, he returned into *Swedeland*, where after many Travels he ended his Days, being counted a great Magician as well as Warriour, ſo that after his deceaſe his Subjects and Deſcendants worſhip'd him as a God. But divers *Daniſh* and *Swediſh* Authors do very much doubt, whether this *Woden*, whom they thus worſhip'd, were the ſame with him from whom the Saxon Princes drew their Pedigrees; ſince thereby it appears, that *Hengiſt* and *Horſa* were the Sons of *Wigilfus*, who was the Son of *Witta*, and he the Son of *Veſta*, and he the Son of *Woden*. So that theſe Princes were no more than three Deſcents removed from him, which could not amount to above 200 Years, and conſequently was too ſhort a time for their multiplying into ſuch great Multitudes, much leſs for their worſhipping him for a God; yet this is very probable, that moſt of the *Goths* that came along with this *Woden* changed their Names to that of the *Saxons*; and Peopled all thoſe Countries already mentioned; and thoſe there may be a great deal of Fabulous Stuff in this Story, as it is related in the Old *Swediſh* and *Iſlandiſh* Hiſtories called *Eddas*; yet thus much is certain, that there was ſuch a Prince who brought back the *Goths* out of *Aſia*

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Anno Dom. into those parts, since the *Swedes, Danes, Norwegians* and *Saxons* wor-
CCCCXLIX. ship'd him as their common Deity, and all agree in the same Tradition concerning him.

Yet since *Cluverius*, and *Verstegan* have both affirmed the *Saxons* not to be derived from the *Goths*, but *Germans*; and that the former has endeavour'd to prove that the ancient *Geta* or *Goths* were not the same Nation, I shall here give you the sum of those Arguments, which *Grotius* and Mr. *Sherringham* have given us to prove, the ancient *Geta*, and *Gothi* to have been all one Nation, and that the *Saxons* were deriv'd from them: For the first, they alledge the Testimony of the most ancient *Latin* and *Greek* Authours that make any mention of the *Goths*, as *Vespasian* in his Life of the Emperour *Probus*, to whom may be also added divers Christian Writers, as *Origen*, *St. Hieron*, and *St. Augustine*; and of the *Greeks*, *Procopius*, *Photius* the Patriarch; *Georgius*, *Syncellus*; not to mention the *Gothic* Writers themselves, as *Jornandes* and *Isidore* in his *Gothic* Chronicle; who all agree that the *Goths* were anciently called *Geta*, and that they were one and the same Nation; Secondly, from the places where these ancient *Geta* or *Scythians* first inhabited, that they were the same from whence the *Goths* afterwards came, who over-ran the *Roman* Empire, (*viz.*) from the Countries about the *Palus Maotis*, which are now possessed by the *Chim Tartars*; Lastly from their great agreement in Language; and *Grotius* in his said *Prolegomena* brings divers Instances (too long here to be recited) to prove that the ancient *Scythic* or *Gethic* Tongue was the Mother of the *German*, which seems to be further made out by Mr. *Sherringham*, from the Etymology of divers *Scythian* Words which are found to be the same with the *Gothic* and *Saxon*: Lastly *Bussequius* in his *Turkish* Epistles, mentions some remainders of the ancient *Goths* who dwell among the *Tartars* in the *Cimbrie Chersonese*, some of whom he met and discours'd with at *Constantinople*, and gives you not only their names of numbers, but also above Forty Words which are very near the *Dutch* and *English*, signifying the same things, and which argue a derivation from the same *Gothic* Original; and tho' this Authour there doubts, whether these *Goths* were not some remainders of the *Saxons*, brought thither by *Charles* the Great; yet *Grotius* in his said *Prolegomena* fully removes that difficulty, and shews from the Testimony of *Josaphat Barbarus* a Noble *Venetian*, who had lived among them, that these People called themselves not *Saxons* but *Goths*, and their Country *Gothland*; which is also confirmed by the learned *Scaliger* in his * *Canonis Isagog*; where he relates that they still lived under the *Precopian Tartars*, and have the Bible in the same Characters, which were invented by *Uphilas* their Bishop.

Lib. 3.

But the learned Dr. *Hicks* hath given us much greater light into this matter, in his *English Saxon*, and *Mesogothick Grammar*; as also by reprinting the *Isleland Grammar* of *Ranulph Jones*, in both which, by comparing the radical Words of the *English Saxon* Tongue, as also the Declensions of the Verbs, and Pronouns, any Man that will but take the pains to peruse it, must needs think that not only the Old *Mesogothic*, and *Scandian Gothic*, were one and the same Language, the latter being derived from the former, but that our *English Saxon* comes from one, and the same Original.

But

But if the *Geta* and *Gothi* were one and the same Nation, and if all *Anno Dom.*
the *Danish*, *Swedish*, and *Saxon* Writers have it that *Woden* was a *Goth*, it *CCCCXLIX.*
will also follow that all those who came into *Germany* along with him, were also *Goths*, and from whom that part of it was called at first *Reid Gothland*, now *Jutland*; in which, as *Grotius* tells us, there is a River called *Guden Aa*. i. e. the *Goths* River, which Country being deserted, by its ancient Inhabitants, the *Futes* and *Angles*, was not long after seized by the *Danes*, who possess it to this day, and who, as we find by their Histories, had maintained Wars upon that account with the *Saxons* for many Ages before: I shall not here trouble the Reader with the particular Arguments and Objections that *Verstegan* and *Cluverius* have brought to prove, that *Sweden*, *Denmark*, *Norway* and *Saxony*, were Peopled from *Germany*, and not vice versa; since it is not the part of an Historian to dwell too long on Arguments *pro* and *con*; so having given you, I hope, sufficient authorities for this Opinion, I refer you for the more particular Answers to their Objections, to *Grotius's* forecited *Prolegomena*, and to Mr. *Sherringham's* said Treatise.

But, farther the very Name of *Futes*, the ancient Inhabitants of *Jutland*, may be used as another Argument, to prove their descent from the *Geta* or *Goths*; since they are called by no Names other in our ancient *Saxon* Historians, then *Giotas* or *Futes*, and in King *Alfred's* *Saxon* Translation of *Bede's* History, they are called *Geatun*, i. e. *Getes*.

As for the *Angles* (who afterward gave their name to all the rest of the *Saxon* Nations of this Island) they are supposed to be derived from the ancient *Cimbri*; and to have passed by that Name in *Julius Caesar's* Time, or else they might then make a part of the *Swevi*, whom he in his Commentaries calls the most warlike of all the *Germans*, and whom *Tacitus* and *Ptolemy* subdivided into divers Nations, the latter making them three distinct People, (*viz.*) the *Swevi Langobardi*, the *Swevi Semnones*, and *Swevi Angli*; whom *Tacitus* and other *Latin* Authours call'd *Angli*, and who, * *Saffridus*, in his Treatise *De Origine Frisorum*, tells us, had as many denominations with the Name of *Angli* added to them, as there were Countries into which they were dispersed, and there reckons up a great many; and though this Nation was not at first the same with that of the *Saxons*, nor dwelt in the same *Inland* Country, in which they are placed by *Ptolemy*, yet they might, according to the ancient custom of the *Germans*, change their seats after *Ptolemies* Time (as *Strabo* observes they often did) and so removing their dwellings from the Banks of the *Elbi* into *Holstein*, they might be there conquered by the *Saxons*, and after make up one Nation or Common-wealth with them, though still retaining their ancient Name, as the ancient *Britains*, or *Welsh*, do among us at this day; so that I confess it remains a great doubt, why they were at first called *Angles*; for tho' most Writers think it sufficient to derive their Name from the *Latin* Word *Angulus* a corner, because forsooth they lived in a corner of *Germany*, yet this seems very forced, since *Tacitus* and *Ptolemy* mention them by that Name, as then well known and given them a long time before they came to be so called by the *Romans*; so that I still believe that this Name may be derived from some *Gothic* Original, though what it was, is now hard to determine.

As for the name of *Saxons* in general, there is a great dispute about it amongst learned Men; *Goropius Becanus*, and Mr. *Camden* from him, suppose them to have been first called *Sacaſons*, i. e. the Sons or Posterity

Bell. Gál. l. 4.
Vide Sherringham de orig.
Gut. Angl. c. 2.

Lib. 2. c. 10.

Anno Dom.
CCCCXLIX.

of the *Saca*, from whom he imagines them to be derived; but this Etymology is proved by Mr. *Sherringham*, in his said Discertation, not only to be forced, but also false in matter of Fact; for first, the name of these People was never written, or pronounced *Sacafons* in the Plural, but *Sacen* or *Saxons*, nor can we find in *Strabo*, *Ptolemy*, or any other ancient Authour, that ever the *Saca* sent any Colonies out of *Asia*, where they were planted near the *Caspian* Sea, not far from *Bactria*; but *Strabo* tells us to the contrary, that this whole Nation being set upon by the *Persians* at unawares, were totally destroyed.

Isidore hath found out another derivation of this Name, from the Latin Word *Saxum* a Stone, or Rock, because they were a strong and hardy Race of Men, excelling all others in piracy; which were not improper, if this Name could be proved to have been first given them by the *Romans*; whereas this Nation was so called by their Neighbours (tho not by themselves) many Ages before the *Romans* had any knowledge of them; so that the most likely Etymology of this Name, seems to be that which *Verstegan* hath given us in his said Treatise, from the Opinion of the learned *Lipsius*, that it was first given them by their Neighbours, from their wearing a sort of long Daggers, or short crooked Swords, like Cymeters, called in their Tongue *Saxen*, and whence from their particular use of it, they were called *Saxons*, and in the *Dutch*, *Welsh* and *Irish* Tongues, the *English* are called *Sacen* to this day; and from whence probably the Arms of *Saxony* are two such crooked Daggers, placed Saltire-wise, as *Pontanus* hath very well observed.

But whencesoever this name is derived, it is certain they are first mentioned by *Ptolemy*, by the Name of *Saxons*, and he places them at the back of the *Cimbrians*; tho they were not commonly known to the *Romans* by this Name, till the Fourth Century after Christ, when they grew terrible by reason of their many Piracies; *Ammianus Marcellinus*, and *Claudian* the Poet, (whose Verses concerning them, I have given you in the former Book,) being the first *Roman* Authours, who make mention of them; and the latter says, that the *Saxons* are formidable above all other Enemies. After him, *Orosius* says, The *Saxons* were terrible, by reason of their Valour; but in the Time of the Emperour *Theodosius*, i. they were grown so formidable, that there were Ships and Watch-houses appointed on purpose in the Coast of *Britain* to hinder their depredations, and the Commander over them was called *Comes littoris Saxonici*, in which times they became more known to the *Romans*.

As for the ancient *Saxons* Religion, it is likewise another great argument of their Gothic Original, since the *Danes*, *Swedes* and *Norwegians* (who all derive themselves from the *Goths*) worship'd the same Gods in Common with the *Saxons*, (viz.) *Thor* the God of Thunder, who answer'd the *Roman Jupiter*, (though he was not the same.) *Woden*, who was their God of War, together with his Wife *Friga* or *Frea*, who was their Goddess of Love and Pleasure: So that whoever will but consider their Names of the Days of the Week, from which ours are derived at this Day, will easily perceive the chief Gods they worship'd, and from whom those Names are deriv'd, to have been all the same; only I desire the Reader to take notice, That whereas *Verstegan*, to prove the *Saxons* to come from the *Germans*, would make our *Tuesday* to be derived from *Twisto* the God of the *Germans*; Mr. *Sherringham* proves that Opinion not to be at all likely; since the *Germans* (whose peculiar God this *Twisto* is supposed

Vide Not. Jon.
Imperii.Vide Sherring-
ham de Anglor.
Gent. Orig.

supposed to be) do not call it *Tuesday*, but *Dinsday*, or *Zinsdag*, and *Anno Dom.* the *Swedes* and *Danes*, *Trisdag* and *Drisdag*, and therefore *Angrimus Jonas* *CCCCXLIX.* in his History of *Island*, rather derives it from *Tyr* the Sort of *Woden*, from whom the *Islanders* call it to this day *Trisdag*, or *Tysdag* in their Language; but *Ol. Wormius* in his learned Work, *De monumentis Danicis*, would rather derive this Name from a Gothic Goddess, called *Dysa* or *Thisa*, the Wife of *Thor*, and whom the ancient *Swedes* and *Danes* made their Goddess of Justice, who had her Temple at *Upsal*; as for the Name of the last day of the Week, though *Verstegan* would derive it from a God called *Sater* (whom the *Danes* call *Crodo*) yet whither he was the same with the *Roman Saturn*, may be very much doubted; since the *Danes*, *Swedes*, and *Saxons* Worship'd these false Gods, before they ever had any thing to do with the *Romans*.

Besides these Seven greater Deities, from whom the days of the Week take their Names, the ancient *Saxons* and *Angles* had many other less Gods and Goddesses, such as * *Hertha*, who was the same with the Goddess *Tellus*; among the *Romans* *Rhedda*, from whom they call the Month of *March* *Rhed Monach*; *Easter*, from whose Feast falling out in *April*, our *Easter* is derived; as also *Mara*, which was a Spectre, supposed to have haunted People in the Night, and from whence comes our Word *Mare*, or Disease so called; as for what Worship and Sacrifices they paid these false Gods, they are very uncertain, only we find that the *Swedes*, and *Danes* (and it is likely the *Saxons* too) sacrificed Men to *Thor* before any great enterprize; but whoever desires to know more on this Subject, may consult *Verstegan*, *Wormius*, and other *German* and *Danish* Writers.

But it is now time to return to our *English* *Saxon* History, from which *Anno Dom.* I doubt we have made too long a digression; the *Saxons* being thus *CCCC.* arrived in *Britain*, as you now have heard, streight joyned their Forces with the *Britains*, and marching together against the *Picts* and *Scots*, who were then entred into the Country, as far as the higher part of that Province we now call *Lincoln-shire*, and near *Stanford* they joyned Battle with them, where the former fighting with Darts and Launces, but the *Saxons* with Battle-Axes and long Swords, they had very much the advantage; so that the *Picts* could not bear their Force, but provided for their safety by Flight, the *Saxons* obtaining a clear Victory with the spoil of the Field.

Hengist perceiving the Island to be Rich and Fruitful, but her Princes and Inhabitants given to Vicious Ease and Luxury; sends home word of it, inviting his Country-men to share in this good success, who coming over with Seventeen fresh Ships full of Stout men, were now grown up to a sufficient Army, being entertained without suspicion, on those terms already mentioned; with which last supplies (as *Nennius* relates) came over *Rowena*, the fair Daughter of *Hengist*; upon whose arrival *Hengist* made a great Feast for King *Vortigern*, and his Courtiers; where was also his Interpreter; (no *Britain* but he understanding the *Saxon* Tongue) *Hengist* then commanded his Daughter to wait on them, and to serve the King with Wine, with which growing Merry, he fell violently in Love with her, and demanding her of her Father, told him he should have what ever he pleased, even to the half of his Kingdom, on condition he might obtain her; whereupon *Hengist* taking Council with those Chief, or Ancient Men, who had come over along with him,

what

Vide Not. Jon.
Imperii.Gild. B. de.
H. Hist.Anno Dom.
CCCCLI.Nennius c. 3.
Bede lib. 1.

Anno Dom. what he should ask of the King for his Daughter; they all agreed that
 CCCCLI he should demand the Country of *Kent*, which was presently granted
 him, one *Guoragonus* then Ruling there, being ignorant that his Go-
 verment was given away to the *Saxons*: So the Damofel being by her
 Father given to the King, he Married her, and grew so extremely fond
 of her, that he Divorced his former Wife, by whom he had several Sons
 of great hopes.

Anno Dom. But *Hengist*, not satisfied with this, told the King farther, That being
 CCCCLII now his Father-in law, he must take upon him to advise him; and there-
 fore, if he would not flight his Counsel, he need not fear being overcome
 by any other Nation, as long as that of the *Saxons* was so potent; That
 therefore he would send over for his own * Son and his Nephew, who
 being War-like young Men, would fight stoutly against the *Picts* and
 being War-like young Men, would fight stoutly against the *Picts* and
Scots, if the King would bestow upon them those Countries in the North
 lying near the *Picts* Wall. So the King gave him leave to send for *Osta*
 and *Ebusa* with 40 Vessels, who sailing round about the *Picts* Country,
 coasted the Isles of *Orcades*, and came and possessed many places on the
 other side of the *Frith* or Streight, even to the Borders of the *Picts*; *Hen-*
gist still sending by degrees for more Men and Ships, 'till at last the
 Countries from whence they came were left almost without any Inhabi-
 tants: And now they being sufficiently increased in Number and Strength,
 they wholly planted the Country of *Kent* with *Jutes*. But by the flocking
 in of such numerous Troops into this Isle, of all the above-mentioned
 Nations, they began so exceedingly to increase, that they soon became
 a Terror to those who had invited them over, and now began to pick
 Quarrels with their Entertainers; and first they demanded larger Al-
 lowances of Corn, and other Provisions, openly declaring, unless this
 were allowed them, they would break the League, and waste all parts of
 the Country.

Bede. The *Britains* refusing to give them what they demanded, desired them
 to return home, since their Numbers were increased beyond what they
 were able to maintain: Whereupon the *Saxon* Commanders resolved to
 break the League, and having made Peace secretly with the *Picts*, they
 immediately turn'd their Arms against their Confederates, wasting the
 Country with Fire and Sword from the *Eastern* to the *Western* Sea, none
 being able to hinder them, so that they over-ran almost the whole Island;
 the Buildings, as well publick as private, were ruined; the Priests were
 commonly slain at the very Altars, and the Bishops were destroy'd without
 any Respect, together with the People; nor were scarce any left to bury the
 dead: Whilst some of the miserable Remains of the *Britains*, being taken
 among the Mountains, were slain in Heaps, others pined away by Fa-
 mine, yielded themselves to their Enemies, and to get Food were forced
 to undergo perpetual Servitude, if they could so preserve their Lives;
 others being forced to seek for Refuge among Foreign Nations; but those
 that remained at home, living in perpetual Fear, led a hard and mis-
 erable Life among the Woods and Mountains. *Will.* of *Malmesbury* supposes
 the League between the *Britains* and *Saxons* to have lasted Seven years;
 and the first Battel between them is placed in the 6th year after; but it
 is most likely that they fell out some time before that.

Gildas, Sess. 23
Nennius c. 36.
Bede l. b. 1.

Anno Dom.
 CCCCLIV.

This Flight of these *Britains* not only our own, but Foreign Writers relate;
 for some fled to *Armorica*, and peopled it (as some suppose,) with *Britains*, from
 whom it was called the *Lesser Britain*; though others think it was called so

so long before, either by the Gift of the last *Constantine* the Great, or else
 of *Maximus*, to those *British* Forces who had served them in their Foreign
 Wars: To whom came those also that did not miscarry with the latter
Constantine at *Arles*, and now last of all by these Exiles, driven out by the
Saxons, who fled thither for Refuge.

But that the *Britains* of *Armorica* were settled there long before
 the *Britains* here were driven out by the *Saxons*, is proved by the
 above-cited Doctor *Stillingsfleet* in his *Antiquities of the British Churches*,
 which he proves by these Authorities; First; from *Sidonius Appollinaris*,
 in whom there are two Passages, which tend to the clearing this matter:
 The first is concerning *Arminius*, accused at Rome of Treason, in the time
 of *Anthemius*, for persuading the King of the *Goths* to make War upon the
 Greek Emperour, (i. e. *Anthemius*), who then came out of Greece: And upon
 the *Britains* on the *Loir*, as *Sidonius Appollinaris* expressly affirms, who
 lived at that time, and pitied his Case. This hapned about *Anno Dom.* 467,
 before *Anthemius* was the second time Consul; from whence it appears,
 not only that there were *Britains* then settled on the *Loir*; but that their
 Strength and Forces were considerable, which cannot be supposed to consist
 of such miserable People as only fled from hence for fear of the *Saxons*;
 (and not being able to keep their own Country, it is not likely they could
 that of others:) And it is farther observable, that about this time
Aurelius Ambrosius had success against the *Saxons*, and either by
Vortimer's Means, or his, the *Britains* were in great likelihood of driving
 them quite out of *Britain*; so that there is no probability, that the
 Warlike *Britains* should at that time leave their native Country. A second
 Passage is concerning *Riothamus*, a King of these *Armorican Britains*,
 in the time of *Sidonius Appollinaris*, (and to whom he wrote,) who went
 with 12000 *Britains* to assist the *Romans* against *Euricus* King of the
Goths, but were intercepted by him, as *Jornandes* relates the Story; and
Sigibert places it *Anno Dom.* 470: Now, What clearer Evidence can be desired
 than this, to prove, that a considerable number of *Britains* were there
 settled, and in a condition not only to defend themselves, but to assist
 the *Romans*; which cannot be imagined of such as merely fled thither for
 Refuge after the *Saxons* coming into *Britain*. Besides, we find in
Sirmondus's *Gallican Councils*, *Mansuetus*, a Bishop of the *Britains*,
 subscribing to the first Council at *Tours*, which was held *Anno Dom.*
 461, by which we see the *Britains* had so full a Settlement then, as
 not only to have Inhabitants; but a King and Bishops of their own;
 which was the great Encouragement for other *Britains* to go over, when
 they found themselves so hard press'd by the *Saxons* at home: For a
 People frighted from hence would hardly have ventured into a Foreign
 Country, unless they had been secure before hand of a kind Reception
 there; And if they must have fought for a Dwelling, had they not far
 better have done it in their own Country? From whence I conclude, that
 there was a large Colony of *Britains* in *Armorica*, before those Numbers
 went over upon the *Saxon* Cruelties, of which *Eginhardus*, and other Foreign
 Historians speak: Though how it should come to be settled there, unless
 some Colonies were carried over before by *Maximus*, or *Constantine*, the
 last Usurper of the Empire, I know not, but as for this, it being very
 obscure, I determine nothing.

K. Vortigern, nothing bettered by these Calamities, is said to have
 added this to his other Crimes, that he took his own Daughter to Wife,
 who brought forth a Son, who (according to *Nennius*) was called *Faustus*,
 and

N. n. c. 38.

Anno Dom.
CCCCIV. and proved a Religious Man, living in great Devotion by the River *Rennis* in *Glamorganshire*; but for the rest of his Stories concerning the Dialogue between *Vortigern* and *St. German*, and that the King was condemn'd for this Incest, in a great Synod or Council of Clergy-men and Laicks, in which *St. German* presided, is certainly false; he being then dead, (as appears from the best approved Authours,) the year before the Saxons arrived in *Britain*. And indeed this whole Story of *Vortigern's* committing Incest with his own Daughter seems altogether unlikely; for when should he do it? Not before he married *Rowena*, for *Nennius* places it afterwards; nor could it well be during the time of his Marriage with her, since, as the same Authour relates, she continued his Wife long after, when he was taken Prisoner by *Hengist*; and it is very strange he should fall in love with his own Daughter, when at the same time he had another Wife; whom he is said to have loved so well, that he was divorced from his first Wife for her sake.

Geoffery of Monm. relates, That the Nobles of *Britain* being highly displeased at King *Vortigern* for the great Partiality he shewed to the Saxons, and for the ill Success that followed it, beseeched the King wholly to desert him; but he refusing so to do, they deposed him, and chose his Son *Vortimer* King, who following their Advice, began to Expel the Saxons, pursuing them as far as the River *Dierwent*, or *Darent*, in *Kent*, where obtaining the Victory, he made a great Slaughter of them; besides which, that he fought also another Battle with them near the Ford which is called in the Saxon Tongue *Episford*, and in the *British* Tongue *Sathenegebail*; which is also confirmed by the *Saxon* Annals, which say, That *Hengist* and *Horfa* fought with King *Vortigern* at a place called *Eglesford* (now *Aylesford*) in *Kent*, and that *Horfa* was there slain (*Nennius* says by *Cartigern* the Brother of King *Vortimer*.) * and that afterwards *Hengist* and his Son *Æsk* obtained the Kingdom of *Kent*; and *Matthew of Westminster* relates, that after the Death of his Brother *Horfa*, the Saxons chose *Hengist* for their King, being 8 Years after his arrival in *England*.

And yet after this, † *Nennius* supposes *Vortimer* to have fought a third Battle with them in a Field which was near the Stone *Titulus*, which was fixed near the Shore of the *Gallie* Sea, which place Arch-Bishop *Usher* will have to be *Stonar* in the Isle of *Thanet*; but Mr. *Somner*, in his Treatise of the Roman Ports and Forts in *Kent*, supposes it should be written *Lapis Populi*, in stead of *Tituli*; and then *Folkstone* in *Kent* is most likely to be the place where this Battle was fought, it having the same Signification as *Lapis Populi* in the *Latin*. *Geoffery of Monmouth*, and from him *Matthew Westminster*, further relate, That *Hengist* not being able to withstand the Valour of *K. Vortimer*, was made to retire into the Isle of *Thanet*, whither he was also pursued by the Sea; and that at last the Saxons being forced on board their Ships, returned into *Germany*. *Nennius* adds, That they durst not return again into this Island till after the Death of *Vortimer*, which, tho' not mentioned in our *English Saxon* Annals, yet is very likely to be true; since *Bede* relates, That about this time the *Saxon* Army returned home, when the Natives, tho' before driven out or dispers'd, began again to take fresh Courage, and come out of their Hiding-Places and Retreats.

This

This Year *Vortimer* having obtained many Battels against the Saxons, *Anno Dom.* is supposed by our *British* Historians to have died. *Geoffery* makes him to *CCCCVI.* have been poisoned by the Procurement of his Mother-in-Law, *Rowena*: *Geoff. Monm.* and *Nennius* adds, That *Vortimer* lying upon his Death-bed, desired his Servants to bury him near the place where the Saxons used to land, saying, If that were done, tho' they might take some other Haven in *Britain*, yet they should never have that; but notwithstanding, he is said (contrary to his own will) to have been buried at *Lincoln*. After whose Decease, *Nennius* and *Geoffery* make *Vortigern* to have been again restored to the Throne.

It is much more certain which the *Saxon* Annals relate, that *Hengist* *Anno Dom.* and his Son *Æsk* this Year fought against the *Britains* in a place which is called *Creccanford*, and there killed four principal Men, (but in *Florence* of *Worcester's* Copy of these Annals, which seems to have been truest, it was 4000 Men;) and the *Britains* then left *Kent*, and fled in great fear to *London*.

From which Victory, *Ran. Higden* in his *Polychronicon* dates the beginning of the Kingdom of *Kent* under *Hengist*, who Reigned Twenty four Years.

For *Hengist* being now returned out of *Germany*, (as it is related by *Nennius*, *Nennius*.) King *Vortigern* still maintained the War against the Saxons, who thereupon took Council, how they might intrap *Vortigern* and his Army; wherefore they sent Ambassadors to him offering Peace, and that the former Friendship might be renewed between them; whereupon, *Vortigern*, taking Advice with his wise Men, they all agreed to make Peace: So it was consented to on both sides, That the *Britains* and Saxons meeting together without any Arms, a firm League should be made between them. But the treacherous *Hengist* commanded all his Followers to take their Daggers or Seaxes along with them under their Coats, and that when he gave the Word, and cried out in his own Tongue, *Nimed yeur Saexes*, that is, Pull out your Daggers, that they should then fall upon the *Britains* and kill them, but spare their King, and (for his Wife's sake) only take him Prisoner, because it would be more for their advantage so to do, that he might be Ransomed. And thus being met according to Agreement at a Feast, or Drinking-bout, they talked at first very friendly together, being placed every Saxon by a *Britain*; but *Hengist* giving the Word, they rose up on a sudden and dispatched 300 (*Geoffery* says 470) of the *British* Nobles. *Vortigern* alone being then taken alive and put in Fetters, was forced for his Ransom to surrender to the Saxons all those Countries that were afterwards called *Eastsex*, *Middlesex*, and *Sussex*; which is also recited by *William of Malmesbury*, who adds, That at this Entertainment the Company growing in drink, *Hengist* on purpose pick'd a Quarrel, and some hard Words passing, they fell to blows, where the *Britains* were slain.

But here being a considerable Interval in the *Saxon* Chronicle, we may very well fill it up with *British* Affairs, for it is about this time that the *Welsh* Chronicles suppose, that *Aurelius* was elected General of the *Britains*, *Vortigern* being as yet King, tho' but in Name, having retired (as *Nennius* relates) to a Castle built by him in *South-Wales*. And to this time we may refer that Passage in * *Gildas*, That when those cruel Rob- * *Scit. 73.* bers the Saxons were gone home, the Remainders of the *Britains* being strengthened by GOD, came together from divers Places, and praying

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Anno Dom. to him with all their Hearts, that he would not totally destroy them, *CCCCXLV.* chose *Ambrosius Aurelianus*, a modest Man, for their General, and who alone was found stout and faithful, as being of *Roman* Race, who in so great a confusion remained alive, his Parents who had enjoyed the Crown having been killed; but whether by the *Scots* and *Picts*, or else (which is most likely) were murdered by their Subjects, he leaves it uncertain. But **Nennius* saith little more than that *Vortigern* was afraid of him; and then immediately he confounds himself with *Merlin*, who being a Boy, tells *Vortigern*, (after the Story of his being born without a Father,) That he had concealed his Father's Name out of fear, but that he was one of the *Roman* Consuls; whereupon *Vortigern* gave him a Castle, together with all the Western Parts of *Britain*, which is as true as being born without a Father. But if *Geoffrey* were to be believed, he tells us very plainly, That he was one of the Sons of *Constantine* King of *Britain*, who was forced to fly from *Vortigern* after the murder of their Brother *Constantians* by his contrivance: but we know that *Constantine*, and his Sons *Constantians* and *Julian*, were killed abroad many Years before; and it is not probable the *Romans* would have permitted any one of his Sons to have remained here; or if they did, this *Ambrosius* must have been by this time near 60 Years of Age, supposing him to have been but One Year old when his Father died. And besides, it is certain that *Constantine* was slain in the Reigns of *Honorius* and *Theodosius* the Second, *An. Dom.* 411; and *Aurelius* is not supposed to be chosen General, or King of the *Britains*, till the Year 465.

Gildas.

But immediately after *Aurelius* was thus made General of the *Britains*, it is certain that he obtained a great Victory over the *Saxons*, tho' the place where he was named by *Gildas*. But afterwards (he says) sometimes his Country-men and sometimes their Enemies prevailed, and that thus it continued till the Year of the Siege of *Mount Badon*, where was the latest and not the least slaughter made of the *Pagan Saxons*; but that the *Saxons* about this time received a great defeat, their own *Annals* intimate though they are ashamed to confess it in express words, being thus related under this very Year, [*Hengist* and *Aesc* fought with the *Britains* near *Wippedes Fleet*, and there slew Twelve *British* Commanders; but lost one Man of *Sax. Ann.* note on the *Saxons* side, whose Name was *Wypped* (who it seems left his name to that place) *H. Huntington* adds, that this Victory was very fatal even to the *Saxons* themselves, both parties being thereby so weakened, that neither the *Saxons* durst enter the *British* borders for a long time; nor yet the *Britains* presume to invade *Kent*, however the *Britains*, tho' Foreign Wars were now for a time intermitted, did not cease to raise Civil ones among themselves: But this much appears even from the silence of *Saxon Annals*, that for Twelve Years following, there was no considerable action passed on either side, or else that the *Britains* had the better of it, under the conduct of *Aurelius Ambrosius*, which is most agreeable to *Gildas's* Relation.]

It is also very probable which *Geoffrey* of *Monmouth* now relates, and which is followed by many of our English Historians, that *Aurelius Ambrosius* after his first Victory over the *Saxons*, called the Princes and Great Men together at *York*, and gave Order for the repairing the Churches which the *Saxons* had destroyed; and that after due care taken in other places, he marched to *London*, which had suffered as well as other Cities; and having called the dispersed Citizens together went about

about the repairing of it; all his design being the restoring the Church and Kingdom; from thence he went to *Winchester* and to *Salisbury*, doing there as he had done at other places: But in the passage thither *Geoffrey* launches out to purpose in his History of *Stonehenge*, translated (says he) by *Merlin* out of *Ireland*, to make a Monument for the *British* Nobles slain there by *Hengist's* Treachery: Which is such an Extravagancy that it is to be wondered any should follow him in it, and yet *Mat. Westminster* transcribes the main of it, and * *Walter* of *Coventry* sets it down for Authentick History; but he adds two Circumstances, which make it seem probable that *Stonehenge* had some relation to *Ambrosius*, (viz.) that here *Ambrosius* was Crowned, and was not long after buried; *Polydore Virgil* makes it the Monument of *Ambrosius*; and *John* of *Tinmouth* in the Life of *Dubricius*, calls it *Mont Ambrosii*; and the name of *Ambresburg*, a Town near it, doth much confirm the probability, of its being founded by *Ambrosius*, rather than either by the *Romans* or *Danes*, as some of our late Antiquaries and Architects have supposed. But I shall not insist any longer on this Subject; *Geoffrey* adds yet further concerning Ecclesiastical Matters in his time, that at a solemn Council he appointed two Metropolitans for the two Sees, at that time vacant, (viz.) *Samptson* one of Eminent Piety for *York*, and *Dubricius* for *Caerleon*; but *Mathew Westminster* saith, that *Samptson* was afterward driven into *Armorica*; and there was made Arch-bishop of *Dole*, among the *Britains*, which is very likely to be true, being confirmed by *Sigebert* in his Chronicle, *Anno Dom.* 566.

It is observed by *H. of Huntington* that after the *Britains* had a little respite from their Enemies, they fell into Civil dissensions among themselves, which is very agreeable to what *Gildas* hath said; of this *Geoffrey* gives us no improbable account, when he relates that one of *Vortigern's* Sons called *Pascentius*, raised a Rebellion in the North against *Ambrosius* among the *Britains*, who were overcome by him and put to flight; what became of *Vortigern* is uncertain, nor can the *British* Writers themselves agree either about the time or the manner of his Death; *Nennius*, hath two several stories about it, the one certainly false, and the other very improbable; The first is, that *St. German* followed him, into a Country in *South Wales* (which was called by his own Name *Guorthigernian*) where he lay hid with his Women in a Castle which he had built, called *Din Guorthigern*, near the River *Thebi*; to which Castle when *St. German* came, he prayed, and fasted there with his Clergy three whole Days and Nights (it seems without any intermission) when the Castle about Midnight was set on Fire from Heaven, and *Vortigern* with his Wives and Family were all burnt, and this *Nennius* says, he found in the Book or Legend of *St. German*; yet he declares, That others relate how that *Vortigern* becoming hateful to all sorts and degrees of Men, none would keep him company from the greatest to the least; till at last, as he wandered from place to place, his Heart was broken (I suppose for grief) but *Geoffrey* of *Monmouth* with more probability relates, that *Vortigern*, being again deplored, was besieged and burnt in this Castle by his Successor *Aurelius Ambrosius*, who set it on Fire.

But now it is time to return to our *Saxon* Chronicle; where after Eight Years interval, without any action mentioned, [We now find *Hengist* and *Aesc* joyned Battel with the *Britains*, and took many Spoils, and

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Anno Dom.
CCCCXLV.MS. Peter R.
Epist. Wigorn.Anno Dom.
CCCCXXXIII.

Sax. Ann.

Sax. Ann. the *Welshmen* vanish'd before the *English* like *Stubble* before the *Fire*, as the *Saxon Chronicle* words it.

Anno Dom.
CCCCXXVII. After this there is no more said of any *Victories* gained by *Hengist*; but now after *Four Years* interval, began the *Kingdom* of the *South Saxons*; for *Ælla* with his *Three Sons*, *Cymen*, *Wlencing*, or *Pleting*, (as *Huntington* calls him) and *Cissa*, landing in *Britain* at a place called *Cymens ora* (which signifies in the *Saxon Tongue* *Cymens Shore* or *Coast*;) there they slew a great many *Britains*, and made the rest fly into the *Wood* or *Forrest*, called *Andredes Leage* (supposed to be part of the wild of *Kent*, and the *Woody parts* of *Sussex*) where now are, or were lately *Aishdowne*, and *Arundel Forrefts*, with several others now disforested. *Henry Huntington* giveth a large account of this *Action*, and tells us that upon the *Saxons* first landing, a great many *Britains* immediately drew together at the *Alarm*, and straight ways a great *Fight* was begun, but the *Saxons* being taller and stronger Men, received them courageously; and the *Britains* coming on very rashly in small stragling Parties were killed by the *Saxons*, who were drawn up in close Order, and so the *Britains* were routed upon the first encounter; whereupon these *Saxons* possessed themselves of all the *Sea Coast* of *Sussex*, enlarging their Territories more and more, until the *Eighth Year* after their coming; when *Ælla* fought against the *Britains*, near *Mearcredes, Burnamstede* or *Mescredef-burne* (but where it lies is uncertain) now it seems (as *H. Huntington* relates) all the *Kings* and *Princes* of the *Britains* were got together, and fought with *Ælla* and his *Sons*, where the *Victory* remained doubtful, for both Armies returned home very much weakned; whereupon *Ælla* sent unto his own Country for fresh supplies.

Vid. Dr. Powell's Catalogue of the Kings of Wales The same Year also *Aurelius Ambrosius*, is supposed by the *Welsh Chronicles* to be chosen *King* (having been before only *General*) of the *Britains*, and to have Reigned *Nineteen Years*. *Nennius* tells us, That he being *King* of all *Britain*, bestowed *Buels*, and another Country in *South Wales*, upon *Pascent Son* to *Vortigern*.

About *Three Years* after this, *Hengist King* of *Kent* dyed; For this Year (as the *Saxon Annals* relate) *Æsc* (who is also called *Oisc*, and by our *Historians*, called *Osc*) his *Son* began his *Reign*, which continued *Twenty Four Years*; but of *Hengist* his *Father*, *Will. of Malmesbury* very well observes, that he obtained a *Crown* by *Craft*, as much as *Valour*; but *Æsc* his *Son* (who succeeded him) maintained his *Kingdom* by the *Valour* of his *Father*, rather than his own *Merit*, and did not much encrease his *Dominions*: This happened in the *Time* of *Zeno* the *Emperor*. Nor can I here omit what *Geoffrey of Monmouth*, and (from him) *Mathew of Westminster* falsely relate, concerning the *Death* of *Hengist*; That fighting against *Aurelius Ambrosius*, he was taken *Prisoner* near *Coninsburgh* in *Yorkshire*; and not long afterwards beheaded by *Eldol* (a feigned) *Duke* of *Gloucester*; which since it is not found in the *Saxon Chronicle*, nor in any other *Authentick Historian*, deserves little credit.

Anno Dom.
CCCCXC. *Ælla* and *Cissa* having now received fresh recruits out of *Germany* (wherein they much confided) did this Year besiege *Andredescaester* (supposed to be that we now call *Newenden* in *Kent*) and took it by *Force*, putting all the *Britains* to the *Sword*; but *H. Huntington* is very particular in the manner of this *Siege*, and tells us that the *Britains* raised a great *Army* to relieve it, and made many assaults upon the *Saxons* Rear, whilst they lay

lay before the *Town*; who thereupon raising the *Siege*, turned all their *Anno Dom.*
CCCCXC. Forces against the *Britains*; whilst they being more nimble, presently ran away to the *Woods*, when the *Saxons* returning again to the *Siege*, they were as soon upon their backs; by which means the *Saxons* being for a time tired out, received a great loss, till they divided their *Army* into two bodies; so that whilst the one assaulted the *City*, the other should defend the *Assailants*: whereby at last the *Citizens* being quite spent with hunger and fatigue, could no longer endure the *Force* of the *Besiegers*, and all perished by the *Sword*, even to the very *Women* and *Children*, none escaping; and the *Saxons* quite destroyed that *City*, which remained a vast heap of *Ruins* in his *Time*, tho' the *Town* of *Newenden* was afterwards built where it stood in the *Reign* of *Edward* the 1.

But news being carried into *Germany*, of the good success of the *Saxons*, it gave occasion for new *Commanders*, together with their *Armies* to come over hither to try their *Fortunes*; and thus *Five Years* after began the *Kingdom* of the *West Saxons*.

For now *Two Commanders*, viz. *Cerdic*, and *Cynric* his *Son*, landing in *Britain*, with *Five Ships* at a place, called *Cerdicifora*, (i. e. *Cerdic's Shore*) the same day fought with the *Britains*: this *Cerdic* was the *Tenth* in descent from *Woden*; His pedigree (which is needless here to be recited) I have referred to another place; but in *Six Years* after their coming, he and his *Sons* conquered all the Country of the *West Saxons*: This *Cerdic* reigned *Twenty Five Years*; to his *Son* *Cynric* whom succeeded.

Then follows, in the *Saxons Annals*, the whole Succession of these *Kings* as far as *K. Edward* (called the *Martyr*;) *Son* of *Edgar*, which I have omitted, because it serves for no other use, but to let us see about what time these *Annals* were drawn into the form we now have them; but to return to the *History*, *H. Huntington* further informs us, that the same day in which *Cerdic* landed, there assembled a great multitude of *Britains* to oppose him; the *Saxons* standing in *Barrel array* before their *Ships*, the *Britains* boldly assaulted them, but were forced to return without any great Execution, because the *Saxons* could not be over come, though they fought till *Night* parted them; whereupon the *Britains* finding the *Saxons* too strong to be dealt with, were forced to retreat; it proving a drawn *Battel*; but after this, *Cerdic* and his *Son* seized all the Countries upon the *Sea Coast*, though not without divers *Battels*.

But about *Six Years* after came over to their assistance, *Porta* *Anno Dom.*
DL. with his *Two Sons* *Bleda* and *Megla*, who landed in *Britain* with two *Ships* at a place, which (from him) is still called *Portsmouth*: Here as soon as they landed, they slew a *Young British Prince*, or *Commander*, who (as *H. Huntington* relates) being then *Governour* of this *Province*, advancing with a great multitude, without any Order they all perished in the twinkling of an Eye, so that *Port* and his *Sons* obtained a great *Victory*; but in *Anno Dom.* 500.

Aurelius Ambrosius King of the *Britains*, is said by the *Welsh Chronicles* to have dyed, being poisoned as (*Geoffrey* relates) by the procurement of *Pascent*, *Son* to *Vortigern*, who had before rebelled against him; Tho' who succeeded him is uncertain: for as to his supposed Brother *Uther Pendragon*, whom *Geoffrey of Monmouth* would here bring in, he is looked upon even by the *British Antiquaries*, as a mere imaginary *King* of his own; Therefore this must be owned for the most obscure time of all the

Vid. Dr. Powell's Catalogue of British Kings.

the *Welsh* History; but this is certain, that for about the space of Seven Years, there is no mention made of any Wars between the *Saxons* and the *Britains*, until

Anno Dom. *DVIII.* *Cerdic* and *Cynric* slew the great *British* King, *Natanleod* or *Nazaleod*, together with 5000 Men, from which time that Province is called *Natanleage*, as far as *Cerdicsford*; but *H. Huntington* is more particular in this War, and tells us, That this *Natanleod* was the greatest and most powerful King of the *Britains*; who having gathered together his whole Forces, *Cerdic* and his Son were fain to fend for aid to *Æsc* King of *Kent*, and *Ælla* King of the *South Saxons*, as also from *Port* (who came lately over) and that before the Battel, the *Saxon* Army was divided into two bodies, whereof *Cerdic* Commanded the one, and his Son *Cynric* the other; that the Battle being begun, King *Nazaleod*, seeing the *Saxons* Right Wing to be the strongest, fell upon it with all his Forces, and immediately routed it; whereupon *Cerdic* being put to flight, there happened a great slaughter on that side, which, when it was perceived by his Son *Cynric* from the Left Wing, he rushed upon the backs of the pursuers: So that the Battle being again renewed, King *Nazaleod* was Slain, and his Army totally defeated, whereby the *Saxons* obtaining a great Victory, remain'd undisturbed for a long time, and then came to them some Years after many Valiant assistants out of *Germany*.

But to make some Reflections upon this Story, before we proceed further, it is worth our enquiry, who this *Nazaleod* was; some think him to be *Ambrosius* above mentioned, but others take him for his pretended Brother *Uther Pendragon*, whilst others again suppose him not to be any King at all, but only the General of the King of the *Britains*, tho' what King that was, remains as uncertain, and since it is so much in the dark, I shall not undertake to determine it.

It is also as uncertain who now succeeded this *Nazaleod*; most of the * *Welsh* Annals here leave an *inter-regnum* of about Six Years, and do not begin the Reign of *K. Arthur*, till the Year 514, or 515. So likewise, whether he was sole King of the *Britains* is much questioned; since some ancient Manuscripts, *Welsh* Chronicles and Poems, make him to have been only King of *Cornwall*. As to his Father, Arch-bishop *Usher* very well conjectures, that this *Uther*, who is said to have been his Father, was no other than *Nazaleod* above mentioned; who for his great Actions was called in *Welsh*, *Uther*, which signifies as much as Wonderful or Terrible; and thus (as *Nennius* tells us) *Artur* (whose name signifies in *Welsh* an horrible bear) was also called *Mabuter*, that is a horrible Son, because in his Childhood he was very cruel, or rather because he was the Son of this *Nazaleod*, surnamed *Uther*: out of which *Geoffrey* of *Monmouth* forged the Name of *Uter Pendragon*; if this could be proved, as it is an ingenious conjecture of the learned Lord Primate, it would go a great way to clear the *British* History of these obscure times: But since we are now treating of King *Arthur*, and that it is certain he gained many considerable Victories over the *Saxons*, tho' the particular Years are not set down by *Nennius*, or any other Author; I shall here set them down altogether as they are found in *Nennius*; his first Battle was fought near the Mouth of the River, which is called *Glein* or *Gleni* (which is supposed by some to have been in *Devonshire*, but by others (and that more likely) to have been *Glein* in *Lincolnshire*): the Second, Third, Fourth and Fifth Battels were near another River called *Duglas*, which is in the Country of *Lincoln*

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or *Lincoln*, (by some supposed to be the River *Dug* or *Due*, in *Lincolnshire*, but others place it in *Lancashire*, where there is a River called *Duglas* near *Wigan*;) the Sixth Battel was by a River called *Bassas* (which is supposed to run by *Boston* in *Lincolnshire*) the Eighth Battel was near the Castle of *Gunion* or *Guinion*, in which *Arthur* carried the Picture of *Christ's* Cross, and of the Virgin *Mary* upon his back, or as *Mat. Westminster* has it painted on his Target; and the Pagans were that day put to flight, and many of them slain, so that they received a very great overthrow, the Ninth Battel was fought near the City of *Legions*, that is in the *British* Tongue *Kaer-Leon*, (now *Chester*;) the Tenth was near a River called *Ribroit* or *Arderic*; the Eleventh was upon the Mountain, which is called *Agned Cath Reginian* (which is some place in *Somersetshire*, but by *Humphrey Lloyd* it is supposed to have been *Edinburgh*;) *H. Huntington* confesses these places to be unknown in his time, and therefore can be only guessed at in ours: As for the Twelfth Battel, since the certain time of it is fixed, we shall speak of that by and by: but the learned *Dr. Gale* (to whom we are beholding for this last Edition of *Gildas*, and *Nennius* printed at *Oxon*, as also for the various readings, and Notes at the end of him) supposes that all the Battels here reckoned up, were performed in the space of Forty Years, aforegoing, and altho' they may be here attributed to King *Arthur*, yet might be fought under *Vortigern*, *Ambrosius* and others; but that some of these Battels were really fought by King *Arthur*, against the *Saxons*, is acknowledged by all our *English* Writers; and *Ranulph Higden* in his *Polychronicon* expressly relates, that it is found in some ancient Chronicles, that *K. Cerdic* fighting often with *Arthur*, tho' he were overcome, yet still came on again more fiercely; until *Arthur* being quite wearied out, after the Six and Twentieth Year of *Cerdic's* coming over, gave him up *Hampshire* and *Somersetshire*; which Countries he then called *West-Sexe*: And *Thomas Rudburne*, in his greater Chronicle about this time we now treat of, relates, That *Cerdic* fought oftentimes with King *Arthur*, who being at last weary of War, made a League with *Cerdic*, who thereupon granted to the *Cornish-men* to enjoy the Christian Religion under a Yearly Tribute; which is likely enough to be true, supposing, as we have already said, that he was only King of *Cornwall*, and which shews this Prince not to have been such a mighty Monarch, as *Geoffrey* of *Monmouth* would make him. Which is likewise confessed by the *Welsh* Historian *Caradoc* of *Lancarvan*, in his Life of *Gildas*; where he relates, That *Glastenbury* was in *Gildas* his time besieged by King *Arthur* with a great Army out of *Cornwall* and *Devonshire*, because Queen *Gueniver*, his Wife had been ravish'd from him by *Melwas*, who then Reigned in *Somersetshire*, and that she was there kept by him because of the Strength of that Place; whereupon King *Arthur* raising a great Army out of *Cornwall* and *Devonshire*, marched to take the Town, when the Abbot of *Glastenbury* accompanied with *Gildas* went between the two Armies, and perswaded *Melwas* his King to restore the ravish'd Wife; which being done, both Kings were reconciled: Which plainly shews this *Arthur* to have been but of small Power, as well as Reputation, who could thus tamely swallow such an Affront. But to return to the *Saxon* Annals, which relate, [That *Stufe* and *Withgar* (Nephews to King *Cerdic*) arrived in *Britain* with three Ships at the Port called *Cerdics-Ora*, and fighting against the *Britains*, put them to flight. *H. Huntington* makes a long Description of this Battel, which, since it is not much to the purpose,

Usher de
Ant. Britan.
Eccl. c. 17.

Sax. Ann.

Anno Dom.

DXIV.

Vid. Those
Annals at the
end of Dooms-
day Book in
the Exchequer.

Anno Dom. *DXIV.* I omit, only he tells us, That the *British* Army was drawn up on a Hill side, as also in the Valley; which at first put the *Saxons* in much fear, till recovering themselves, they put them all to the Rout. Under this Year also *Ranulph Higden*, in *Polychron*, places the Death of *Ælf* the Son of *Hengist*, to whom succeeded *Otta* his Son, who Reigned 22 Years, without any thing related of him, either in the *Saxon Annals*, or any other History.

About this time also, (tho without assigning the Year,) the same Author places the Death of *Ælla* King of the *South-Saxons*, who had all the Kings and chief Men in *Britain* under his Command, to whom succeeded his Son *Cyssa*; but in a short time, his Posterity (whose Names are no where mentioned) grew weaker and weaker, till they became subject to other Kings.

Anno Dom. *DXIX.* This Year *Cerdic* and *Cynric* took upon them the Title of *Kings of the West-Saxons*, and the same Year fought against the *Britains* at a place called *Cerdice's-Ford*, (now *Charford* in *Hampshire*.) from which time the Royal Race of the *Saxon* Kings have reigned there; and the same Year the Emperour *Justin* the Elder began to reign.

It seems King *Cerdic* was hitherto very modest, for tho he had now been a Conquerour for 24 Years, yet did he never take upon him the Title of *King* till now, when he had gained a very large Territory, and his Affairs were well established by this great Victory at *Cerdice's-Ford*; but the Time when this Kingdom began is the more observable, because at last it conquered all the other six *Saxon* Kingdoms, and so obtained the sole Command of all *England*; so that (says *H. Huntingdon*) the Times of all other Kingdoms being applied to these Kings, may be by them the better distinguished.

Anno Dom. *DX.* In this Year, as all the best *British* Manuscripts, as well as printed Chronicles, relate, was fought the great Battel of *Badon-Hill*, (which is supposed to be the same with *Banefdown* near *Bathe*.) where the *British* Writers suppose King *Arthur* to have Commanded in Person; tho divers of our Authors make him to have been only General to *Aurelius Ambrosius*, which is not at all likely; since according to the best *British* Accounts *Aurelius* died above 20 Years before this Battel. This *Nennius* makes to be the twelfth Battel he had fought with the *Saxons*; yet since Mr. *Milton*, as well as others, have been pleased to question, whether there was ever any such King who Reigned in *Britain*, it were not amiss if we did a little clear and establish that Point before we proceed any further, since so great and remarkable a part of the History of the *British* Kings depends upon it. The Objections that are made against *Arthur's* being a King in *Britain* are these: First, That *Gildas* makes no mention of him. Secondly, That he is not so much as mentioned by any ancient *British* Historian, except *Nennius*, who lived near 300 Years after, and whom all grant to have been a very credulous, trivial Writer, and to have vented a great many Fables. Thirdly, That tho *William* of *Malmesbury* and *H. Huntington* both make mention of this *Arthur*, and his Victories over the *Saxons*, yet that the latter took all he has written concerning him from *Nennius*, as the former did either from him, or else from some Monkish Legends in the Abby of *Glastenbury*; and that he knew no more of this *Arthur* above 500 Years ago, when he wrote his History, than we do at this day. Lastly, That the pretended History of *Geoffrey* of *Monmouth* hath made such incredible Romances concerning this

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this Prince's Actions and Conquests, not only in *Britain*, but in *France*, *Anno Dom.* *Scotland*, *Ireland*, *Norway*, and other Countries, as are sufficient to shock the Credit of his whole History: It being a likely matter, that he, who could not maintain his own Country, should have Forces and Leisure sufficient to conquer the Kingdoms of so many Foreign Princes.

To each of which Objections we shall return these Answers. That in the first place, as to *Gildas* his not mentioning him, it is at the best but a Negative Argument, since it is evident that he did not design any exact History of the Affairs of his Country, but only to give a short Account of the Causes of the Ruine of it by the *Scots*, *Picts*, and *Saxons*, the chief of which he ascribes to GOD's Vengeance upon the *Britains* for their great Wickedness, and corruption of Manners; nor does he mention any Kings or Commanders of those Times, except *Portigern*, and *Aurelius Ambrosius*. As for *Nennius*, tho what is objected against him be true, yet since he lived near 300 Years after *Arthur's* Death, (as appears by the Preface to his History,) it is highly probable he set down what he there wrote, if not from some other more ancient Writers, yet at the least from the general Tradition of his Country-men at that time, who can never be supposed to have been able to forge this whole Story of *K. Arthur*, and the Battles he fought; and tho it be true, that the *Saxon Annals* make no mention of this King, yet if these were also written from Traditions long after these Things were done, being not put into the Form we now have them till long after the *Saxons* became *Christians*, it is no wonder if there be no mention made of him; especially since they could not do it without Recording to Posterity the many Defeats he gave them; but notwithstanding this, divers of our best and most ancient *English* Historians, as *Radulphus de Diceto*, and *Thomas Rudburn*, do mention King *Cerdic's* fighting divers Battles with King *Arthur*. But as for *William* of *Malmesbury* and *H. Huntington*, tho it might be true, they neither of them knew any thing of them, but what they had from *Nennius*, or the Legends of *Glastenbury*; yet are not the ancient Registers of that Monastery to be wholly slighted as false, since King *Arthur* was there buried: But *William* of *Malmesbury*, in his Book of the Antiquities of that Church, makes King *Arthur* to have begun his Reign over the *Britains* in the Tenth Year of King *Cerdic*, in which he is also followed by *Ran. Higden* in *Polychronicon*, and *Joh. Tinmuth* in his *Golden History*; and tho the Tomb of King *Arthur* was not found in the time of *William* of *Malmesbury*, yet was it some Years after discovered, about the end of the Reign of *Henry* the Second, as *Giraldus Cambrensis* relates at large, both in his Book *De Institutione Principis*, and in his *Speculo Ecclesiastico*; where he gives a large Account of the manner of finding his Coffin, (which was made out of a solid Oak,) as also of the largeness of his Bones which he saw and handled; together with an Inscription upon a Leaden Cross of about a Foot long, fixed to the lower side of a broad Stone laid three Foot above the Coffin, on which was inscribed this Epitaph, *Hic jacet sepultus inclitus Rex Arthurus in Insula Analonia*; which Cross being preserved in the Monastery of *Glastenbury* till *Leland's* time, he saw and took a Copy of it, and is the very Inscription which Mr. *Camden* hath given us the Draught of in his *Britannia*.

But as for the last Objection, tho it be true what *William* of *Malmesbury* very well observes, that the *Britains* had vented a great many Fables of him, yet he still acknowledges him to have been a Prince more worthy to

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Sam. Josephine.
New Edit.
p. 65.

Anno Dom. be celebrated in true Histories, than Romances; and tho' it must be confessed, that the Stories the *Welsh* had then made of him, encouraged *Geoffery of Monmouth* to write those incredible Fables of his Conquests; yet does it not therefore follow, that all that is written of him must be Lies; since a true History may be corrupted, and yet the Substance of it remain true. But whoever desires to see more in justification of the History of King *Arthur*, how much of it is true, and what most likely to be false, may, if they please, consult Dr. *Stillingfleet's* Antiquities of the *British Churches*. But to return to our *Saxon Annals*, in which, for the space of 7 Years, there is nothing at all mentioned until the time

Sax. Ann. 'When *Cerdic* and *Cenric* fought against the *Britains*, in a place called *Cerdics-Leah*. To which Year also *H. Huntington* refers the beginning of the *East-Saxon Kingdom* by *Erchenwin* the Son of *Offa*. He seems to be the only Prince who is derived from one *Saxnat*, and not from *Woden*; tho' of this Prince they tell us nothing, except his Name and Pedigree, relating neither the Number of his Forces, the Place of his Landing, nor so much as the least Encounter he had with the *Britains*. In the same Obscurity we might have also passed over *Sledda* his Son, had he not married *Riccla* Daughter of *Emerick*, King of *Kent*, and Sister to *Ethelbert* the first Christian King; so that this Kingdom being at first Tributary to that of *Kent*, and then to that of the *Mercians*, never came to be very considerable, tho' it had *London* (the chief City of *England*) under its Dominion; But in the Year

Anno Dom. '530, *Cerdic* and *Cenric* conquered the Isle of *Wight*, and slew a great many Men in *Withgarabyrig*.

Anno Dom. 'But 4 Years after, *Cerdic* King of the *West-Saxons* died, and *Cenric* his Son succeeded him, and Ruled 26 Years.

Anno Dom. 'These two Kings bestowed the Isle of *Wight* on *Stuf* and *Withgar*, who were Nephews to *Cerdic*. This (according to *H. Huntington*) happened in the time of *Justinian* the Emperour.

Anno Dom. 'Offa King of *Kent* dying, his Son *Ermeric* succeeded him. *Ran. Higden* places it (tho' falsely) *An. 544*.

Anno Dom. 'This Year the Sun was Eclipsed the 14th of the Calends of *March*, from early in the Morning, to the third Hour, (i. e. till nine of the Clock.) And the Year following,

Anno Dom. 'The Sun was again Eclipsed the 12th of the Calends of *June*, and the Stars shewed themselves for near half an hour after nine in the Morning. But to take a View of the *British History*,

Anno Dom. King *Arthur* died this Year, (as all the *British Writers* agree,) but as for the manner of his Death, it is uncertain. The *British Chronicles* suppose him to have been slain in a Fight at *Camala* against his own Nephew *Mordred*, who had usurped the Crown in his absence. It is more uncertain who succeeded him; *Geoffery of Monmouth* makes *Arthur* at his Death to have bequeath'd the Crown to one *Constantine* his Cousin, Son of *Cador* Duke of *Cornwal*, whom he makes to have fought several times with the Sons of *Mordred*, that he slew them, and after 4 Years Reign died: But divers of the ancientest *British Chronicles* we have seen make no mention of this *Constantine*, but leave here an *Inter-regnum* of near 11 Years. But to return to our *Saxon Annals*.

Sax. Ann. 'Withgar died, and was buried at *Withgarabyrig*; which Place being called after his own Name, was certainly some Place in the Isle of *Wight*; and is supposed to be the same with *Carebrook Castle* in the same Island.

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Let us now look back to the *British Affairs*: King *Constantine* being supposed by *Geoffery* to have died about this time, he makes his Nephew *Aurelius Conan* to have succeeded him, who Reigning about two Years, was followed by *Vortipore*; who also dying four Years after, was succeeded by *Malgo*, (called by *Gildas*, *Malgocunus*;) and is supposed to be the same with *Maelgwn Guined*, (so often mentioned in the *Welsh Annals*;) so that according to *Geoffery*, these three Princes reigned successively after one another, which can by no means be reconciled with *Gildas's* Epistle, who speaks to all of them, as living and reigning at one and the same time; so that it is most likely that *Malgo*, or *Malgocunus*, was only King of *North-Wales*, or else of the Northern Parts of *Britania*, (as some of the *Welsh Chronicles* affirm;) but that *Vortipore* was King of that part of *South-Wales* called *Demetia*, *Gildas* himself relates, whilst *Aurelius Conan* ruled in *Powis Land*, or some other Southern Province, (as Arch-Bishop *Usher* with great probability supposes;) but *Gildas's* Epistle, wherein he so sharply inveighs against all these *British Kings* above-mentioned, is to this effect.

"*Britain* has Kings, yet Tyrants; it has Judges, but preying upon, and oppressing the Innocent; their kings have Wives of their own, yet are Whoremongers; often Swearing, yet as often Perjuring themselves; often making Wars, but those unjust, or Civil Ones; prosecuting Thieves, yet having the greatest near them, even at their own Tables; sitting in the Seat of Justice, yet not observing the Rules of right Judgment; despising the Innocent and Peaceable, and countenancing the Bloody and Adulterous; keeping Men in Prison, whom they have put there rather out of Malice, than Desert. And then proceeds particularly to all the Kings then reigning, beginning with *Constantine*, whom he calls *The Tyrannical Whelp* of an impure *Damonian Lioness*; and accuses him this very Year, in which he wrote that Letter, to have been guilty of murdering two innocent Youths of Royal Blood at the very Altar, and under the Cope of the holy Abbot: (These are supposed to have been the two Sons of *Mordred*.) He likewise accuses this Prince, that being polluted with frequent Adulteries, he had, contrary to Christ's Precept, put away his own Wife.

In the next place, applying himself to *Aurelius Conan*, he accuses him of the like, if not worse Parricides, besides Fornications and Adulteries; and that hating the Peace of his Country, he had out of desire of Prey fomented Civil Wars.

In the third place he comes to *Vortipore*, whom he calls *The wicked Son* of a good Father, and Tyrant of the *Demetia*, (that is, *South-Welshmen*) and whom he accuses of the like Faults; and that tho' his Head were then grey, yet he was guilty of Adultery, his Wife being put away; him he also advises to Repentance.

Next he proceeds to *Cuneglasus*, (who is supposed by some Antiquaries to have been King of the *Northern* or *Cambrian Britains*;) but this is to be observed, that *Geoffery of Monmouth* takes no notice of him; which shews, that either he never saw this Copy of *Gildas*, or else, if he did, knew not where to place this Prince; having already made as many Kings to succeed each other, as the Time he had to bestow upon them would allow: But whoever he was, *Gildas* accuses him for fighting both against GOD and Men; against Men, by taking Arms against his own Country-men; against God, by infinite Wickedness; and besides his other Faults, that having

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Anno Dom. put away his own Wife, he had married her Cousin who had vowed perpetual Chastity.

Then he concludes with a sharp Reproof of *Maglocunus*, whom he calls the *Island Dragon*, and the Expeller of many other Tyrants; he also accuses him of Sodomy, asking him, Why, being taller in Stature, and greater in Power than all the rest of the Princes in *Britain*, he had made himself, in stead of being better, far worse than they? Upbraiding him, that in his Youth he had murdered the King his Uncle, with many of his Men. After many other Reproofs, threatens him with speedy Destruction unless he repent.

This is the Substance of *Gildas's* Reproof to the *British* Princes; from which all that we can gather is, First, that there were no less than five Kings at this time in *Britain*, tho' by what Means or Title they came to the Crown is uncertain; more than that it seems probable, some of these Princes here mentioned were descended from *Aurelius Ambrosius*; tho' (as *Gildas* observes) highly degenerated from the Virtue of their Ancestors: But what great Actions these Kings did during their Reigns, or what good Qualities they were induced with, is not known, so that there is but a slender Account of them in the Rolls of Fame; which may make us suspect they were guilty of but very few good Qualities, because we here find a large Catalogue of their bad Ones. Who succeeded each of these Kings in their distinct Territories, the most authentick *British* Chronicles do not mention; and therefore, tho' *Geoffrey* makes one *Careticus* to have now governed that part of *Britain* which was still left unconquered by the *Saxons*, and whom he will have to succeed *Malgo*; and that thereupon the *Saxons* sent for one *Germund* an *African* King with a great Army of his Countrymen, who making a League with the *Saxons*, set upon *Careticus*, and besieged him in the City of *Cirester*, and taking and burning it, afterwards fought with *Careticus*, and forced him to flee beyond the Mountains of *Wales*: Yet since neither in our *Saxon* Annals, nor any other good Historian, there is any thing to be found concerning these Kings, or any *Africans* that ever invaded *Britain*, it is to be looked upon as no better than one of the bold Inventions of this Author.

But as I have given you *Gildas's* Character of their Kings, so I shall now give you that of their Clergy, whom he thus reproves. *Britain* (says he) hath Bishops, but without Discretion; many Ministers, but those Impudent; many Clerks, but subtle Prowlers; Pastors in Name, but indeed Wolves; intent upon all Occasions not to feed the Flock, but to pamper and well line themselves, making use of their Churches only for Lucre's sake; teaching the People sound Doctrine, but they themselves shewing evil Example; rarely officiating at the Altar, and then scarce ever standing there with pure Hearts; not correcting the People for their Sins, as guilty of the same themselves; despising the Precepts of Christ, and fulfilling their own Lusts; usurping the Chair of Peter, but through the blindness of their own worldly Lusts stumbling upon the Seat of Judas; deadly haters of Truth, and lovers of Lies; looking upon the poor Christians with Eyes of Pride and Contempt, but fawning upon the wickedest rich Men without Shame; great Promoters of other Men's Alms with set Exhortations, but themselves ever contributing least; concealing, or slightly touching the reigning Sins of the Age, but highly aggravating their own Injuries as done to Christ himself; seeking Preferments and Degrees in the Church more than Heaven; and having fogained them, make it more their study how to keep, than to illustrate them by their good Examples; dull, and stupid to the Reproofs of holy Men,

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(if ever they hear them at all,) but shew themselves very attentive to the trivial Discourses of the Laity; ready to act any unlawful Things; carrying their heads a loft, but having their affections (notwithstanding the checks of their own Consciences) as low as Hell; sad at the loss of a penny, but joyed if they can get one in Apostolical Censures, either through their own Ignorance, or the greatness of the Sins; Dull and Mute, but very skillful in the cheating Tricks of Worldly business; from which wicked sort of Conversation many run into Priests Orders, which they buy for Money, taking the Priesthood, without observing its Rules and Institution, or knowing what belongs to matters of Faith or Manners. And then proceeding in a tedious invective against Simony, he at last thus addresses himself to the Laity: What can ye expect, O unhappy People from these Beasts, all Bellies! Shall these amend thee, who (as the Prophet says) weary themselves in committing Iniquity? Shalt thou see with their Eyes which regard only those ways that lead to Hell; leave them rather, (as bids our Saviour), lest ye fall both blindfold into the same Perdition. But are all thus? Perhaps not all, or not so grossly: But what did it avail Eli, to be himself blameless, whilst he connived at his Sons, that were wicked? Who of these hath been envied for his better Life? Who of them have hated to consort with such, or withstood their entering into the Ministry, or zealously endeavoured their casting out? This is the Sense of what he there says, it being not only tedious, but impossible to translate *Verbatim*, so barbarous and obscure a Writer, tho' otherwise he seems to have been a Man of great Wit, and ardent Piety, above what that Age would admit of: But hence we may learn what the State of the Government and Religion among the *Britains* was in that long Calm of Peace, which the Victory at *Badon Hill* had produced.

Also at the end of his History, he gives a farther account of the sad state of Affairs, and great corruption of Manners in those Times;

And complains, "That the Cities of his Country were not then inhabited, as before, but lay ruined and deserted; for though Foreign Wars were ceased for a time, yet so were not the Civil, so that there did still remain upon the face of the Island evident marks of so miserable a destruction; but that also as long as the memory of that unlooked for assistance lasted, their Kings, as well as their Bishops and Priests did pretty well observe due Orders; but those deceasing, as the next Generation succeeded, which had not seen the former Calamities, and were only sensible of the present Prosperity, all the Principles of Truth and Justice were totally shaken and subverted: So that scarce any footsteps remained of them in all the Orders and Degrees of Men above mentioned, except some, and those but few, very few in respect of those who go to Hell; so that although they are the only true Sons of our Mother the Church, yet by reason of the smallness of their number, she can scarce take any notice of them, albeit they lye in her very Bosome."

This much may suffice to give an account, as well of this Epistle of *Gildas*, as of his History, which *Caradoc of Llancarvon* in his *Legendary Life* of this Author supposes to have been writ whilst he lived at *Glastenbury*. But these passages, I thought good to Transcribe from him, as not unuseful to be inserted in these Annals; not out of any desire to rip up, or expose the faults of the ancient *British* Clergy or Nation, much less to insult over their Calamities; but rather to serve as a warning to us, who live in this loose and corrupt Age, that we may avoid the like Sins, lest we provoke God to send the like Judgments upon us: But to return to the *Saxon* Chronicle;

This

Sax. Ann. [This Year began the *Northumbrian* Kingdom, or in the Words of our Annals; *Ida* began to Reign, from whom is derived the Royal Family of the *Northumbrian* Kings; the *Saxon* Annals here give us a long pedigree of this *Ida*, who reigned Twelve Years, and built *Bebbanburgh* (now *Bamborough* Castle in *Northumberland*) which was at first encompassed only with a Trench, and afterwards with a Wall.

Anno Dom.
DLXVII.

H. Huntington says, This Prince was always in War, and *Will.* of *Malmesbury*, and *Mat. Westminster*, make him to have had Twelve Sons partly by Wives, and partly by Concubines: And the latter also tells us that he together with his Sons came into *Britain*, and landed at *Flensburgh* with Forty Ships.

But though *Ida* was the first that took upon him the Title of King, yet there were Princes of the *Saxons*, in that Country many Years before; for the same Authors tell us, That *Hengist* had long before sent his Brother *Othla*, and his Son *Ebuja*, Men of great Experience in War, to Conquer the North Parts of *Britain*; who pursuing his directions, met with a success answerable to their endeavours; for fighting often times with the Natives of the Country, and conquering all those who endeavoured to resist them, they received the rest into their Protection, and so enjoyed the fruits of Peace. But though they had by their own industry, as well as the consent of their Subjects, gained some Power in those Parts; yet did they never till now take upon them the Title of Kings, the same moderation descending also to their Posterity: So that for near an Hundred Years, the Princes, Earls, or Dukes of *Northumberland* lived like Vassals, under the Protection of the Kings of *Kent*. But this Nation being naturally haughty, in the Year above recited, (that is Sixty Years after the Death of *Hengist*) this Principality was changed into a Kingdom, *Ida* first reigning there; who without doubt was a very gallant Man, being then in the prime of his Youth; but whether he enjoyed that Principality in his own Right, or whether he had it by Election, our Author will not take upon him to determine, because the Truth was very obscure; only it was certain, that tho he was descended of an Ancient and Royal Family, yet by his Great and Noble Qualities, he added much to the greatness of his Birth, and that being invincible in War, he tempered the Severity of Kingly Majesty with his own natural affability. To return now to the affairs of the West *Saxons*, *Anno* 552.

After Five Years, *Cynric* fought against the *Britains*, at a place which is called *Searebyrig* (i. e. Old *Sarum*) and put the *Britains* to flight; then follows a Repetition of his Pedigree, as far as King *Ethelbert*, who was the first Christian King; which shews that these *Annals* were continued by several hands, at several times long after those Kings lived.]

About this time, some *British* Chronicles place the Death of *Malgoclunus*, or *Mailgwn Gwined*, tho Mr. R. *Vanhan* a Learned *Welsh* Antiquary would rather understand this of his Civil than Natural Death; that is, to his resigning the Crown, and professing himself a Monk, as *Gildas* in his Epistle saith he did; For it is certain he lived and reigned long after; and he is in the *Welsh* Annals reckoned as the Supreme, or sole King of the *Britains*; being, (as it seems) after the breach of this Vow, Chosen by the *Welsh* Nobility and People to that Dignity, some Years after: So that divers of the *Welsh* Chronologers, begin his Reign over all *Wales* and *Cumberland* from this very Year, tho *Humphrey Lluyd*

in his Description of *Britain*, out of an ancient *British* Law-Book, begins it about the Year 560, which is most likely. He is said by *John Rolfe*, in his History, to have built *Bangor* near the River *Menni*, where now is an Episcopal See. But to return to our *Saxon* Annals,

'This Year *Cynric*, and *Cearlin* his Son, fought a Battle against the *Britains* at *Berlinbyrig*, (now *Banbury* in *Oxfordshire*,) and put them to flight. *H. Huntington* is very large in the Description of this Battle, relating, 'That the *Britains* having gathered together all their Forces to revenge the Losses they had received for five Years foregoing, marched as far as *Beranbury*, where they drew up their Men in nine Divisions; but the *Saxons* being drawn up in one great Body, and setting boldly upon them, having broken their Lances, finished the Victory with their Swords, which remained doubtful till night drew on. Some Years after this, (viz.)

'*Cearlin* began also to reign over the *West-Saxons* in the room of *Cynric* his Father; the same Year *Ida* dying, *Ælla* began to reign over the *Northumbrians*. His Pedigree likewise follows, tho needless to be inserted; but it terminates in *Woden*, tho from another Ancestor than *Ida*'s.

'But you are here to observe, That now the *Northumbrian* Kingdom became divided into two, for this *Ælla* reigned over the Kingdom of *Deira*, while *Adda*, the eldest Son of *Ida*, reigned at the same time over the *Bernicians*, (as *Florence* of *Worcester* testifies.)

'This Year also *Ethelbert* succeeded in the Kingdom of *Kent*, which he held for 53 Years. In his time Pope *Gregory* sent us Baptism, (that is, made the *English* *Saxons* Christians,) in the 32d Year of this King's Reign.

This Year (as *Bede*, and also the *Saxon* Annals relate,) *Columba* the Priest or Presbyter came out of *Ireland*, (which in his Epitome he also calls *Scotland*,) to preach the Word of GOD to the Northern *Picts*, that is, those that were divided from the Southern by a large Tract of high Mountains; for the Southern *Picts* had been already converted from Idolatry to the Christian Faith by *Nynias*, a Reverend Bishop of the *British* Nation, (as hath been already declared.) But *Columba* came into *Britain* in the 9th Year of the Reign of *Bridius* the Son of *Meiloch* King of the *Picts*, and having converted the said Nation to the Christian Faith, received the Island [of *Hy*], therein to build a Monastery. Then *Bede*, after giving us a short Description of this Island and Monastery, has this remarkable Passage, viz. "But this Island (viz. *Hy*,) is always wont to have for its Governour the Abbot or Presbyter, to whose Authority all the Province, and even the Bishops themselves, after an unusual Order, ought to be subject, according to the Example of their first Teacher, who was never a Bishop, but a Monk. But the *Saxon* Chronicle is more express, and says, "That there must be always in *Hy* an Abbot, and not a Bishop, and that all the Bishops of *Scotland* ought to be subject to him.

From the above-mentioned Passage in *Bede*, some Writers have inferred, That Bishops were not then thought so necessary, since the Church of *Scotland* was able to subsist so long without them; and the Abbot of *Hy*, without being ordained Bishop, exercised Episcopal Authority over those that were Bishops; to which, Arch-Bishop *Usher* in his before-cited Work, *De Britan. Eccles. Antiquit.* answers, That this Authority of the Abbots of *Hy*, their exercising Jurisdiction over the Bishops of *Scotland*, was a

Anno Dom. Superiority of meer Jurisdiction, and not of Order; and he there cites certain ancient Annals of *Ulster*, to prove, That this little Island had always a Bishop residing in it, either in or near that Monastery: Which is also further enforced in the Learned Bishop *Lloyd's* Historical Account of *Church Government, &c.* where he brings several Authorities to prove, that this *Columba* received his Orders from *Pinsan* Bishop of *Meath* in *Ireland*, before ever he came from thence; and that if he refused being made a Bishop, it was out of a pure Monkish Humility, having from his Youth devoted himself to a Monastic Life; but that he himself did own the Order of a Bishop to be above that of a Presbyter, is urged from *Adamannus* his Successor, who wrote his Life; particularly mentioning *Columba's* refusing to break the Bread to be received at the Communion, together with a concealed Bishop, (as two Priests used to do in their way of Consecration.) but would needs make him break it alone, (as a Bishop ought to do,) asking him, Why he had endeavoured to conceal himself, that they might give him due Veneration? Which Words of *Columba* a Presbyter to a Bishop, are supposed sufficiently to shew, that he acknowledged the Episcopal Order superiour to his own; and that the *Scots* ever acknowledged, that Bishops were necessary for the Ordaining of others in the Ministry, the said Bishop further urges from *Bede*, who there tells us, "There was a Bishop of all that Province; as also from another place in the said Author, where he relates, That when King *Oswald* becoming a Christian, desired to have a Bishop from *Hy*, to plant a Church among his *Northumbrians*; *Aidan* was sent to him, having first received the Degree of a Bishop, in the time when *Segenius*, Abbot and Priest, was over that Monastery; and also, that after he came into *Northumberland*, he chose the Place for his Episcopal See in the Isle of *Lindisfarne*, where he was with his Clergy; and there he was Abbot with his Monks, who all belong to the Care of the Bishop, where he was also succeeded by divers other Bishops; till that Church being destroyed by the *Danes*, the Bishop's See was removed to *Durham*. I need say no more upon this Subject, but shall refer the Reader to the said Learned Bishop's *Dissertation*, to prove, that no other Church-Government, but Episcopal, was ever settled amongst the *Scots*, *Picts*, or *Saxons*, upon their Conversion to Christianity. But that we may return again to our *Saxon* Annals.

Sax. Ann. 'Adda King of *Bernicia* dying this Year, (as *Florence of Worcester* and 'Matthew of *Westminster* relate) one *Glappa* reigned in his stead two Years; *an.* DLXVII. but who he was, or how descended, these Authors do not tell us.

The same Year died *Maelgwn Guineth* King of the *Britains*, after five Years Reign over all that part of *Britain* that was left them: This is according to the account of that Learned Antiquary Mr. *Robert Vaughan*; the *Mat. of Westminster*, Dr. *Powell*, and Sir *John Price*, make him to have began his Reign long after, viz. the former of these in 581, and the latter in 590; both which Opinions the said Mr. *Vaughan* Learnedly confutes in a Manuscript I have now in my possession; but who succeeded *Maelgwn Guineth* as King of all the *Britains*, since the *Welsh* Annals are silent, I shall be so too; for as to those Successors which *Geoffrey* hath given him, I have already said sufficient to destroy his Credit in this matter; and *Will. of Netherie's* Censure of him is not less sharp than true: "That concerning the Successors of *Arthur*, he does not lie with less Impudence, when he gives them the Monarchy of all *Britain*, even to the 7th Generation. The

'The next year *Ceawlin*, and *Cutha* his Brother, beginning a Civil War, fought with King *Ethelbert*, and drove him back into *Kent*, and killed two of his Commanders, *Oslac* and *Cnebba*, at *Wibbendon*, (now *Wimbledon* in *Surrey*.) This King *Ethelbert* (as *Will. of Malmesbury* observes) was in the beginning of his Reign a Scorn to the Neighbouring Princes; for being beaten in one or two Battels, he could scarce defend his own Territories: But when in his riper Years he learned more Experience in War, in a short time he brought under his Subjection all the Nations of the *Engliff-Saxons*, except the *Northumbrians*; and that he might also gain the Friendship of Foreigners, he became allied to the King of the *Franks* by the Marriage of *Bertha* his Daughter. But of this King we hear no more for many years, till his Conversion to the Christian Faith.

Glappa King of *Bernicia* dying, *Theodwulf* succeeded him for one year. But then he also deceasing,

Frecobwulf reigned after him for seven or eight years more. We are beholding for the Succession of these two Kings, to *Florence of Worcester* and *Rog. Hoveden*, being omitted by all other Authors; they are also more wast in distinguishing this Kingdom from that of *Deira*, most of the rest confounding them together.

Cuthwulf the Brother of *Ceawlin* (as it is in *H. Huntingdon*) fought against the *Britains* at *Bedicanford* (now *Bedford*), and took four Towns, viz. *Lugoburgh* (now *Loughborough*) in *Leicestershire*, or else *Leighton* in *Bedfordshire*; and *Eglesburh* (now *Eylesbury*) in *Bucks*; with *Bensington* and *Egonesham* (now called *Bensington* and *Enisham*) in *Oxfordshire*.

About this time, as is supposed, (for the Year is not set down in the *Saxon* Annals, nor any other Historian) began the Kingdom of the *East-Angles* under *Uffa* (the Eighth from *Woden*) who it seems there were before him divers other petty *Saxon* Princes, who had invaded and fixed themselves in the Countries we now call *Norfolk* and *Suffolk*; for in one Copy of *Matth. of Westminster* which Mr. *Twine* had seen, (tho it be not found in our printed ones) he saith, That *Anno* 527. the *Pagans* came out of *Germany* and took possession of the Countrey of the *East-Angles*, and tormented the Christians with all sorts of Cruelty; but it seems this *Uffa* in Strength and Policy overpowering the rest of those Petty Princes, got himself made sole King, and governed with that Glory, that *H. Huntingdon* tells us, the Kings descended from him were called *Uffings*, though how long he reigned is uncertain, only that dying he left the Crown to *Titul* or *Titillus* his Son, of whom likewise nothing is recorded, and therefore *Will. of Malmesbury* takes no notice of these two Princes: The first he speaks of is *Redwald*, the Tenth from *Woden*, whom he calls the greatest King of the *East-Angles*; but since his Reign began after this Period, I shall reserve the speaking further of him to the next Book.

To return to the *Saxon* Annals: 'This year *Ceawlin* and *Cuthwin* his Son fought with and slew three *British* Kings, viz. *Commall*, *Candidan*, and *Parimaille*, at a place which is called *Deorham* (now *Durham*) in *Gloucestershire*, and then took three Cities, *Glewancester* (now *Glocester*), *Cirencester*, and *Bathouester*, (now *Bathe*.)

Who these three Kings were, is very doubtful; some suppose the first and second of them to be *Cuniglasus* and *Anrelius Conan*, both mentioned

Anno Dom.
DLXVIII.

Anno Dom.
DLXIX.

Anno Dom.
DLXX.

Anno Dom.
DLXXI.

Anno Dom.
DLXXV.

Vol. Will.
Malmesb. l. 1.
H. Huntingd.
l. 2.

Anno Dom.
DLXXVII.

Anno Dom.
DLXXVII.

tioned by *Gildas*; but for the third, I cannot tell what to make of him, there being no such King mentioned in any of the old *British* Chronicles; so all that we can guess is, that he was some Petty Prince, whose Name is wholly omitted in the *Welsh* Annals, or else mistaken in ours. From the time of this Battel, the *Britains* or *Welshmen* (as the *English* call them) being driven into that rough and mountainous Countrey we now call *Wales*, lying beyond the Rivers of *Dee* and *Severn*, made fewer Invasions into (what we call) *England*.

This year, as the *Welsh* Chronicle, called *Triades*, relates (being an Ancient Manuscript written near 1000 years ago), the Battel of *Arderydd* was fought on the Borders of *Scotland*, between *Aeddan Vradog*, (i. e. the Treacherous) and *Guendeleu* Son of *Keidiam*, *British* Princes of the North Parts of *Britain*, on the one side; and *Reiderch-hoel*, (i. e. the Liberal) a *British* King of *Cumberland*, on the other side, and that upon a very slight occasion, a Lark's Nest, and two Dogs: In which Battel *Guendeleu* was slain, though his men fought and skirmish'd with the other *Britains* for Six Weeks to revenge his Death. After which Fight *Aedan* being there overcome, fled into the Isle of *Man*.

The like Story is related by *Hector Boethius*, concerning the Battel between *Aedan* King of the *Scots*, and the *Picts*, upon the like occasion; so that either the *Scots* borrowed it from the *British* History, or else this had it from them; though the former be the most likely. But how this can agree with our *Saxon* Annals, who make *Adda* King of *Bernicia* to have died Ten Years before, I know not; one of them must certainly be mistaken, since there was but one King of *Northumberland* who was called *Adda*.

This year, or the next, King *Freothwulf* dying, *Theodoric* the Son of *Ida* (according to *Florence* of *Worcester* and *Matth. Westminster*) succeeded him in the Kingdom of *Bernicia*, *Aella* still reigning in *Deira*. This *Theodoric* and his Sons (according to the Ancient Author of the *English-Saxon* Genealogies at the end of *Nennius*, lately put forth by Dr. *Gale*) fought with *Urbgen*, or *Urien*, King of *Cumberland*, and his Sons, with various Success, who besieged *Theodoric* in the Isle of *Medcant*, (now *Turne* Island) until by the means of *Morgant*, a Prince of the same Countrey who envied his Valour, *Urien* was in that Expedition murdered by his own men: But the Succession of these Kings of *Northumberland* is very obscure and uncertain.

For the Author of the abovesaid Genealogies makes one *Freodguald* to have succeeded this *Theodoric* or *Deoric* (as he calls him); but whether he was the same with *Freothwulf*, mentioned by *Florence*, is hard to determine; and after this *Freodguald*, who reigned seven years, one *Hussa* is said to have succeeded, who reigned seven years likewise; but whether in *Deira* or *Bernicia*, he does not say; in which he is also followed by *Rog. Hoveden*, in his Prologue to his History; but the Succession of these Kings having no certain Time assigned them, I can only set them down as I find them. Here is a large Gap left in the *Saxon* Annals, where nothing occurs further of *English* Affairs for seven years. To supply which, we must have recourse to the *British* Affairs in those Countries we now call *Wales*. Where (to shew you the Uncertainty of the *British* Chronology),

According to *Matthew of Westminster*, *Malgo*, or *Magoclunus*, whom the *Welsh* Annals call *Mael Guineth*, was elected King of all the *Britains*

Anno Dom.
DLXXXI.

tains of *Wales* (having been long before King of *North-Wales*, as the word *Gwineth* in the *Welsh* Tongue signifies). And *Humphrey Lloyd*, in his Fragment of the Description of *Wales*, from an Ancient Book of *British* Laws, thus gives us the manner of his Election.

After the *Saxons* had obtained the Kingdom and Crown of *London* upon the Expulsion of the *Britains*, all the People of *Wales* met at the mouth of the River *Dee* to Elect a King; and thither came the men of *Gwineth* (or *North-Wales*), the men of *Powis-land*, the men of *Debanbarth*, *Glamorgan*, and divers other Countries; who all elected *Mael Gwineth* King:

Whom *Geoffry* of *Monmouth* fables to have been King not only of all this Island, but also to have conquered *Ireland*, *Iceland*, *Gothland*, *Norway*, *Denmark*, and the *Orcades*; a story so ridiculous, that the very telling it is a sufficient Confutation: And all this he collects from those words of *Gildas*, wherein he calls him the *Island Dragon*, and a driver out of many Tyrants; and because to express his great wickedness he says, *He was drunk with the Wine of Sodom*; *Geoffry* will needs conclude him to have been guilty of *Sodomy*. This Prince is supposed to have reigned as Supreme King of *Wales* about six years.

Ceawlin King of the *West-Saxons*, and *Cutha*, fought against the *Britains* at a place called *Frethanleag* (now *Frethern*) in *Gloucestershire*, where *Cutha* was slain: yet *Ceawlin* now took many Towns, with great Treasures, and other Spoil, and so returned home: As *H. Huntingdon* relates, the *Britains* had at first the better, but *Ceawlin* having sent for fresh Recruits, overcame the Conquerors. *William* of *Malmesbury* mentions a Son of *Ceawlin's* of the same Name, to have been killed before his face; but either the Copy he had of these Annals differed from those we have left us, or else he was no other than this *Cutha* here mentioned, who was his Brother.

About this time began the Kingdom of the *Mercians*, (according to *H. Huntingdon* and *Matth. of Westminster*) whose first King was *Crida*, or *Creoda*; this, though the last erected, yet was one of the largest of the *English* *Saxon* Kingdoms, and was also one of the last that was conquered by the *West-Saxons*.

This Year also (according to the *Welsh* Annals) happened a great Slaughter of the *Britains* of the North; for now *Gurgi* and *Predur*, two *British* Princes, being Brothers and Twins, the sons of *Oliver Gosgard Vavr*, (i. e. *Oliver* with the great Train) a Prince of *Cumberland*, fought with *Adda*, or *Adda*, the *Saxon* King of *Northumberland*, at a place called *Caergrew*, where both the Brothers were slain, many of their men treacherously deserting them the Night before the Battel.

This year *Aella* King of *Deira* died [after 30 years Reign], and *Athelric* succeeded him, and reigned 5 years over all *Northumberland*, having (as *Will. of Malmesbury* relates) obtained the Kingdom in his Old Age, his Youth being spent in a very narrow Fortune; yet having, according to *Florence* of *Worcester's* Account, reigned two years over *Bernicia* in *Aella's* time. And this year also, according to *Matth. of Westminster*, this *Athelric* (for so I suppose it should be, and not *Ethelfrid*, who had not yet begun to reign) married *Acca*, Daughter to *Aella* King of *Deira*, and on her got seven Sons, whose Names he there gives us.

Anno Dom.
DLXXXI.Anno Dom.
DLXXXIV.Anno Dom.
DLXXXV.Anno Dom.
DLXXXVIII.

Anna Dom.
DLXXXVIII.

Also this year in the *Welsh* Annals, as well as those of *Ulster*, *Constantine* is mention'd to be converted to the Lord; whom Archbishop *Usher* understands to have been that wicked *Constantine*, King of *Devonshire* and *Cornwall*, whom *Gildas* has before inveighed against, and who at this time, being now bereft of his Wife and Children, was also weary of his Kingdom, and therefore went privately into *Ireland*, and there building a Monastery, took upon him the Habit of a Monk; as *John* of *Tinmouth*, in his Life of *St. David*, relates. And this *Constantine* *Hector Boethius* in his * *Scottish* History, will have to have been sent over by a certain *Irish* Bishop to preach the Gospel to the *Scots*, and being by them martyr'd, to have been some Ages after canonized for a Saint: But this sounds like a Legend, since the *Scots* had been long before converted by *St. Patrick* to the Christian Faith.

* Lib. 9.

Anna Dom.
DXCI.

This year there was a great and bloody Battel fought at *Wodensbeorge* (now called *Wodensburg*, a little Village in *Wiltshire*) between the *Britains* and the *Saxons*, though it is not here said who were the Generals on either side; only *H. Huntingto* tells us, that the *Britains* having drawn up their Army after the *Roman* manner, and the *Saxons* charging them boldly, but confusedly, there followed a sharp Battel, in which *G O D* gave the Victory to the *Britains*; for the *Saxons* being wont to have the better in all their Wars, being now grown more careless, were vanquished, and the whole Army almost destroyed, which (as *W. of Malmsbury* relates) happened through the *English* joining with the *Britains* against him (though of what Countrey the *English* were, he does not tell us); so that *Ceawlin* being driven out of his Kingdom, and *Ceolric* Son to his Brother *Cuthwulf* obtaining it, reigned five years. *Ceawlin* being thus expell'd after 31 years Reign, was forced to take Refuge in some other Kingdom; but whether in this Island, or else beyond Sea, our Histories are silent: He had been a little before the greatest and most powerful of all the *English-Saxon* Kings, his Achievements being a Wonder to the *English*, and till then a Terror to the *Welsh* or *British*.

About this time *Geoffry* of *Monmouth* makes *Careticus* above mentioned to have succeeded *Mulgo* (who perhaps was the same with *Macl Gwineth*) in the Kingdom of the *Britains*, whom he describes to have been a lover of Civil Wars, and to be hateful to God and all the *Britains*: so that the *Saxons* seeing his weakness, invited *Gormund* an *African* King out of *Ireland*, to invade *England* with Six thousand *Africans*, who joining with the *Saxons* invaded the Territories of *Careticus*, and beating him in many Battels, at last besieged him in the City of *Cirencester*, which being taken and burnt, he again joined Battel with *Careticus*, and forced him to fly beyond *Severne* into *Wales*; and then *Gormund* destroying all the Neighbouring Cities, never left till he had destroyed the whole Island from Sea to Sea; and so for a time obtained the Supreme Dominion of the whole Kingdom.

But of these Kings *Careticus* and *Garmund*, since not only the most Authentick *Welsh* Chronicles, but the *Saxon* Annals are wholly silent, I suppose them to have been only Romances, and invented by *Geoffrey* to fill up this Gap in his *British* History; not that I will deny that one *Gormund* a Danish King might reign in *Ireland* about this time; but that he ever reigned in *England*, is utterly false, no other Historian but himself, and those that borrow from him, making any mention of it.

This

This year *Gregory* was made Bishop of *Rome*. *Ceawlin* (late King of the *West-Saxons*) died in Banishment; and the same year died *Gwihelm* (his Brother), together with *Cryda* (King of the *Mercians*, to whom succeeded his Son *Wierba* or *Wippa*); and *Ethelfred* began also to reign over both the *Northumbrian* Kingdoms, being the Son of *Ethelric* the Son of *Ida*. This Prince did not only defend his own Territories, but also invaded and seized those of others. But the third year after was very remarkable,

For now Pope *Gregory* sent *Augustine* into *Britain* with many Monks to preach the Word to the *English* Nation.

As for the *Irish* Affairs, we have but little more to remark ever since the Death of *Maclgwin Gwineth*, for the space of 24 years; only we find in the Book of *Llandafe*, that about this time *Tudric* King of *Glamorgan*, who was still Victorious, said to have exchanged his Crown for an Hermitage; till going in Aid of his Son *Mauric*, whom the *Saxons* had reduced to great extremity, taking up Arms again, he defended him against them at *Tincombe*, by the River *Wye*, but he himself received a Mortal Wound.

But about the end of this century (as *Geoffry* of *Monmouth* relates) when the *Britains* could not agree for 24 years who should be their Governor, at last they chose *Cadwan* Prince of *North Wales* to be King of all the *Britains*; but the year of this Election is not set down by *Geoffry*, nor is this Prince mentioned by any other *British* Author or Chronicle, before he wrote. But I shall defer speaking farther of this Prince, till I come to the next Book.

Ceawulf began to reign over the *West-Saxons*, who making continual Wars all his time fought sometimes against the other *English-Saxons*, sometimes against the *Britains*, or else against the *Picts* and *Scots*; but (what is more remarkable) this year *Augustine* the Monk, with his Companions, arrived in *Britain*.

But before I conclude this Period, I cannot omit taking some further notice of the Civil as well as Ecclesiastical Affairs, in that part of *Britain*, now called *Wales*, where the Remainers of Christianity in this side of our Island, were now wholly confined; *Bangor* in the *North*, and *Glan Llan* upon *Dee* in *South Wales*, being the chief Places for Learning, as well as Religion, the last of these being also the See of an Archbishop, where was likewise a College of Philosophers, of which (as *Adam Bilebiensis* relates) *Dubritius*, Archbishop of that City, was the Founder; who resigning his Bishoprick, became an Anchorite in the Isle of *Paoger*; to whom succeeded *David* (afterwards Sainted), who flourished about the year 599, and is said to have been Uncle by the Mother's side to King *Arthur*; he removed the Episcopal See from *Cadogan* (now called *St. David's*, in *Pembrokeshire*). Nor can I pass over the Learned and Holy Men among the *Britains* of this Age; as *St. David* the most Pious Bishop of *Bangor*; *Cadocus* Abbot of *Llanbadoc* in *Glamorganshire*, whose Life is written by *John* of *Tinmouth*. In the same Age also flourished *Ilutus*, a Pious and Learned Man of that Countrey; to whom we may also add *Sampson* his Scholar, consecrated Bishop by *Dubritius*, Successor to *St. David*; this *Sampson* was afterwards Archbishop of *Dole* in *Britain*, having upon his leaving *Britain* carried away the Pall along with him, (as hath been already mentioned): Not to omit *Patern* and *Petroc*, the former a

Anna Dom.
DXCII.

Anna Dom.
DXCIII.

Anna Dom.
DXCIV.

Anna Dom.
DXCV.

Anna Dom.
DXCVI.

Anna Dom.
DXCVII.

Preacher at *Llan Patern* in *Cardiganshire*, and the other in *Cornwal*; besides *Congal* Abbot of *Bangor*, and *Kentigern* the famous Bishop of *Elmye* in *North-Wales*, as also *Asaph* his Scholar, and Successor in the same See, now from him called *St. Asaph*; to whom I may also add *Talieffen*, the famous *British* Poet, whose Verses are preserved to this day. All these flourished from the beginning till the middle of the Sixth Century, which now as much abounded in Learned and Pious Men, as the former Age was wanting of them.

Thus, omitting Fables, we have given you a View of whatever we find can be relied on for Truth, transacted in *Britain* since the *Romans* first conquered and then forsook it: Wherein we may observe the many Miseries and Desolations brought by Divine Providence on a wicked and perverse Nation; driven (when nothing else would reform them) out of a Rich Countrey into a Mountainous and Barren Corner, by Strangers and Heathens: So much more intolerable in the Eye of Heaven is the dishonouring the Christian Faith and Religion by Unchristian Works, than downright Infidelity. Yet am I not of *Bede's* Opinion, That the *Britains* omission to preach the Gospel to the *English-Saxons* (though they inhabited the same Island) was any of their crying Sins; since it was not to be expected, that they could either Preach, or the *Saxons* would ever Receive the Gospel from those who were their utter Enemies, and had taken their Countrey from them by Violence: Yet God was not wanting to this Nation, but appointed other Preachers to convert it to the Christian Faith; which how it was brought about, shall be the Subject of the ensuing Book.

The End of the Third Book.

T H E

**THIS CHART WILL BE THE
FIRST CHART APPEARING
AT THE END OF THIS FILM.**

T H E
General History
O F
BRITAIN,
NOW CALLED
ENGLAND:
As well Ecclesiastical as Civil.

B O O K IV:

*From the Preaching of the Christian Religion by
AUGUSTINE the Monk, to ECBERT, the first
Chief or Supreme King of ENGLAND;
containing Two Hundred and Three Years.*

THIS Fourth Period will give us a new and more pleasant Prospect of the Affairs of *Britain*: For as the Gospel of Christ did now dispel that *Egyptian* Darkneſs of *Paganism*, under which it had ſo long laboured; ſo, together with *Christianity*, Human Learning (and conſequently the Art of compoſing Hiſtories or Annals) entered alſo with it; the Monaſteries, which were not long after founded, being then the only Universities in which the Liberal Arts and Sciences were in thoſe times chiefly taught and profeſſed; which though it was not without a great mixture of that *Gothic* Barbariſm that had then overſpread all *Europe*, and even *Italy* it ſelf, yet was it ſufficient (in ſome meaſure) to inſtruct men not only in Divine, but Civil Knowledge; the Monks of that Age poſſeſſing the greateſt ſhare of Learning, and being almoſt the only Hiſtorians as well as Divines: Therefore we muſt be beholding to them for what Accounts we have, not only of the Eccleſiaſtical but Civil Affairs of thoſe Times; for *Bede*, our firſt *Engliſh* Hiſtorian, was himſelf a Monk: And the *Saxon* Annals (which we here give you) were firſt collected and written in divers Monaſteries of *England*; and to which
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is to be ascribed that difference which is found between the Copies of that Chronicle, as to the Dates of Years, and other Matters; for before there was scarce any thing remembered by Tradition, but the great Wars and Battels fought by the *Saxon* Kings against the *Britains*; so, after the Monks came to commit things to writing, they began to make us understand somewhat of their Civil Constitutions, and the Acts of Peace as well as War; tho it must be confessed they are not so exact in the former as they might and ought to have been; minding more the relating of Visions and Miracles, which they supposed to have happen'd and been done in those times, for the Confirmation of some new Doctrines then not fully received: Yet however, I doubt not but from those Remains they have left us, both the Constitution of their Government, and the manner of the Succession of their Kings, may be clearly made out; of both which, in the former Period, we were wholly ignorant: But for this we are chiefly beholding to those *English-Saxon* Laws that are left us, which were made by the Supreme Authority of each Kingdom in their *Witten Gemot*, *Mycel Gemot*, or great Council (which we now call a *Parliament*); from which times most of the Laws made in those Councils were carefully preserv'd, and would have been convey'd to us more entire, had it not been for the loss of so many curious Monuments of Antiquity, at the suppression of Monasteries in the Reign of King *Henry VIII*.

But since it must be confessed, that it was to the Learning which Christianity brought in, that we owe the knowledge we have of the History of our Ancient Times, we shall begin where we left off in the former Book, and shew you by what means this part of *Britain* was brought to the knowledge of Christ, and all the Kingdoms of the *Saxon* Heptarchy became, by degrees, united in the same Faith: For the doing of which it is necessary that we look some years backward, and give you Venerable *Bede's* Relation, how Pope *Gregory* (surnamed *The Great*, to whom the *English* Nation owes its Conversion) came to send *Augustine* the Monk to preach the Gospel here in *Britain*; which he thus relates, as he received it down by Tradition.

Bede, l. 1. c. 1.

The Report is, That many Merchants coming to *Rome*, great store of Commodities being expos'd in the Market-place to be sold, Chapman flocking in apace, *Gregory* also himself going thither (the rather out of Curiosity than to buy), saw among other things, certain handsome Boys expos'd to sale; whom, when he beheld, he demanded from what Country they were brought; and answer being made, That they came out of the Isle of *Britain*; then he asked again, Whether those Islanders were Christians? To which it was answered, They were Heathens; when, fetching a deep sigh, he said, *It was pity the Father of Darkness should be Master of such bright Faces*: They also told him, that they were called *Angles*, of the Kingdom of *Deira*, and that their Kings were named *Aella*: On each of which Names *Bede* either invents, or else had heard, that Pope *Gregory* made divers *Latin* Allusions; which since, if translated, they would seem dry or trivial to most Readers, I therefore pass by. But *Will. of Malmesbury* further adds to this story, That it was then, and long after, the Custom of the Nation of the *Northumbers*, to sell their own Children, or other near Relations, to Foreign Merchants; which shews them then to have been either extraordinary necessitous, or else to have been as barbarous and void of Natural Affection, as the *Negroes* of some parts of *Africa* are at this day.

Gregory

Gregory going immediately to the then Bishop of *Rome*, (for himself was not so as yet,) intreated him to order some Preachers of God's Word to be sent to the *English* Nation, by whose means it might be converted to Christ; and that he himself was ready to undertake the Performance of this Work, in case it would please the Pope to send him; who, although he was willing to grant his Request, yet the Citizens of *Rome* (who had a great value for him,) would by no means permit that he should go so far from that City.

But *Gregory* being not long after himself advanced to the Papacy, he performed by others his so long desired design; for in his Fourth Year, being admonished (saith *Bede*) by Divine instinct, he sent *Augustine*, whom he had designed for Bishop of the *English* Nation, and other Zealous Monks along with him, to preach the Gospel in *Britain*; who being now upon their way, and discouraged by some false Reports, dispatch'd *Augustine* in all their Names, beseeching the Pope that they might return home, and not be sent a Journey so full of hazard to a fierce and Infidel Nation, whose Language they understood not: But the Pope immediately sent back their Messenger with Exhortatory Letters to them, not to be discouraged by vain Reports; but vigorously to pursue the work they had undertaken, since their labours would be attended with lasting Glory; both in this life and that to come, and that they should obey *Augustine*, whom he had appointed for their Abbot; besides which Letters the Pope wrote also to *Eutherius*, Arch-Bishop of *Arles*, wherein he recommended them to his Care and Protection, and that he would furnish them with what they wanted; also recommending to him *Candidus* a Presbyter, whom he had sent to receive and dispose of the Churches Revenues in *France*; besides which there is nothing remarkable in these Letters, except the date which is in the Tenth of the Kalends of *August*, in the Fourteenth Year of the Reign of our Lord, *Mauritius Tiberius Augustus*, and the Fourteenth *Indiction*, which falls out in the Year of our Lord 596; though the Author of the old *Gregorian* Register hath for some Reasons omitted to put down the dates of these Epistles; perhaps lest Posterity might understand that the Pope at that time called the Emperour his LORD, and dated his Letters by the Year of his Reign.

Augustine and his Companions, being thus confirmed by the Pope's Exhortation, proceeded in their Voyage, and passing thorough *France* took Sea, and landed in the Isle of *Thanet*, (lying on the East part of *Kent*) with about Forty Persons in his Company, together with some Interpreters of the *French* Nation: *Ethelbert* was at that time King of that Country; being the most powerful Prince that had Reigned there, as having extended the bounds of his Dominion, as far as the banks of the River *Humber*: As soon as *Augustine* arrived, he sent to King *Ethelbert*, giving him to understand, that he came from *Rome*, and had brought good tidings of Eternal Happiness to all them that would receive it; the King hearing this, commanded that they should remain in the place where they landed, and that all necessities should be plentifully supplied them, till he had determined what to do; for he had heard of the Christian Religion long before, as having married a Christian Lady, called *Bertha*, Sister to the King of *France*, (as hath been already said) upon this condition, that she should have the free Exercise of her Religion, and liberty to have a Bishop of her own, named *Lethard*, whom she brought with her to assist and strengthen her in the Faith.

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The King after some Days came to the Island, and fearing Inchantments, fate down in the open Air, commanding that *Augustine* and his Companions should be brought into his presence; for he was perswaded by his Country Superstition, that if they brought with them any Inchantments, they could not there so easily work upon him; but *Augustine* and his Companions Armed with the Power of God, and bearing a Silver Cross before them, with the Image of our Lord and Saviour painted on a Banner, came on singing (as in a solemn Procession) the Litany as they went, and praying unto God for the Eternal Salvation of those to whom they were sent: But when sitting down with the King, they had preached the Word of Life to him and his Nobles, the King thus spake; "The Doctrines and the promises ye have made, are indeed fair and inviting; But I am not as yet resolved to embrace them, since I cannot suddenly consent to quit that Religion I have so long professed, together with the whole *English* Nation; yet because ye are Strangers, and come a long Journey, and as it seems would impart to us the knowledge of that Religion you believe to be the best, we will not give you the least Molestation, but rather will protect you, and take care that all things necessary shall be provided for your Maintenance; neither shall we prohibit you from gaining as many as you can, to the belief of your Religion.

And accordingly he allotted them their residence in the City of *Canterbury*, (which was the Metropolis of his Kingdom) neither did he hinder them from the freedom of Preaching publicly to whom they would.

When they came to the place provided for them, they began to imitate the Innocent Life of the Primitive Christians, by applying themselves to continual Prayers and Fasting, and especially to the Preaching the Word of God, to all that would hear them; despising the things of this World as superfluous; being content with the bare necessities of Life; living exactly according to the Rules they taught others: the success of which, was, That many believed, and were baptized, admiring the simplicity of their Lives, as well as the Purity of their Doctrine.

There was near this City, towards the *East*, an old ruinous Church anciently Built in honour of St. *Martyn*; whilst the *Romans* inhabited *Britain*, in which the Queen was wont to perform her Devotions: Here they first began to assemble and exercise their Spiritual Functions, until the King being converted, they obtained a full liberty of Preaching, and building Churches. But when the King, by the pure Lives of these Holy Men, as also by the Miracles they wrought, (as our Author relates) became convinced of the Truth of their Doctrine, and was thereupon Baptized, many flocking in, from all Parts to hear the Gospel, and leaving their Heathanism, joynd themselves to the Church of Christ, (so powerful a Motive is the Example of a Prince to his Subjects.) At whose Faith and Conversion, the King extremely rejoiced; yet nevertheless would not compel any to receive Christianity; only those that believed, he cherished with a more tender regard; for he had learnt from the Authors of his Salvation, That the Service of Christ ought to be voluntary, and not constrained; neither did he defer long the giving his Teachers places fitting for their employment, in his City of *Canterbury*; and confer'd upon them large Possessions: But this was not done till some time after, being

confirmed

confirmed in a great Council of his Kingdom, as shall be shewn in its proper place.

But as soon as *Augustine* had by his Preaching converted the greatest part of the *Kentish* Nation, he returned into *France*, where he was ordained Arch-Bishop of the *English* Nation, by *Eutherius*, Arch-Bishop of *Arles*, according to the commands they had received from Pope *Gregory*; *Ann. Dom. 596.* but upon his coming back into *Britain*, he sent immediately to *Rome*, *Laurance* a Priest, and *Peter* a Monk, to certify the Pope, that the Christian Faith was now received by the *English*, and that he was now made Bishop; desiring also his Opinion in certain Questions, he thought necessary to be resolved: To all which, he speedily received such Answers from the Pope, as were proper to the Question proposed; some of which we have thought fit to insert into our History, because they shew us, what was the State of Religion in the *Western* Church, when *Augustine* came over hither.

His first Question was, how the Bishops should converse with their Clergy, as also concerning those things that are Offered at the Altar, by the Oblations of the Faithful? And how many Portions there ought to be made of them? And how a Bishop ought to behave himself in the Church? To these things the Pope answered to this effect.

That as for Bishops, how they ought to carry themselves in the Church, the Holy Scriptures teach, and especially the Epistles of St. *Paul* to *Timothy*; in which he endeavours to reach him, how he ought to behave himself in the House of God: also that out of every thing that shall be Offered at the Altar, there ought to be made four divisions, viz. One for the Bishop and his Family, for Hospitality, and Entertainment of Strangers; the Second for the Clergy; the Third for the Poor; and the Fourth for Repairing of Churches: But as you are well skilled in the Monastic Rules, nothing ought to be possessed by any Clergy-men in particular in the *English* Church, which lately by God's Grace is brought to the Faith; but you ought to imitate the Primitive Converts, among whom none enjoyed any thing as his own, of those things he possessed, but all things were in common among them.

In the second Question, *Augustine* desires to be inform'd, whether Priests, not able to contain, may Marry? And if they shall Marry, Whether they must return to the Secular Life?

This Question *Bede* hath not, but preposterously joins the following Answer to the first Question: Yet Sir *Henry Spelman* hath added it, out of the *Paris* Edition of Councils, *Anno* 1518.

Where the Answer of Pope *Gregory* is thus, That if there be any of the Clergy out of Holy Orders that cannot contain, they ought to Marry, and still to receive their Stipends, concluding great care ought to be had of the Stipends of the Clergy, that they may be diligent in Service; and that there was no occasion of making a long discourse concerning their keeping Hospitality, when all the over-plus ought to be bestowed upon Pious and Religious uses?

Anno Dom. CCCCXCVIII. The third Question of *Augustine* was this; that since there is but one Faith, Why are there divers customs of Churches? One manner of saying Mass in the Holy Roman Church, and another in those of *Gaul*?

To which Pope *Gregory* answered to this effect: You know very well the custom of the *Roman* Church in which you were bred; but it is my pleasure, That if you can find either in the *Roman* Church, or those of *Gaul*, or in any other Churches, any thing more pleasing to God, carefully choose it, and what things soever you can gather from any other Churches, of Good and Pious Example, bring them into the *English* Church; for things are not to be belov'd for the places, but places for the good things that are in them.

Augustine's fourth Question was, What Punishment ought to be inflicted on him that commits Sacrilege?

The Pope's Answer to this Question being somewhat long, I shall only give you the substance of it. In the first place, He distinguishes between those who commit Theft out of a wicked intent, and those that offend out of necessity; from whence it follows, that some are to be punished with Fines, others with Stripes, and some more severely; and when (says he) you proceed against any with more rigour than ordinary, you must do it out of Charity, not out of Anger; because the punishment is inflicted to this intent, that the party punished may be saved: Then shews the end of such punishments from the Example of Fathers correcting their Children, purely for their good, though they love them very well; he admonishes him to use a mean in chastising them, and not without the Rules of Reason: But if you ask how things taken from the Church are to be restored? God forbid that the Church should receive any encrease for the loss of meer Earthly things, or go about to make advantage of such trifles.

The three following Questions, concerning in what degrees of Conganginity Men and Women may Marry, I shall omit, as being impertinent to our purpose; and shall proceed to the Eighth Question which is this.

If, for the great distance of places, Bishops cannot easily meet, Whether a Bishop may be ordain'd, without the presence of other Bishops?

The Answer of Pope *Gregory* is to this effect; Certain it is, That in the *English* Church, wherein as yet there is no other Bishop but your self, you can ordain a Bishop no other way than without Bishops: for how can Bishops come from *Gaul*, that may assist at the Ordination of a Bishop in *Britain*? But we would have you so to appoint Bishops, that they be not too far asunder from one another, that there may be no hinderance; but that at the Ordination of a Bishop others may be present, and such other Presbyters also, whose presence is requisite, ought to have easie means of access; when therefore Bishops shall be so ordained in places near one another, the Ordination of a Bishop ought never to be without Three or Four Bishops assisting, &c.

Augustine's

Augustine's Ninth Question was this, How ought we to behave our selves towards the Bishops of *Gaul*, and *Britain*?

Anno Dom. CCCCXCVIII.

The Pope's Answer was to this purpose, for being somewhat long; we shall also contract it.

In the first place, The Pope allows him no Authority over the Bishops of *Gaul*, any further than by Advice, or Spiritual Admonition, if they should happen to be guilty of any faults, because they were no ways subject to his Authority: and concludes thus; But all the Bishops of *Britain* we commit to your Brotherhood; That the Ignorant may be Taught, the Weak by persuasions strengthened, and the perverse corrected by our Authority; The remaining Questions, concerning Women with Child, and other unnecessary, if not immodest things, I omit.

This Year also, according to *Florence of Worcester*, *Ceolric*, King of the *West-Saxons* dying, *Ceolfus*, or *Ceulphus* succeeded him, and Reigned Twenty Four Years.

This Year *Redwald*, King of the *East Angles*, dying, his Son *Eorpenwald* Reigned in his stead, as *Mat. Westminster* relates.

But *Bede* proceeds to tell us, That *Augustine* having settled his Archiepiscopal See at *Canterbury*, rebuilt that old Church which had been first erected by the *Christian Romans*, and having dedicated it in the Name of *Christ* our Saviour, he appointed it as a See for himself and his Successors; he likewise founded a Monastery towards the *East*, not far from the City, where also *Ethelbert*, by his persuasion, built the Church of *St. Peter* and *St. Paul*; in which the Bodies of *St. Augustine* himself, and of all the other Bishops of *Canterbury*, as also of the Kings of *Kent* should be interred: *Peter* a Presbyter was made the first Abbot of this Monastery, who was drown'd going on a Message into *France*; but *Augustine* never lived to finish this Church, which was afterwards Consecrated by Arch-Bishop *Laurence* his Successour.

Anno Dom. DXCIX.

Anno Dom. DC.

But the Reader is desired to take notice, That according to a fair, but indifferent ancient Manuscript, concerning the Foundation of the Church and Monastery of *St. Peter* and *St. Paul* (afterwards called *St. Augustine's*) in *Canterbury*, which is now preserved in the Library of *Trinity Hall* in *Cambridge* (part of which is printed in * *Sir H. Spelman's* Vol. of Councils) it appears that though the Cathedral of *Christ Church* be first mentioned by *Bede*; yet that according to the same Author, it was not the first built, but rather the Church of *St. Pancrace*, which from a Heathen Temple was turned into a Christian Church, where King *Ethelbert* himself was Baptized; and upon the ground belonging to which, the Church and Monastery of *St. Peter* and *St. Paul* were first founded, as hath been already related from *Bede*.

* P. III. & Din.

Augustine having about this time sent the Pope word, that the Harvest indeed was great, but the Labourers few, he therefore sent him more Preachers of the Word; among whom the chiefest were *Mellitus*, *Justus*, *Paulinus*, and *Rufinian*; and with them all those things which were necessary for the Service or Ornament of the Church, (such as) Holy Vessels and Altar-Cloaths, as also Sacerdotal Vestments, together with divers Relicks, and a great many Books; he also signified to him in his Letters, That he had sent him an Archiepiscopal Pall; and thereby he gives him power to ordain Twelve other Bishops in several places, all which should be subject to his jurisdiction; only the Bishop of *London* was to be chosen

Anno Dom. DCI.

Anno Dom.
DCI.

chosen by his own Synod, and should receive his Pall from the Apostolic See (for it seems the Pope then intended *London* for an Arch-bishoprick, but as for *Tork* (when converted) he gives him power to ordain whom he pleased Bishop there; who should likewise ordain Twelve Bishops more, and should enjoy the honour of a Metropolitan; yet so, that as long as *Augustine* lived, he should be subject to him, but after his Decease, he should not be at all subject to the Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*, or any other Bishop; only, that he should have the precedence who was first ordained; then exhorts him to transact all things by a common consent, yet gives him a jurisdiction over all the Bishops of *Britain*, that they might learn how to perform their duties, as well by his Instruction as Example; this Letter bears date in the Eighteenth Year of the Emperour *Mauritius*, which falls out in the Year of our Lord Sixty, with which also the *Saxon* Annals agree; for under this very Year.

They place Pope *Gregory's* sending of the Pall to Arch-Bishop *Augustine*, with many holy Teachers to assist him: Sometime after the sending these Messengers with these Letters, the Pope also writ other Letters to *Mellitus*, "Wherein he gives him Instructions concerning the Temples of Idols, which the Pope would not have pull'd down, but only new Contempered by the sprinkling of Holy Water, and erecting of new Altars; and as for the Oxen that used to be sacrificed to their false Gods, he would have such kind of Solemnities so to be observed, That on the days of the Dedication of their Churches, or of the Holy Martyrs, whose Relicks were there preserved, Booths should be made up of boughs near the said Churches, where having kill'd those Oxen (that were formerly wont to be sacrificed) they might make merry, in giving God thanks; since it was certain, that it should be impossible to take away all vain and Superstitious customs at once, out of Men's minds so prejudiced by long Education.

"At the same time also the Pope returned an Answer to other Letters which *Augustine* had before wrote to him; wherein, having congratulated his great success in the Conversion of the *English* Nation, and also taking notice of the great Miracles that Almighty God had done by him: he tells him, That though he may rejoyce in some measure for that Heavenly gift, yet with such a joy, as ought to be allay'd with fear; for as he might rejoyce, that the Souls of the *English* were through Miracles drawn to an inward Grace, so he ought to be afraid, least by the Miracles that were now wrought, his Mind might be puff'd up by vain Glory; Therefore that he ought still to remember, that when the Disciples, returning from their preaching with joy, said to their Heavenly Master, Lord, in thy name the Devils be subject unto us, they presently received a rebuke; rejoyce not for this, but rather rejoyce, that your Names are written in Heaven.

Bede also tells us, That Pope *Gregory* about this time sent King *Ethelbert* many noble Presents, together with a Letter full of good Advice and Instructions; "Exhorting him to cultivate that Grace which he had received by the especial providence of God; to make haste to propagate the Christian Faith among his Subjects; to increase the fervency of his own Faith, by furthering their Conviction, to destroy the Worship of Idols; to establish the Manners of his Subjects, in the purity of Life, by Exhorting, Encouraging, and Correcting them, and by shewing himself an Example of good Works, that so he may find his Reward in Heaven: Then proposing to him the

Example

"Example of *Constantine* the Emperour, who had freed the Common-Wealth from Idols, to the Worship of our LORD *Jesus Christ*, advising him to hearken to, and perform the good Advice, which should be given him by *Augustine* the Bishop, and that he should not be troubled in Mind, if he should see any Terrours, or Prodiges from Heaven, contrary to the ordinary course of the Seasons, as Tempests, Famine, and the like; since the Lord had already foretold that such things should happen before the end of the World; then concludes with wishing a more perfect Conversion of the whole Nation, and that God would preserve and perfect him in the Grace he had begun, and after a course of many Years would receive him into the fellowship of the Saints above. These Letters bear the same date with the former, and so must be wrote in the same Year.

I have dwelt the longer on these things, to let you see that the primitive Christian Temper, had not yet left the Bishops of the Roman Church, tho' infected with some Superstitions.

Let us now return to our Civil History, from which we have so long digressed: About this time, when *Ethelbert* and his People were wholly taken up in Acts of Piety, *Ethelfrid* still govern'd the Kingdom of *Northumberland*; who being a Warlike Prince, and most ambitious of Glory, had wasted the *Britains* more than any other *Saxon* King of his time; winning from them divers large Territories, which he either made Tributary, or planted with his own Subjects: whence *Adian* (as *Bede* or *Ædan*, or *Ægthan*, as the *Saxon* Chronicle calls him) growing jealous of *Ethelfred's* great Success, came against him with a great and powerful Army, to a place called *Degsa-stan* (or *Degstan*) and was there routed, losing most of his Men; but in this Battle *Theobald* the Brother of *Ethelfrid* was slain; that part or wing of the Army which he commanded, being unfortunately cut off; yet nevertheless the loss was so great on the *Scottish* side; that no King of the *Scots* durst any more in hostile manner march into *Britain*, to the time that *Bede* wrote his History, which was above a Hundred Years after: He also tells us, That this happened in the first Year of the Reign of the Emperour *Phocas*. *Buchanan* in his *Scottish* History writes, that this *Ethelfrid* assisted by *Kearlin* (whom he mistakes King of the *East*, instead of the *West-Saxons*) had before this time fought a Battle with this *Adian*, wherein *Cutha*, *Kearlin's* Son was slain; but neither the *Saxon* Chronicle, nor any of our *English* Historians mention any such thing; for this *Cutha* (as appears by the said Chronicle) was slain in the Year 584. fighting against the *Welsh*.

The number of Christians beginning now to multiply, not only in *Kent*, but other Countries; *Augustine* found it necessary to ordain two other Bishops; *Mellitus* and *Justus*, sending *Mellitus* to Preach the Gospel to the Kingdom of the *East Saxons*, which was divided from that of *Kent* by the River *Thamesis*, (over which Nation, *Sebert*, the Son of *Richala*, the sister of *K. Ethelbert* then Reigned) tho' under his Authority, for he had then the supreme command over all the Nations of the *English Saxons*, as far as the Banks of *Humber*; but when this Province had by the preaching of *Mellitus* received the Gospel of Christ, *K. Sebert* (also baptized *Ethelbert*) caused the Church of *St. Paul* to be built at *London*, where *Mellitus* and his Successors, should fix their Episcopal See.

But as for the other Bishop *Justus*, *Augustine* ordained him Bishop in the Kingdom of *Kent*; of a certain little City, then called *Rofcaester* (now *Rocheester*)

Anno Dom.
DCI.

Anno Dom.
DCII.
Bede Lib. 1.
Cap. 34.

Anno Dom.
DCIV.
Id. Lib. 11 c. 3.
Sax. Ann.

Anno Dom. Rochester) being about Twenty Miles from Canterbury, in which King DCIV. Ethelbert built the Church of St. Andrew, and bestowed good endowments on it.

Bede H. c. 2.

Hitherto Augustine had laboured only to convert Infidels; but now he took upon him, by vertue of his Archiepiscopal, or rather Legatine Authority, which the Pope had conferr'd upon him, over all the Bishops of Britain, (properly so called) to make a general Visitation of his Province, and coming as far as the borders of Wales, (being assisted by the power of King Ethelbert,) he summoned all the British Bishops of the adjoining Provinces, to a Synod, at a place called in Bede's time, *Augustines Ake*, (or Oak) then situate on the confines of the *Wætti*, now the Diocels of Worcester, and the *West*; Saxons (supposed to be somewhere on the edge of Worcester-shire,) and began to persuade them by brotherly Admonitions, that they would maintain the Catholick Unity, and also joyn in the work of Preaching the Gospel to the Infidel Nations.

For there was then a great difference between them about the Rule of keeping Easter, which Bede tells us, 'The Britains did not keep at a right time; but observed it from the Fourteenth to the Twentieth Day of the Moon, which Computation is continued in a Cycle of Eighty Four Years; which account being somewhat obscure, I shall, for the clearing of it, set down what the learned Bishop of St. Asaph hath given us upon this subject, in his *Historical Account of Church Government* (already cited in the last Book) where he takes notice, that this Cycle of Eighty Four Years, which was also called the *Roman Account*, * so lately as in Pope Leo's Time, the Scots and South Picts used the same Cycle, from the time of their Conversion, and so did the Britains, without any manner of alteration; but about Eighty Years after the rending in pieces of the Roman Empire, the Romans having left off the use of that Cycle, took up another of Nineteen Years: which, though it was better in many respects, yet was new in these Parts, and made a great difference from the former; and when the Romans had used this new Cycle another Eighty Years, coming then to have to do with these Northern Nations, (who were yet ignorant of it) they would needs impose the use of it upon them, as a necessary condition of their Communion, and so bore them down with two things which were really false; one, that the Romans had received their Cycle by Tradition from St. Peter; the other, that it was made use of every where, except in these Islands; to the first of these Assertions, the Scots, for want of knowing better, opposed only the Authority of St. John for their Cycle; as to the other, they could not tell what to say; whereas in truth (though they did not know it) the Roman account came but an Age or two before from Alexandria, and was not yet received in all the Western Church, no not in some Parts of France it self; but that in use among the Scots was the same Cycle that they and the Britains had ever used since their Conversion; and was the same that was anciently used in the Roman Church.

But to return to Bede's Relation of this Synod, where, when after a long Dispute, the British Clergy could neither by Intreaties, nor Reproofs of Augustine, be brought to a Compliance, but that they would prefer their own old Traditions before the Consent of the Christian (i. e. the Roman) Church; the Arch-Bishop (as Bede relates) offered to decide this Controverſie by a Miracle, desiring that some sick or impotent Person being brought before them, his Doctrine by whom the Man should be

be cured was to be followed, and believed to be from GOD; which when the other Party had at last, (tho' unwillingly) consented to, there was then found out a certain English-man who was quite blind, and being offered to the British Bishops, could receive no Cure from them; when Augustine, moved by a just Necessity, prayed to GOD, That he would restore this blind Man to his Sight; whereupon he was immediately cured, and Augustine was cried up by all, as the only Dispenser of God's Word. Then the Britains confessed indeed, That they believed that the Doctrine which Augustine preached was the Truth; but that they could not, without the general Consent of their own Nation, quit the ancient Rites and Customs of their Country; wherefore they desired, that more of their Clergy being assembled, there should be a General Synod held about it; which when it was agreed to, there came (as they relate) several British Bishops, (their Annals relate them to have been Seven in all,) together with several Learned Men, especially from the Monastery of Bangor, over which one Dinoh is said to have been then Abbot, and in which there was so many Monks, all living by their own Labour, that being divided into seven Divisions under as many Rectors, each of these Divisions had not less than 300 Men.

But their Abbot Dinoh, and his Clergy, a little before their going to the aforesaid Synod, went first to a certain Man both Holy and Wise, who led an Anchorite's Life among them, whom they asked, 'Whether they should lay aside their ancient Traditions at the Preaching of Augustine, or no? Who made this Answer, *If he is a Man of God, follow him.* They said, 'How shall we know this? He replied, *The Lord says, "Take my Yoke upon you, for I am meek and humble in Heart: Perhaps that he himself beareth the Yoke of Christ, and offereth the same to be born of you; but if he be cruel and proud, it is apparent that he is not of God, neither need you to regard what he saith."* They said again, 'But how shall we make a Discernment of that? He replied, *Contrive it so, that he and his Company may come first into the place of the Synod, and if he shall rise up to you when you approach, know then that he is the Servant of Christ, and obediently hear him; but if he shall despise you, nor will rise up to you, when you are more in number, let him be slighted by you also.* They did as he directed them; and it fell out that Augustine bearing himself as the Pope's Legate, and their Metropolitan, as they drew near fate still in his Chair; which when they saw, they grew presently angry, accusing him of Pride, and endeavouring in all Things he said to contradict him. But

He began thus to discourse to them: *Whereas ye do many Things contrary to our received Customs, and the Consent of the Catholick Church; nevertheless, if ye will obey me in these few Things, to wit, That ye celebrate Easter in its proper Time; That ye perform the Ministry of Baptism according to the Custom of the Holy Roman Apostolick Church; That ye preach the Word of GOD together with us to the English Nation: Then, as for all other Things which ye practise, although contrary to our Customs, we will quickly tolerate them.* But they made answer, 'That they would do none of those Things, neither would they acknowledge him for their Arch-Bishop. And discoursing further among themselves, they said, 'if he would not just now rise up unto us, how much more, when we shall be subject to him, will he then look upon us as nothing? To whom Augustine is reported thus threateningly to have denounced against them: *If ye will not now accept of Peace with your Brethren, ye are like to find War from your*

Anno Dom. *DCIV.* *Enemies; and since ye would not preach the Way of Life to the English Nation, ye shall suffer by their hands the Punishment of Death.* Which in every Thing (the Divine Judgment concurring) was fulfilled as he had foretold; tho' *Bede* here further tells us, that *Augustine* lived not to see the Issue of this Prediction, for he died a good while before; but of this, we shall speak in its due time: And though *Bede* places the fulfilling of this Prediction immediately after its Relation, yet since I intend to refer every thing to its proper Time wherein it happened, I shall defer the speaking of this for some Years.

But Sir *Henry Spelman*, out of an ancient *British* Manuscript of Mr. *Peter Mofton's*, a *Welsh* Gentleman, gives us a much more particular Account of the Answer which the Abbot of *Bangor* then made to Arch-Bishop *Augustine*, which being Translated out of the *Welsh* Original, is to this effect. *Be it known, and without doubt, unto you, that we all are, and every one of us, obedient and subject to the Church of GOD, and the Pope of Rome, and to every godly Christian, to love every one in his Degree in perfect Charity, and to help them by Word and Deed to be the Children of GOD: And other Obedience than this I do not know due to him, whom you name to be Pope, nor as the Father of Fathers, to be claim'd, and to be demanded. And this Obedience we are ready to give, and to pay to him, and to every Christian continually: Besides, we are under the Government of the Bishop of Caerleon upon Uske, who is to oversee under GOD over us, to cause us to keep the way Spiritual.*

From whence we may observe, that the Christian Religion came not first into *Britain* by the Preaching of any Persons sent from *Rome*, for then they would still have owned Canonical Obedience to the Pope, as well as the *English* did afterwards; therefore it is most likely, according to the Traditions given you in the Second Book, that it was first preached and propagated here by some Apostle or Disciple of the *Eastern* or *Asiatick* Church: And tho' a late *Romish* Writer very much arraigns the Credit of this Manuscript, as made since the Days of King *Henry* the Eighth, and cavils at the *Welsh* thereof, as Modern, and full of false Spelling, yet is not this any material Exception against it; since the *Welsh* used in it is not so Modern as he would make it, as I am credibly informed by those who are Criticks in that Language; and as for the Spelling, that may be the fault of the Transcribers: And tho' the Archiepiscopal See was then removed from *Caer-Leon* to *St. David's*, yet it might still retain the former Title, as of the first and most famous Place.

Anno Dom. *DCV.* About which time Arch-Bishop *Augustine* is supposed by the best * Chronologers to have departed this Life; tho' the certain Year of his Death is not to be found, either in *Bede*, or the *Saxon* Chronicle. His Body was buried abroad near the Church of *St. Peter* and *St. Paul*, till that could be finished and dedicated; which, as soon as that was done, was decently buried in the Porch on the North-side of the Church, in which were also buried all the succeeding Arch-Bishops, except two, viz. *Theodore* and *Birithwald*, who were buried in the Church, because the Porch would contain no more; but his Epitaph, tho' it mentions his being sent by the Pope to convert the *English* Nation, and his being the first Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*; and that he died in the 7th of the *Kalends* of *June*, in the Reign of King *Ethelbert*; yet omits the Year of that King's Reign, as well as that of our Lord, in which he died; (I suppose, because the Year of Christ was not then commonly made use of,

of, either in the Ecclesiastical or Civil Accounts of that Time;) but of *Anno Dom.* *DCV.* we shall treat further hereafter.

Under this Year *Bede* also places the Death of Pope *Gregory* the Great, of whose Life and Actions he gives us a long Account, to which I refer you; but the *Saxon* Chronicle puts off the Death of this Pope to the next Year; but I rather follow *Bede* as the ancients and more authentic Author.

The same Year is also very remarkable for Civil, as well as Ecclesiastical Affairs in this Island; for now King *Ethelbert* summoned a *Wysel Synod*, or Great Council, as well of the Clergy as Laity, wherein by their common Consent and Approbation all the Grants and Charters of this King, whereby he had settled great Endowments on *Christ-Church*, and that of *St. Pancrace* in *Canterbury*, were confirmed, which had been before the old ruinous Church of *St. Martin* without the City already mentioned; but the Charters now made and confirmed by King *Ethelbert* in this Council are almost word for word the same with those he had made by himself before, with heavy Imprecations against any, who should dare to infringe them, as you may see in Sir *H. Spelman's* First Volume of *British Councils*; where this Learned Author in his Notes farther shews us, that these Charters above-mentioned are very suspicious of being forged in many respects; as First, That this King there styles himself King of the *English* in general, whereas indeed he was no more than King of *Kent*: Secondly, Because the Year of our Lord is expressed at their Conclusion, which was not in use till long after: Besides, an old Manuscript of the Church of *Canterbury* says expressly, That the Monks of that Monastery had their Lands and Privileges by a long and peaceable Possession according to Custom, until King *Wightred*, *Anno Dom.* 693, made them a confirmation of all their Privileges by a Charter under his Seal. There are also other Exceptions against the Bull that is there recited to be Arch-Bishop *Augustine's*, which you may see at large in those Learned Notes above-mentioned.

In this great Council or Synod, among many other Secular Laws and Decrees, these deserve particularly to be taken notice of; the first Law assigns the Penalty of Sacrilege, appointing what Amends is to be made for Things taken from a Bishop, by a Restitution of nine times the value; from a Priest by a Ninth, and from a Deacon by a Threefold Restitution.

The Second Law is, That if the King summon'd his People, and any Man should presume then to do them Injury, he shall make double Amends to the Party, and besides shall pay Fifty Shillings to the King.

The Third Law is, That if the King shall drink in a Man's House, and there be any Injury done in his Presence, the Party so doing it shall make double Satisfaction; the rest that follow, since they belong only to the Correction of Manners, are omitted.

To these Laws *Bede* relates, when he says, That King *Ethelbert*, amongst other good Things which he conferr'd upon his Nation, appointed certain Laws concerning judgments, by the Council of his wife Men, according to the Example of the *Romans*, which being written in the *English* Tongue, were yet kept and observed by them to this time; and then mentions some of those Laws to the same effect as they are already expressed.

Anno Dom.
DCVII.

Ibid. cap.

Lib. II.

Lib. I. cap.

This Year was fulfilled Arch-Bishop *Augustine's* Prediction upon the Britains; for (as *Bede* and the *Saxon Annals* relate) *Ethelfrid* King of *Northumberland* now led his Army to *Leger-Cæster*, and there killed a great multitude of Britains, and so was fulfilled the Prophecy of *Augustine* above-mentioned; and there were then killed 200 Priests or Monks, who came thither to prey for the British Army; (but in *Florence of Worcester's* Copy it was 2200;) but *Brockmaile*, who was to be their Protector, escaped with about 50 Men.

H. Huntingdon gives a more particular account of this Action, and says; That King *Ethelfrid*, having gathered together a powerful Army, made a great Slaughter of the Britains near the City of *Legions*, which is called by the English *Lege Cestre*, but more rightly by the Britains *Caer-legion*; so that it is evident it cannot be *Liceſter*, as our common Historians write, but *West-Chester*, which lay near the Borders of King *Ethelfrid's* Kingdom, where this Battle was fought: This Author further adds, That when the King saw those Priests or Monks of the Abby of *Bangor*, who came out to pray for the Army, ranged by themselves in a place of Safety, having one *Brockmaile* for their Defender, and that the King knew for what end they came thither; he presently said, *If these Men pray to their GOD against us, though they do not make use of Arms, yet do they as really fight against us, as if they did*: And so he commanded his Forces to be first turned upon them, who being all cut off, he presently defeated the rest of the Army without any great difficulty; and he also agrees with *Florence of Worcester's* Relation of the number of the Monks there slain, and accuses their Defender *Brockmaile* of Cowardice, who left the poor Monks, whom he was to defend, to be cut to pieces. But *William of Malmesbury* relates this Matter somewhat otherwise, tho he says expressly, that this Fight was at *Chester*, (then in the hands of the Britains;) which when King *Ethelfrid* went about to besiege, the Townsmen resolving to suffer any thing rather than a Siege, trusting in their Numbers, sallied out to fight, whom when by an Ambush laid near the City, he had easily overcome; he then falling upon the Monks, who were come in great Numbers to pray for the Success of the British Army, of which (says this Author) there must certainly have been an incredible Number, since even in his time there were left such vast Remains of Churches and Cloysters, and so great a heap of Ruines, as you can scarce (says he) find any where else: The Place is called *Bangor*, which was then an Abby of Monks, but is now turned into a Bishoprick; yet here our Author was mistaken, for this *Bangor*, where the Monastery was, is in *Flinthshire*, not far from the River *Dee*; whereas that which is the Seat of the Bishoprick is in *Caernarvonshire*, not far from the River or Streight of *Menai*, which parts that Country from the Isle of *Anglesey*. But of all these great Ruines mentioned by *Malmesbury*, there is now nothing left, save those of the two principal Gates of this old City, the one of which is on that side towards *England*, and the other towards *Wales*, being about a Mile asunder, the River *Dee* running betwixt them.

But before we proceed further, it is fit we enquire into the Truth of that Story of *Geffe* of *Monmouth*, who will needs have Arch-Bishop *Augustine* to have persuaded King *Ethelbert* to incite *Ethelfrid* King of *Northumberland* thus to make War upon the Britains, and to destroy these Monks, as you have heard, in which he is also followed by other later

later Writers, and particularly by *Nicholas Trivet*, an ancient Author, in his History, (lately printed at *Paris* among the Collections of Monsieur *Dachery*;) as also by Arch-Bishop *Parker*, Author of the *Latin History De Antiquitate Ecclesie Anglicanae*; and likewise in Bishop *Jewel's* Apology; the former of which, tho *Bede* hath expressly told us, that *Augustine* was dead long before this happened, yet will have these Words of *Bede* to have been foisted in, contrary to the old *Saxon* Manuscripts which is not so; for it is found in them all, tho not in the *Saxon* Version; but besides the Respect which we ought to have for so good a Man as *Augustine* is supposed to have been, and which inclines us to believe, that it was not likely he should have a Hand in so cruel an Action; I doubt not but to prove from other Arguments, (supposing this Passage of *Bede* not to be his,) that *Augustine* died about the Year 605, where I have already placed it. In the first place therefore, I shall not deny, that *William of Malmesbury*, in his First Book *De Gest. Pontif. Anglor.* as well as divers other Historians of later Times, suppose *Augustine* to have fate Arch-Bishop 15 (and in some Copies 16) Years, and then he must certainly have survived this Massacre of the Monks of *Bangor*; but if I can prove they were mistaken in this Account, all that had been said to prove *Augustine* guilty of it, will signify nothing: For first, *Bede* relates, that *Augustine*, being yet alive, ordained *Laurence* for his Successor, lest himself being dead, the yet weak State of that Church, if vacant, (tho for never so small a time) might happen to suffer, which it must be supposed he did, when he found himself in a declining condition, and not like long to survive. Now that this happened in the Year 605, may be also proved by these Circumstances: *Bede* hath already told us, that *Augustine*, in the Year 604, had ordained *Mellitus* and *Justus* Bishops; immediately after which Relation, follows that, concerning *Augustine's* Death, which he would scarce have mentioned there, had not one followed the other within a short time; and that it was so, appears in the Manuscript Text of *Adrian*, the Abbot of *Canterbury*, who lived within less than 60 Years after, and who obtained a Privilege from Pope *Deusdedit*, concerning the Free Election of the Abbot of that Monastery, at the end of which there is this Passage: *Anno Dom. 605.* died the holy Bishop *Gregory IV^o Idus Martii*, and in the same Year also Bishop *Augustine VII^o Kal. Junii*; with whom also agree *Marianus*, *Scotus*, and *Florence of Worcester*, in their Chronicles; the former of whom, under *Anno Dom. 605*, hath these Words: *Augustine* having ordained *Laurence* the Presbyter Arch-Bishop in his stead, after a short time departed to the Heavenly Kingdom; tho in *Florence's* Copy it is placed under the Year 604, which Difference might easily happen by the carelessness of Transcribers. This is also observed by *Will. Thorne*, the Historian and Monk of *Canterbury*, (from an old Book of the *Life and Miracles* of this St. *Augustine*, that now is lost,) who in his Chronicle says expressly, That many have erred concerning the Death of St. *Augustine*, thinking him to have died *Anno Dom. 613*, The cause of which Error is owing to the false Dates of some Chronicles, who make him to have fate Arch-Bishop sixteen Years; whereas *Bede* in his second Book says, That he ordained *Mellitus* and *Justus* to be Bishops a little before his Death, and there gives us the same reason as I have already done; with whom also agrees an ancient Anonymous Chronicle in the Library at *Lambeth*; as also the short Annals of the Church of *Rocheſter*, which contain the Successions of the Arch-Bishops of *Canterbury*,

both

Anno Dom.
DCVII.

Lib. II. c. 4.

vi. X. Script
col.

both which place the Death of Arch-Bishop *Augustine*, and the Succession of *Laurentius*, in *Anno Dom.* 604; but of this you may see more, in the First Volume of *Anglia Sacra*, published by the learned Mr. *Wharton* deceased; wherein you may also find a short dissertation on this Subject, and to whom I own my self obliged for the light, I have had towards settling this obscure Question. Now having cleared Arch-Bishop *Augustine's* Memory of that Crime, which is laid to his Charge; I shall proceed to the Ecclesiastical History of this time.

Anno Dom.
DCVIII.

Bede Lib. 2.

Laurentius, who succeeded *Augustine* in the See of *Canterbury*, having seen the *English Church* not only founded, but much increased, began about this time to bestow his Pastoral care, not only upon the *English* and *British* Inhabitants of this Island, but also upon the *Scots*, who inhabited *Ireland*; because he knew that at that time they, as well as the *Britains*, did not observe *Easter* according to the *Nicene Canon* (the occasion of which Controversie I have already given you), Therefore the new Arch-Bishop thought it fit to write an Epistle on purpose to the *Irish Bishops*, wherein he exhorted them to maintain the Catholic Unity, in the observation of *Easter*; in which Letters this is remarkable, That they are directed to all the Bishops, *per Universam Scotiam*, That is, through out all *Ireland* (for so it was then commonly called for near Four Hundred Years after this) and he therein complains of *Draganus* an *Irish Bishop*, who coming over hither would not so much as Eat in the same House with him; at which time also *Laurentius* wrote Letters, not only to his fellow Bishops in *Ireland*, but also to the *British Clergy* in *Wales*, to the same purpose as the former; but how well he succeeded therein, the present time (says *Bede*) declares; about which Year also *Mellitus Bishop of London* was sent to *Rome* to confer with *Pope Boniface*, concerning the necessary Affairs of the *English Church*, when the Pope held a Synod at *Rome* with the Bishops of *Italy*, concerning the Life and Conversation of the Monks, where he sat with them: This Synod was held in the Eighth Year of Emperour *Phocas*, and the Bishop at his return, brought back the Decrees of that Council, together with the Pope's Letters to Arch-Bishop *Laurence*, and all the Clergy, as also to King *Ethelbert*, and the whole *English Nation*.

Anno Dom.
DCXI.

Vi. Monast. Ang.
T. 1. p. 5.

This Year also, *Sebert King of the East-Saxons*, Founded the Church and Abbey of *Westminster*, and *Mellitus* the Bishop Dedicated it to *St. Peter*, tho' for what Order of Monks is uncertain, since they were driven out after the Death of *Sebert*, by his Successors, who continued Pagans for many Years after.

This Year (according to *Florence*) *Ceolwulf* dying, *Cynegils* began to Reign over the *West Saxons*, (for Thirty One Years) being the Son of *Ceolric*, who was the Son of *Cutha*, who (as we have heard) was slain fighting against the *Britains* some Years before.

Anno Dom.
DCXIV.

Cynegils and *Cwichelme*, fought against the *Britains* at *Beamund* (now *Rindon* in *Dorsetshire*;) and there slew Two Thousand and Forty Six Men; which *Battel H. Huntington* thus describes; The *Saxon* and *British* Troops being drawn up in *Battel Array*, the Fight immediately began, when the *Britains* fearing the weight of the *Saxon Battel Axes*, and long *Launces*, turn'd their backs, and fled; so that the *Saxons* obtain'd the Victory, without any great loss on their side; and he also agrees pretty near in the number of the slain, with our *Saxon Annals*; This *Cwichelme* here mentioned is by *Will. of Malmesbury* said to be Brother of *Cynegils*, and

and to be by him taken as his Partner in the Royal Power. But *Florence of Worcester*, and *Mat. Westminster* do make *Cwichelme* to have been the Son of *Cynegils*, tho' the former Opinion be the more likely; but let it be either of them, it is certain that they were both of them Stour and good natured Persons, who governed with that mutual Love and Concord, as it was a wonder to the Age in which they liv'd, so ought it to be an example to all future times.

Tho' the Cathedral of *Christ Church* in *Canterbury*, had been already built about Twenty Years; yet it seems the Monastery adjoining to it was not founded till this Year, as appears not only from the Manuscript above mentioned (once belonging to the Monastery of *St. Augustine*) but also from *Will. of Malmesbury*; that in the time of Arch-Bishop *Laurence*, and about this very Year that it was first replenished with Monks, as appears by a Letter of *Pope Boniface* to King *Ethelbert*; whereby he approves of, and confirms the Foundation of the said Abby, by the said Arch-Bishop; which Letter, though *Will. of Malmesbury* had promised to recite, yet being by him forgot, or else omitted in our Printed Copies, is to be found at large in the said Manuscript; concerning which Monastery the aforesaid Author farther adds, "That though some had said that Arch-Bishop *Ælfric* had thrust out the Clerks (*i. e.* secular Chanoins) out of that Church, and had placed Monks in their rooms, yet was it not at all probable, since it appeared by the said Epistle of *Pope Boniface*, that there had been Monks in the Church of *St. Saviour*, from the first foundation of that Monastery, in the time of Arch-Bishop *Laurence*, who succeeded *St. Augustine*."

But it hath been denied, by *Cardinal Baronius*, in his Annals, as also by some later Antiquaries, of what Order these Monks were, whom *Augustine* and *Laurentius* placed in these two Monasteries above mention'd; and that a late ingenious Authour in his Preface to a Treatise, called *Notitia Monastica*, hath questioned whether they were of the *Benedictine Order*, since he rather supposes, That the *Benedictine Rule* was scarce heard of in *England*, till some Hundreds of Years after, and never perfectly observed, till after the Conquest; but he should have done well to have told us, what other Order they were of, since the general Tradition in most of the Ancient *English Monasteries* of the *Benedictine Order*, was, That they had observed that Rule from their first foundation: And the *Saxon Annals* under the Year 509, do expressly affirm, That *St. Benedict*, the Father of all the Monks dyed that Year: And he had long before his Death founded his Order in *Italy*, and of which *Augustine* himself is supposed to have been: and though I also acknowledge, that all the ancient Monasteries of *England* were not at first of that Order, since those that were founded in the Kingdom of *Northumberland*, by the Bishops *Aidan* and *Coleman* followed the same Rule with the Monks of *Ireland*, and *Scotland*, *viz.* That of *St. Basil*, which all the *Eastern Monks* did then, and do to this day observe; yet even these did about an Hundred Years after quit that Rule, and follow the more Modern one of *St. Benedict*; and therefore *Stephen Heddie*, in his * *Life of St. Wilfred Bishop of York*, (lately published by the learned *Dr. Gale*;) hath expressly told us, That the said Bishop returning home into his own Country (*i. e.* the Kingdom of *Northumberland*) and carrying along with him the Rule of *St. Benedict*, very much improved the Constitutions of God's Churches; by which he meant the Monasteries of those Parts: And therefore the

Chronology

Anno Dom.
DCXV.

Dr. Just. Penzif.
Lib. 1.

Anno Dom. Chronology once belonging to the Abby of St. Augustine's in Canterbury, DCXV. (printed in the *Decem scriptores* after Will. Thorne's Chronicle) under Anno 666,

Coll. 2229.

upon very good grounds thus observes, That this Year Bishop Wilfred caused the Rule of St. Benedict to be observed in England, That is in the North Parts, into which he then went; for if that Rule had not been observed in the Southern Parts before, How could it be said that he carried it out from thence along with him? but to conclude; there having been a dispute among the Roman Catholics beyond the Seas, about Seventy Years ago concerning this matter; some of them affirming, that all the ancient English Monks, before the Conquest were of the Order of St. Equinus, or else of some other Order; whereupon those of the Benedictine Order wrote over to our Antiquaries in England, (viz.) Sir Robert Cotton, Sir H. Spelman, Mr. Camden, and Mr. Selden; appealing to their Judgment herein: From whom they received a Letter under all their Hands, wherein they expressly certified, that there was never any such Order as that of St. Equinus; and further affirm, That there were only Two Orders of Monks in use amongst our Ancestours of the English Saxon Church; One of those who followed the Rites of the Egyptian Monks, and the other of Benedictine's who came over with Augustine, and so continued from that time to their dissolution under King Henry the Eighth; to which Letter, or Certificate, all the said learned Persons above mentioned did put their Hands, as appears by the Certificate it self; which you will find Printed in *Clem. Reyner de Apostolatu Benedictini in Anglia*. This, though perhaps it may seem an impertinent digression to some; yet, I hope, will not prove so to those, who are lovers of Ecclesiastical Antiquities.

This Year Ethelbert King of Kent dyed, who was the first English King that received Baptism; Bede tells us, That this King dyed above Twenty Years after his Conversion, and was buried in St. Martin's Porch, in the Church of St. Peter and St. Paul; after whose decease Eadbald his Son succeeded to him in the Kingdom. The beginning of whose Reign I shall give you out of Bede, being much more particular than that in the Chronicle.

This King did not only refuse the Faith of Christ, but also polluted himself with such Fornication, which the Apostle says, ought not to be heard of among the Gentiles, in that he Married his Father's Wife; by which wickedness he gave occasion to those to return to their former Heathenism, who had embraced Christianity in his Father's Reign, either out of Fear, or hopes of Favour; tho' God's Judgments were not wanting to Correct this Infidel King, for he was tormented with frequent fits of Frensie, and the possession of an unclean Spirit; but the Death of Sebert King of the East Saxons, happening also about this time, extremely encreased the present Storm of Afflictions; for he left Three Sons Heirs to his Kingdom, who all relapsed to Paganism, having in their Father's lifetime seemed Christians, but now permitted all their Subjects the free licence of worshipping Idols; and when they saw the Bishop Administring the Eucharist to the People in the Church, they thus spake to him in their Barbarous folly; "Why dost thou not give us this White Bread, which thou wert wont to Minister to our Father? To whom the Bishop replied, That they must first be washed in that saving Font, in which their Father had been Baptised, and then they might partake of the same Bread; which though they deny'd to do, yet would they not desist from requiring this Bread at his hands; which he still refusing them,

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they then plainly told him, That if he would not yield to them in so small a matter, he must not stay any longer in their Dominions; and so commanded them to be gone; who being thus expelled, went thence into Kent to consult with the Bishops Laurentius and Justus, what was best to be done on this occasion; where it was decreed by common Consent, That it was better that all of them should return into their own Countrey, there to serve God with freedom of Conscience, than to live without any Fruit of their Labours amongst such Barbarous Rebels to the Christian Faith; thereupon Mellitus and Justus departed first, and went into France, there resolving to expect the issue of these things; but not long after, these Three Princes, who had driven out a Preacher of the Truth, and relapsed to the Worship of Idols, marching out to Battel against the West-Saxons, were all cut off, together with their Army: However, though the Authors of this Apostacy were destroyed, yet the common people being once inured to wickedness, could not easily be brought back to the Faith of Christ.

But when Laurentius was about to leave Britain, to follow Mellitus and Justus, he ordered a Pallet to be laid for him in the Church of St. Peter and Paul, on which (after many Prayers and Tears poured forth to God, he laid down to take his rest; where, (if credit may be given to Bede's relation) St. Peter, in whose Church he had spent great part of the Night in watching and Prayer, appeared to him, and to make the Vision more sensible, gave him many stripes for thus offering to desert his Flock; at sight whereof the King (to whom next morning he shewed the marks of what he had suffered, and by whom, and for what cause) relenting, in great fear renounced his Incestuous Marriage, and applied himself to the Christian Faith more sincerely than before, together with all his People; but the Londoners refusing again to receive their Bishop Mellitus, this King had not so much power as his Father to force them to it, whether they would or not; yet nevertheless, he with all his Nation, from the time that he was thus re-converted to Christ, endeavoured wholly to submit himself to the Divine Precepts, and then near the Monastery of the Apostles built a Church, in honour of the blessed Virgin, which was consecrated by Archbishop Mellitus: But to return again to Civil Affairs.

This Year also Edwin, of the Blood-Royal of Northumberland, having been forced to fly from Ethelfrid, then King of that Countrey, had wandered for some Years as a banished Man, through divers Kingdoms, till at last he took refuge with Redwald, King of the East-Angles, beseeching him to save his Life from so cruel and unjust a Persecution; who thereupon receiving him into his protection, granted his Request; but whilst he thus sojourned with King Redwald, he had a Vision or Apparition, which was the cause of his future Conversion, and which though it looks very much like a Monkish Legend, yet since it is related by so grave an Author as Bede, I shall here from him set down.

So soon as Ethelfrid heard where Edwin was, he sent Ambassadors to Redwald, offering him a great Sum of Money to put him to death; which being refused, he still repeated, and increased his offers, twice or thrice threatening War, if he were refused; till at last the King being either prevailed upon by his great proffers, or terrified by his threatnings, yielded, promising either to kill Edwin, or to deliver him to his Ambassadors; which when a certain Friend of Edwin's, then near the King,

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Anno Dom. DCXVI.

Bede, lib.

Id. lib.

Anno Dom.
DCXVI.

came to know, the first hour of the Night he went in haste to his Chamber, and calling him forth for better secrecy, revealed to him his Danger, and offer'd him his Aid to make his Escape, where neither *Redwald* nor *Ethelfrid* should ever find him: But he not approving of that course, as seeming dishonourable, without more manifest cause to begin first to distrust one who so long had been his only Refuge, chose rather to dye by his Hand, than by any other more Ignoble: Whereupon his Friend departing, *Edwin* being thus left alone without the Palace-Gate, full of sad and perplexed Thoughts, discerns about the dead of Night a man approaching towards him, neither by Countenance nor Habit to him known, who after a short Salutation asked him, 'Why at this Hour, when all others were at Rest, he alone sate so sadly waking on a cold Stone? *Edwin* wondering not a little who he might be, asked him again, *What his sitting within doors or without, concerned him?* To whom he again replied, 'Think not that who thou art, or why sitting here, or what danger hangs over thee, is to me unknown. But what would you promise to that man who would free you out of all these Troubles, and persuade *Redwald* not to molest you, nor give you up to your Enemies? *All that I am able*, answered *Edwin* to the Unknown: Then he proceeds thus; 'What if the same Person should promise to make you greater than any English King hath been before you? *I should not doubt*, replied *Edwin*, *to be answerably Grateful*. 'But what if to all this he would inform you (saith the other) of a way to Happiness beyond what any of your Ancestors had known? Would you hearken to his Counsel? *Edwin*, without any Hesitancy, promised he would. Then the other, laying his right Hand on his Head, said, 'When this Sign shall next befall you, remember this Night, and this Discourse; nor defer to perform what thou hast now promised. And with these words disappearing, he was not only convinced that it was not a Man, but a Spirit that had thus talked with him: But the Royal Youth was also much revived, when on the sudden his Friend, who had been gone all this while to listen farther what was like to be resolved concerning him, comes back, and joyfully bids him go to his Repose, for that the King's Mind, tho for a while drawn aside, was now fully resolved, not only never to betray him, but to defend him against all his Enemies, as he had promised: In short, the King was as good as his word, and not only refused to deliver him up, but also raising Forces, thereby helped him to regain his Kingdom: For the next Year, as the *Saxon Annals* relate,

Anno Dom.
DCXVII.

'*Ethelfrid* King of *Northumberland*, was slain by *Redwald* King of the *East Angles*; and *Eadwin* the Son of *Aella* succeeded him (in that Kingdom), who subjected all *Britain* to him, (except only *Kent*): He also banished the Royal Youths, the Sons of *Ethelfrid*, (*viz.*) *Ealfrid* the eldest Son, as also *Oswald* and *Oswin*; with many other Princes, whose Names would be tedious here to be repeated.

But *Will. of Malmesbury* gives us a more particular Account of this Fight; and that since War had been denounced by *Ethelfrid*, upon his refusing to deliver *Edwin*, that thereupon *Redwald* determin'd to be beforehand with the Danger, and with an Army raised on the sudden, surprize *Ethelfrid* (being not aware of an Invasion), and in a Fight near to the East-side of the River *Idel* on the *Mercian* Border (now in *Nottinghamshire*) slew him, dispatching easily those few Forces which he had got to march out over-hastily with him; who yet (as a Testimony that his

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Fortune, and not his Valour, was to be blamed) slew with his own Hands *Reiner* the King's Son. And *H. Huntington* adds, That this Battle was so great and bloody, that the River *Idel* was stained with the Blood: And that the Forces of King *Redwald* being very well drawn up, the King of the *Northumbers*, as if he had been sure of the Victory, rushing in among the thickest Ranks, slew *Reiner* (above-mentioned,) and wholly routed that Wing of the Army: But *Redwald* not terrified with so great a Blow, but rather more incensed, renewed the Fight with the two remaining Bodies, which being not to be broken by the *Northumbers*, *Ethelfrid* having got among the thickest of his Enemies, further than he ought in Prudence to have done, was after a great Slaughter there slain, upon which his whole Army fled; but his two Sons, (by *Acca*, King *Edwin*'s Sister,) *Oswald*, and *Oswi*, escaped into *Scotland*. This End had King *Ethelfrid*, a Prince most skilful in War, tho utterly ignorant of the Christian Religion. By this Victory *Redwald* became so far Superiour to the other *Saxon* Kings, that *Bede* reckons him as the next after *Aella*, and *Ethelbert*, who had all *England* on this side *Humber* under his Obedience.

But to look back a little to Ecclesiastical Affairs; about this time *Laurencius* the Archbishop died, and was buried near *Augustine* his Predecessor; to whom succeeded *Mellitus*, who was Bishop of *London*; this *Mellitus* is related by *Bede*, to have by his Prayers stopp'd a great Fire in *Canterbury*, by causing the Wind to blow the quite contrary way to what it did before; which at last quite falling, the Fire ceased with it. He sat Archbishop only five Years.

This Year *Cadwallo* is supposed by *Radulphus de Diceto* to have succeeded his Father *Cadwan* in the Kingdom of *Britain*; though some of the *Welsh* Chronicles make him to have began to reign four Years before. But as for *Geoffrey of Monmouth*, who gives a large and very improbable Account of this King's Martial Actions, (and therefore needless to be here repeated,) it is not his Custom to cite any Authors, nor give any Year or Account when his Kings began to reign, or when they died.

This Year *Mellitus* deceased, and was buried with his Predecessors; to whom immediately succeeded *Justus*, who had been hitherto Bishop of *Rochester*, but the Year following *Paulinus*, a *Roman*, was consecrated by *Bede*, to be Bishop of the *Northumbers*; for *Bede* tells us, he had before received Authority from Pope *Boniface* to ordain what Bishops he pleased, and as the present occasion should require; the Pope sending also a Pall to bestow upon him at the same time. To this Year *Bede* also refers the Conversion of the *Northumbers*, (that is, all those *English-Saxons* who lived North of the River *Humber*,) together with *Edwin* their King, to the Christian Faith; who, as an earnest of his future Faith, had the Power of his Empire already so encreased, that he took the utmost Borders of *Britain* under his Protection; but the occasion of his Conversion was through his Alliance with the King of *Kent*, by his marrying *Ethelburga* the Daughter of King *Ethelbert*; whom, when he sent to desire of her Brother *Eadbald*, for his Wife, it was answered, That it was not Lawful to bestow a Christian Virgin in Marriage with a Heathen: Which, when the Messengers related it to King *Edwin*, he promised he would act nothing contrary to that Faith which the Virgin professed, but would rather permit a free exercise of her Religion to all those Priests and others, who should attend her: Neither did he deny to receive the same Religion himself, provided, (upon a just Examination,) it should appear more Holy,

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Anno Dom.
DCXVII.Anno Dom.
DCXX.Anno Dom.
DCXXIV.Bede, l. xi. c. 8.
An. DCXXV.

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Anno Dom. DCXXV. and worthy of GOD. Upon these Terms the Lady was sent to Edwin, and Paulinus being ordained Bishop, (as was before resolved on,) was sent as a Spiritual Guardian to the Virgin; who, when he came to King Edwin's Court, used his utmost Endeavour to convert the Pagans to the Christian Faith, but to little purpose for a long time, tho' at last he prevailed by this occasion. For the year following,

Anno Dom. DCXXVI. When Cuichelme, (at that time one of the two West-Saxon Kings,) envious of the growing Greatness of King Edwin, sent privily one Eomer, an hired Cut-Throat, to assassinate him; He, under pretence of delivering a Message from his Master, with a poyson'd Weapon stabs at Edwin whilst he was discoursing with him in his House, (by the River Derwent in Yorkshire,) on an Easter-day; which Lilla, one of the King's Attendants, at the lucky instant perceiving, having no other Means to defend him, interposed his own Body to receive the Blow, thro' which, notwithstanding, it reached the King's Person, with a dangerous Wound; the Murderer being now encompassed with many Swords, and made more desperate by his own Danger, slew another of the King's Servants in the same manner.

That Night the Queen brought forth a Daughter, who was called Eanfled; and when the King, in the presence of Paulinus, gave Thanks to his Gods for the Birth of his Daughter, the Bishop, on the contrary, gave Thanks to our Lord Christ, that the Queen was safely delivered by his Prayers: At which, the King, being well pleased, promised the Bishop to renounce his Idols, and become the Servant of Christ, if he would grant him Life, and Victory against that King who had thus sent a Murderer to kill him; and as an earnest thereof, he gave his new-born Daughter to be bred up in that Religion; who, with 12 other of his Family, on the day of Pentecost, was baptised; and by that time, being well recovered of his Wound, to punish the Authors of so foul a Fact, he march'd with an Army against the West Saxons; whom having subdued, and put some of those to Death who had conspired against him, and received others to Mercy, he return'd home victorious.

But I cannot omit here taking notice of a great Mistake in Mat. West-minster's Flores Historiarum, who, under this Year, makes K. Cuichelme, abovementioned, to have been kill'd in this Battle, though from what Authority I know not; whereas it will appear by our Annals, that he was alive, and Christned near ten Years after.

But tho' after this Victory K. Edwin forbore to worship Idols, yet ventured he not presently to receive Baptism, but first took care to be instructed aright by the Bishop Paulinus in the Principles of the Christian Faith; still conferring with himself, and others of his chief Men whom he thought most wise, what was best to be done in so weighty an Affair; and he himself, being a Man of a piercing Understanding, when he was alone often considered with himself which Religion was best to be followed.

About this time also he received Letters from the Pope, wherein having briefly set forth the Doctrine of the Trinity, as the Foundation of the Christian Faith, and having extolled the Conversion of King Ead-bald, and Piety of the Queen his own Wife, he exhorts him to imitate their Examples, and casting away his Idols to receive Christ. The Pope writ also Letters at the same time to Queen Ethelburga his Wife, wherein he congratulated her Conversion, and praised her Piety, exhorting her to

to persist in the Course she had begun, and to do her Endeavour to reclaim her Husband from his Infidelity. But tho' the King joyfully received these Letters, yet did they not so much prevail with him, as the wonderful fulfilling of the Prediction of the Vision above-mentioned; for when the King still deferred the declaring himself a Christian, Bishop Aidan (as it is supposed) had that Transaction revealed to him; for one day coming in to the King, on a sudden he laid his Hand upon his Head, and desired him to remember that Sign; whereupon the King being much surpris'd, fell down at his Feet, but the Bishop raising him up, said thus: GOD hath delivered you from your Enemies, and given you the Kingdom as you desired; perform now what so long since you promised him, and receive his Doctrine, which I now bring you, and that Faith which will not only save your Soul from perpetual Torments, but also make you a Partaker of Eternal Happiness. Which, when the King heard, he confessed, 'That he would, nay, ought to receive this Faith; but (said he) I must first consult further with my chief Friends, and Councillors, concerning this Matter, that if they should likewise receive it, we might all be Converted, and Baptized together. Which Paulinus agreeing to, and the King there holding a Council with his wise Men, asked them severally, 'What they thought of this new Doctrine and Worship, which had been as yet unknown among them? To whom Coifi, chief of the Idol-Priests, presently answered; You may, Sir, consider what is now preached to you, but to tell you freely my Opinion, the Religion we profess is good for nothing; for although no Man hath more studiously observed the Worship of our Gods than my self, yet nevertheless there are many who have received greater Benefits and Dignities from you than I have done, and have been more Happy and Prosperous in all their Undertakings; whereas, if these Gods had any Power, they would rather have assisted me, who took such care to serve them: Wherefore if, upon a good Examination, you find, that the New Doctrine now preached is far better than the Old, let us then receive it without delay. To which Opinion, another of the great Men also yielding his Assent, further said; It seems, Sir, to me, that the present Life of Man upon Earth, in comparison of that Time which to us is unknown, is like unto a little Sparrow, which, whilst you feasted in your Presence-Chamber, flew in at one Window, and out at another; we saw it that short time it remained in the House, and it was then well shelter'd from Wind and Weather; but as soon as it got out into the cold Air, whither it went, we were altogether as ignorant, as from whence it came: Thus we can give some Account of our Souls, during its abode in the Body, whilst housed and harboured therein; but where it was before, or how it fareth afterwards, is to us altogether unknown. If therefore Paulinus his Preaching can certainly inform us herein, it deserves, in my Opinion, to be well received. To which Discourses, Coifi also further added, That he desired to hear Paulinus himself preach concerning his God: Which, when he had performed, (as the King had commanded him,) Coifi cried out, I have long since understood, that what we worshipped was nothing, for the more I sought to understand the Truth in that Religion, the less still I found of it. So that it is in this Doctrine alone, that Truth clearly shines, and which is able to confer upon us Eternal Happiness. In short, the King not only gave Paulinus his Consent to preach publicly, but also, renouncing his Idolatry, received the Christian Faith. But Coifi the Chief Priest did not only declare, That the Temples and Altars of their false Gods should be pulled down, and destroyed; but when the King asked him who should undertake it, he freely offered himself to do it; and so desiring of him a

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Anno Dom.
DCXXVI. Horse and Arms, taking a Lance in his Hand, he went to destroy the Idol Temples; the People at first thought him mad, because it was not lawful for their Priests, either to bear Arms, or ride on Horse-back: But as soon as *Coiff* came to the Idol Temple, he commanded those that came with him to burn and utterly destroy it; and the place where it stood was shewn in *Bede's* time, lying not far from *Tork*, Eastward near the River *Darment*, being then called *Godmundingham*, where this Priest, by thus demolishing the Altars of his former Gods, made some Amends for his teaching Men to adore them. But the Year following,

Anno Dom.
DCXXVII. King *Edwin*, with all his Noblemen, and a great many common People of his Kingdom, received Baptism; the King himself being baptized at *Tork* on *Easter* Day in the Church of *St. Peter*, which he had commanded with all speed to be built of Wood for that purpose; in which City he also settled the Episcopal See, *Paulinus* being the first Bishop; there; but not long after the King had received Baptism, he himself took care to build a large and noble Church of Stone round about the former, which was still left standing till the other was finished; but before the Walls of it could be raised, the King being killed, left the Work to be perfected by *Oswald* his Successor: So *Paulinus* continued, during all the rest of this King's Reign, (which was about the space of 6 Years,) to preach the Word of GOD in that Kingdom; in which Church there were also baptized divers others of Note, as *Osfrid* and *Eadfrid*, the Sons of King *Edwin*, both which his former Wife *Queenburga*, the Daughter of *Ceorle* King of *Mercia*, had brought forth in their Banishment. There were likewise afterwards baptized divers others of the King's Children by his last Queen, who not long after dying, were buried in *Tork* Minster. Besides these, there were baptized *Iff* the Son of Prince *Osfrid*, and several other Noblemen; and it is reported, that the People's Desires to receive Baptism were then so fervent, that when on a time *Paulinus* came with the King and Queen to a certain Town of the King's, called *Adefrin*, he there spent a Month in doing nothing else but Catechizing, and Baptizing those that came to him from far and near to that end; for after his Instructing them, they were straight baptized in the River *Gleni*, which he made use of as being convenient for that purpose.

These Things were transacted in the Province of *Bernicia*; but in that of *Deira*, where he used to remain most commonly with the King, he baptized in the River of *Swale*, for in that present Infancy of the Church, Oratories and Fonts were not yet erected: But in the Country of *Done* he built a Church, which was burnt not long after by the Pagans when they killed King *Edwin*. These Things, tho' happening in several Years, *Bede* here relates all at once. But to return to Civil Affairs.

This Year *Cynegils* and *Cwichelm*, Kings of the *West-Saxons*, fought with *Penda* King of *Mercia* at *Cirencester*, where also a League was made between them.

H. Huntington is larger in the Relation of this Fight, and tells us, that when both Armies had fought from Morning till Sun-set, neither of them giving Ground; the next Morning perceiving they should be both ruined if they stood another Fight, they treated of a Peace, and so parted Friends.

It were to be wished, that the Monkish Writers, who have left us the only Relations of these Wars, would also have told us the particular Causes and Grounds on which they were made; for want of which, we are

are left to guess in general, that Revenge or Ambition (the common Incentives to War among Princes) did also produce these we now treat of; but within two Years after (as the *Saxon Annals* relate) *Eorpwald* [King of the *East-Saxons*] was baptized.

This *Bede* relates to have been done by the Persuasion of King *Edwin*, who after the Death of *Redwald*, had the Kingdom of the *East-Angles* voluntarily delivered up to him by the People of that Province; but he out of Gratitude to his old Benefactor, permitted his Son *Eorpwald* quietly to hold that Kingdom, tho' as his Tributary; who now casting away his Idols, was baptized, together with many of his Subjects: His Father King *Redwald* had been also baptized in *Kent* by the means of King *Eadbald*, tho' in returning home he was again perverted by his Wife and some others of her Superstition, from the true Faith; so that he had at once in the same Temple one Altar for Christ, and another for Devils: But King *Eorpwald*, not long after his receiving the Faith, was slain by one *Richbert* a Heathen, but who he was, or why he did it, is not told us; so that the Kingdom for three years returned to Paganism, until *Sebert*, Brother to the last King, a most Learned and Christian Prince, obtained the Crown; who whilst his Brother lived being banished into *France*, did there receive Baptism, of which as soon as he began his Reign he made his Subjects also Partakers: But to this Prince we shall speak more largely anon.

About this time *Paulinus* also preached the Word to the Province of *Lindiff*. (now *Lincolnshire*) and converted the Governor of *Lincoln*, whose Name was *Blecca*, with all his Family, to the Christian Faith: In which City he built a Church of Stone of curious Workmanship, whose Roof being fallen down, either by length of Time, or Hostile Incursions, the Walls were only standing in *Bede's* time: And concerning the Propagation of the Christian Faith in this Province, a certain Priest and Abbot of the Monastery of *Barteneu* told *Bede*, That he himself was baptized by the Bishop *Paulinus*, together with a great Multitude of people in the River *Trent*, near a City then called *Tiwulfsingceaster* (where it was, we know not) King *Edwin* being present; of whom *Bede* also tells us, That in his time a Woman with a Child in her hand might have gone from Sea to Sea; and that the King at certain Fountains near the Highways, caused Drinking-Pots of Brass to be set upon Posts, for the refreshment of Travellers, which none either out of Love or Fear would presume to meddle with; he also caused to be carried before him when he went through the streets, a sort of Banner which the *Romans* called *Tufa*, and which the *English* then called a *Tuff*.

About this time too Pope *Honorius* succeeded *Boniface* in the *Roman* See; and as soon as he heard that the Nation of *Northumbers* had received the Christian Faith by the Preaching of *Paulinus*, he sent him an Archiepiscopal Pall, together with Exhortatory Letters to King *Edwin*, persuading him to persevere in the Faith which he had received; which Letter you may find at large in *Bede*; wherein it also appears, that *Honorius* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and *Paulinus* of *Tork*, had this Trust lodged jointly in them, That whensoever one of them died, the Survivor should immediately consecrate another Archbishop in his stead; for not long before, Archbishop *Justus* deceasing, *Honorius* had been elected in his room; who coming to *Paulinus* as far as *Lincolne*, was there by him ordained Archbishop of *Canterbury*.

Cadwallo

Anno Dom.
DCXXVIII.

Ibid. c. 15.

Idem Ibid.

Id. c. 17.

Id. c. 18.

Anno Dom.
DCXXXIII.

Ibid. cap. 20.

Cadwallo, King of the *Britains*, having been (as *Geoffrey of Monmouth* relates) conquered by King *Edwin*, lost so great a part of his Kingdom, that he was forced to fly into *Ireland*, from whence soon after returning with a great Army of *Irish*, he overcame *Penda* King of the *Mercians* in fight, and then made him join his Forces against King *Edwin*: All which is probable enough; for * *Bede* also tells us, That *Cadwallo* this year rebelling against King *Edwin*, together with *Penda*, invaded the Kingdom of *Northumberland*, when King *Edwin* raising an Army met them at a place called *Hethsfeld* (now *Hatfield* in *Yorkshire*) and there fought a bloody Battel, wherein King *Edwin* himself was slain, and his whole Army quite routed; in which Fight *Osfrid* his Son, a Warlike Young Prince also fell; but *Edfrid* the Younger being compelled by necessity to surrender himself to *Penda*, was afterwards by him murdered, contrary to his Oath. This happen'd in the 17th. year of King *Edwin's* Reign, having till now been successful in all his Undertakings.

But there now ensued a very sad Destruction of the *English* Nation of the *Northumbers*, since of these two Generals, the one was a professed *Pagan*, and the other, though a Christian in Name, yet shewed himself worse than a *Pagan*; for *Cadwallo*, altho he professed Christianity, yet was so barbarous, that he spared neither Age nor Sex, but put all to death with great Cruelty; tyrannizing for a long while over all those Provinces, and seeming resolved quite to extirpate the *English* Nation; nor did he shew any respect to Churches or other Sacred Places; it being then the custom of the *Britains* (in *Bede's* time) to set at nought the Faith and Religion of the *English-Saxons*; neither would they have any thing to do with them, more than with *Pagans*: But the Head of the slain King was brought to *York*, and there deposited in the Church of *St. Peter*, which he himself had begun, and *Oswald* his Successor finished. All things being thus in confusion in those parts, and no Refuge or Safety any where to be expected, Queen *Ethelburga* returned by Sea into *Kent*, together with *Paulinus* the Archbishop, and was there received with great Honour by King *Eadbald* and Archbishop *Honorius*; she was conducted thither by *Basse*, a Valiant Captain of King *Edwin's*, who also brought with him *Eanfrede* the King's Daughter, as also *Usefrea* his Son, and *Iffe* his Grandson by *Osfrid*; whom their Mother afterward, for fear of the Kings *Eadbald* and *Oswald*, sent into *France* to King *Dagobert* to be brought up, where they both died in their Infancy.

At which time also the Church of *Rochester* wanting a Pastor, (*Romanus* the Bishop having been drowned in going on a Message to *Rome*) *Paulinus* at the request of King *Eadbald* and Archbishop *Honorius*, took upon him the care of that Church, which he held as long as he lived.

Anno Dom.
DCXXXIV.
Ibid. Lib. 3.
Cap. 1.

After the Death of King *Edwin*, *Osric* the Son of *Elfric*, his Uncle by the Father's side, obtained the Kingdom of *Deira*, who had been before received by *Paulinus*; whilst *Eanfrid*, of the same Blood-Royal, as being the Son of *Ethelfrid* the last King before *Edwin*, ruled the Kingdom of *Bernicia*; so that during the Reign of *Edwin*, all the Sons of *Ethelfrid*, with many more of the Young Nobility of that Country, lived in Exile either with the *Scots* or *Picts*, by whom they were instructed in their Religious Rites, whilst both these Kings last mentioned abjured the Christian Religion, which they had before learnt and professed; and relapsing to their old Idolatry, were shortly after cut off by *Cadwalla*, King of

of the *Britains*; for the next Summer *Osric* having besieged him in a certain Town, *Cadwalla* falling out with his Men, cut him off on a sudden with all his Army; and then when he had ravaged the *Northumbrian* Provinces, not as a King, but a cruel Tyrant; and that at length *Eanfrid* came to him imprudently, with only Twelve Select Knights in his Company to treat of Peace, he put him to Death as he had done his Cousin before.

That Year, saith *Bede*, Is still at this day accounted unlucky; and hateful to all good Men, both in respect of the Apostacy of these Princes who renounced their Baptism; as also for the Tyranny of this British King: Whereupon it was agreed by those who computed the Reigns of the *Northumbrian* Kings, to abolish the Memory of these Infidels, and to cast this Year into the Reign of the Pious King *Oswald*, who succeeding after the Death of his Brother *Eanfrid*, and marching with a small Force, (but fortified by Faith in Christ) routed *Cadwalla*, that Prince of the *Britains*, with his vast Army, which nothing could resist, as he boasted; and, who was slain in a place, which in the *English* Tongue is called *Denisesbourn*, or *Brook*, the place (saith our Authour) is shewn at this day, and had in great Veneration; where *Oswald* being to give Battle erected a large Wooden-Cross, and he himself laboured in setting of it up; which when he had finished, he thus spoke to his Army; Let us now kneel down, and jointly pray unto the Omnipotent, and only true God, that he would mercifully defend us from this proud Enemy; for he knows that we undertake a just War for defence of our Nation and Religion: The place is in the *English* Tongue called *Heofensfeld*. (or *Heavenfield*), lying near to the Wall which the *Romans* built from Sea to Sea, (which we now call the *Pict's* Wall :) The rest of *Bede's* Miracles concerning this place, and Cross, I omit, as very incredible and Superstitious.

But before we leave this great Action of the Death of *Cadwalla*, I cannot omit taking notice of the Confidence of *Geoffrey of Monmouth*, who (notwithstanding this express Testimony of *Bede* to the contrary,) will make this *Cadwalla* not only to have overcome *Edwin*, and other *Saxon* Kings in divers Battles, and to have forced them to submit themselves to him, and do him Homage at *London*, and that living and dying Victorious, he was there buried, and his Body being put into a Brazen Statue of a Man on Horse-back, was set over *Ludgate* for a terror to the *Saxons*, having Reigned Forty Eight Years; all which is notoriously false, for *London* had been part of the *East-Saxon* Kingdom, for above One Hundred Years, when this King was kill'd, who did not Reign Twenty Years in all.

But the same King *Oswald*, as soon as ever he came to the Kingdom, desiring that all his Subjects might profess the Christian Faith, sent to the *Scotch* Bishops (for so I suppose the Words *Majores natu*, in *Bede* are to be rendered) among whom, whilst he was in Banishment, he had together with his followers received Baptism, desiring them that a Bishop might be sent him; by whose Preaching the People whom he Govern'd might be grounded in the Christian Religion, and receive Baptism; nor was he long without an answer to his request, for they soon sent him *Aidan*, a Man of great Meekness, Piety and Moderation; only *Bede* finds fault with him, That he had Zeal, but not according to Knowledge; in that he observed *Easter* day according to the custom of his own Nation, and that of the *Picts*, of which I have sufficiently spoken already: But so

Anno Dom. soon as this Bishop came to him, he gave him a place for his Episcopal
DCXVI. See, in the Isle of *Lindisfarh*, where he himself desired it, which place is
Penn-Insula, except when the Sea quite overflows that neck of Land which
joins it to *England*: But this King took care, by hearkening to the In-
structions of this good Bishop, to propagate Christ's Church in his King-
dom, which during his Reign, extended over both *Deira*, and *Bernicia*,
being then both united into one; and it was often observed as an unusual
spectacle, that whilst the Bishop Preacht (who being a *Scot* did not speak
English, so as to be well understood,) the King being present, and with
his Courtiers and Officers, having learnt the *Scottish* Tongue; during the
time of his banishment, would himself interpret the Bishops Sermon to
them, and many *Scottish* Priests coming into those Provinces of *Britain*
where King *Oswald* Reigned, began to Preach, and Baptize those that be-
lieved; so that now Churches were built in divers places, to which the
People assembling rejoiced to hear the Word of God; there were also
given by the King several Lands and Possessions to build Monasteries, for
they were chiefly Monks, who now came hither to Preach; for Bishop
Aidan was himself a Monk sent from the Monastery of the Isle of *Hy*,
of which we have said enough in the last Book.

Id. Cap. 5.

But of the Humility and Piety of this Bishop *Aidan*, *Bede* gives us a
very large account, in several instances of it; for he seems to have been
an excellent pattern for succeeding Bishops and Clergy Men to follow:
For he tells us, That all who travelled with him (I suppose in his Visi-
tation or Conversions) were they professed Monks or only Lay Brethren,
were obliged to bestow their time either in reading the Scriptures, or
else in learning the Psalms by heart: but to let you see how much more
Humility and Condescension are able to prevail than Pride and Austerity,
Bede tells us, That the King of the *Scots* first sent another Bishop to
King *Oswald*, who being of a very rough Austere Temper, could there-
fore do but little good among the *English*; so that being forced to return
home again, he laid the fault upon their Rude, Irtractable Dispositions;
whereupon the *Scottish* Clergy being grieved at his return, called a Synod
to consider what was best to be done in this case; when *Aidan*, who was
then present, told this Bishop, That he thought he had been too harsh
and severe to his Ignorant Auditors, and had not, according to the Apo-
stle's Rule, first given them the Milk of milder Doctrine, till by degrees
they should be able to receive, and digest the more perfect and harder
precepts of God's Word; which as soon as they heard, they all turn'd
their Eyes upon him, and resolved he should be sent to Convert the
Ignorant, unbelieving *English*, because he was endued with Prudence,
the Mother of all other Vertues, tho he was not wanting in those
also.

W. Cap. 6.

The same Author, also gives us as high a Character, with many Ex-
amples of the great Humility, Affability and Charity of King *Oswald*;
as that being once at Dinner, it was told him, There were a great mul-
titude of Poor People at his Gate, desiring Alms; whereupon he imme-
diately sent them a large Silver Dish full of Meat from his own Table,
and order'd the Dish afterwards to be broken into small pieces and di-
stributed among them; upon this Bishop *Aidan* taking him by the Right
Hand, said thus; *Let this Hand never corrupt*, which saying gave occasi-
on to the Miracle, (whether false or real I shall not now dispute) con-
cerning the incorruptibility of King *Oswald's* Right Arm, which *Bede*
hath

hath given us so many strange Relations of, and that it was preserved
uncorrupt in the Church of *Peterburgh* in his time: Of this King he
also tells us, That by his Industry the Provinces of *Deira* and *Bernicia*,
which had been almost in perpetual Discord, were now (as I may say)
united into one People, so that he received all the Nations and Kingdoms
of *Britain* under his Protection: He was Nephew to King *Edwin* by his
Sister *Acca*, and it was fit that so great a Predecessour should have one of
his own Blood to succeed him.

But we shall proceed now to the Conversion of the *West-Saxons*, which
the same Author thus relates: At this time the Nation of the *West-*
Saxons (which were anciently called *Gewisses*) received the Christian
Faith in the Reign of *Cynegils*, by the preaching of *Byrinus* an Italian,
who being ordained Bishop by *Asterius* Bishop of *Genova*, by the Order
of Pope *Honorius*, came into *Britain*; and tho he had promised the Pope
to preach the Gospel in the most inland parts of the Island, where it
never had been heard of before, yet landing in the Country of the *West-*
Saxons, and finding them to be altogether Heathens, he thought it bet-
ter to preach the Gospel there, than to seek further; which, when he had
done for some time, and that the King (being sufficiently instructed)
was to be Baptized, with his People, it happened that *Oswald*, the Vi-
ctorious King of the *Northumbers*, was there present, and received him
coming out of the Font as his Godfather, intending also to make him
his Son-in-Law, and then both Kings joyned in conferring on the said
Bishop a City, which was called in Latin *Dorinea* (now *Dorchester*) in
Oxfordshire, there to fix his Episcopal See; but divers Years after, when
many Churches had been built, and much People converted to Christ
by his means, he at last deceased, and was buried in that City, (for so
Bede styles it,) tho it be now but a poor Country Town.

Will. of Malmesbury adds to this Relation of *Bede*, That King *Cynegils*
was quickly perswaded to submit to the preaching of the Bishop, but
that *Cwichelme* his Brother, (and Partner in the Kingdom,) did for some
time refuse it; till being admonished by Sickness, that he should not
neglect the Salvation of his Soul, he was at last baptized, and the same
Year died, which is confirmed by the *Saxon Chronicle* under the Year
following; tho omitting the Baptism of *Cynegils*, it only mentions that
of *Cwichelme*, adding, *That the same Year he departed this Life, and that Bi-*
shop Felix preached the Faith of Christ to the East-Angles: This *Felix* was a
Burgundian, the first Bishop in *Dunwich* in *Suffolk*, where he founded his
Episcopal See.

His Conversion was thus: *Sigebert* having succeeded his Brother
Eorpwald in the Kingdom of the *East-Angles*, and having, whilst he was
banished into *France* by his Brother's Jealousie, there received Baptism, did
now, by the Assistance of Bishop *Felix*, erect a School, (like those he
had seen in *France*;) where Youths might be taught Letters, having re-
ceived Schoolmasters out of *Kent*; but two Years after, this King being
weary of Worldly Affairs, resigned the Kingdom to his Cousin *Egric*,
and became a Monk in a Monastery of his own founding: Nor can I
here omit taking notice, that from *Bede's* thus mentioning King *Sige-*
bert's founding this School, *Polydore Virgil* and *Leland* conclude, that this
School was in *Cambridge*, and that it gave Being to that University; and
all the reason they have for it is, only because *Cambridge* was in the King-
dom of the *East-Angles*; whereas neither *Bede*, nor any other ancient

A 3 2

Au

Anno Dom.
DCXXXIV.

Anno Dom.
DCXXXV.

Id. c. 7.

Anno Dom.
DCXXXVI.

Bede, Id.
c. 18.

Anno Dom.
DCXXXVI. Author, specifies the Place where it was erected: And so it might be any where else, as well as in *Cambridge*; or if there, it was no better than a School to teach Boys the *Latin Tongue*: And it is certain, that in the time of King *Alfred* there was no School, much less an University there.

Id. But before I leave this King's Reign, I cannot forbear mentioning what *Bede* there tells us, That in his Reign one *Furseus* (or *Furse*) came out of *Ireland*, and preached the Gospel to the *East-Angles*, converting many, and confirming divers others in the Faith; and having had a terrible Vision of the Pains of Hell, did, by the Assistance of King *Sigebert*, erect a Monastery in a Town called *Cnobbsbury*; which afterward *Anna*, King of the *East-Angles*, enriched with noble Buildings and Revenues.

Anno Dom.
DCXXXIX. This Year is remarkable, for *Byrinnus* baptized King *Cuthred* at *Dorchester*, and at the Font received him for his Godson. This *Cuthred*, tho' here called *King*, yet was only a Prince of the Blood Royal, the Title of *Cyning* being often given to those Princes in our *Saxon Annals*.

Anno Dom.
DCXL. This Year *Eadbald*, King of *Kent*, departing this Life, having reigned 25 Years, left the Kingdom to *Earcumbert* his Son, who held it 24 Years and some Months. The *Saxon Annals* say, This King *Eadbald* had two Sons, *Ermenred*, and *Earcumbert*; but *Mat. Westminster* (I know not from what Author) adds, That the Younger craftily supplanted the Elder, and got the Kingdom from him. This *Earcumbert* was the first *English King*, who commanded Idols to be destroyed throughout his whole Kingdom; and who also by his Authority ordained, That the Forty Days before *Easter* (now called *Lent*) should be observed; and that it should not be contemned, appointed competent Punishments for those that should dare to transgress it.

Id. This seems to have been the *First Lent* that was observed in *England* by a Law; this King's Daughter, called *Earcogath*, or *Earcogota*, being a Virgin of great Piety, constantly served God in a Monastery in the Kingdom of the *Franks*, founded by a noble Abbess in the Town called *Brige* (now *Bruges*) in *Flanders*, for there being at that time not many Monasteries in *Britain*, many who desired to undertake those Vows, used to go over to the *French Monasteries*, or else sent their Daughters to be taught and professed there, chiefly in the Monasteries of *Brige*, *Cale*, and *Andelegium*.

The *Saxon Annals* here also mention, 'one *Ermenred* to have been Brother to King *Earcumbert*, and to have begot two Sons, (*Ethelbert*, and *Ethelred*;) who afterwards suffered Death by the Hands of *Thunore*, one of his *Thans*, whom the King employed in this cruel Execution.

Anno Dom.
DCXLII. When *Oswald*, the Most Christian King of *Northumberland*, had now reigned 9 Years, (taking in that Year in which the two Apostate Kings were killed,) who were left out of the Catalogue, (as has been already said,) he fought a great Battle with *Penda*, the Pagan King of the *Mercians*, in a place called *Maser-Field* (now *Ossetre*) in *Shropshire*, and was there unfortunately slain in the 38th Year of his Age; the Greatness of whole Faith and Devotion towards GOD, appeared (saith *Bede*) by the many Miracles there wrought after his Death; which being both tedious and improbable, I omit, and refer those that are Curious in such Matters to the Author himself; but that they were long after generally believed, appears by these Passages in the *Saxon Chronicle*, (*viz.*) 'That his Holiness and Miracles were afterwards highly celebrated through the

'the whole Island, and that his Hand was still preserved at *Bebban-burg* *Anno Dom.*
'uncorrupt. For *Penda* had most inhumanly caused his Body to be dis- *DCXLII.*
membered, and his Head and Arms being cut off, to be set upon a Pole for a Trophie of his Victory.

The same Year also *Penda*, King of *Mercia*, making War against the *Bede*, l. 3.
East-Angles, and still getting the better of them; they urged *Sigebert*, c. 18.
who had been formerly their King, (but was now retired into a Monastery,) to come out to Battle, to encourage the Souldiers; and so fetching him out whether he would or no, as hoping that the Souldiers would be less apt to fly, having with them one who had been so stout a Commander: But he being mindful of his Vow, carrying nothing but a Staff in his Hand, was there slain, together with *Egrie* the present King, and all the whole Army was routed, and dispersed: But *Anna*, the Son of *Eni*, of the Royal Stock, succeeded them, being an excellent Man, but who also underwent the same Fate from this Pagan King, as shall be shewn in due time.

'This Year *Cenwall*, or *Cenwallc*, succeeded *Cynegils* his Father in the *Anno Dom.*
'Kingdom of the *West-Saxons*, and reigned 31 Years. *DCXLIII.*

This King commanded the old Church of * *Winchester* to be built, which had been designed by his Father *Cynegils*, tho' he never lived to finish it; but *Hedda* late there as the first Bishop. This King also gave to this Church, and Bishoprick, all the Lands lying about *Winchester* *Vid. Monast.*
for the space of 7 *Leucas*, or *Leagues*; which Grant was also confirmed *Ang. T. 1. p. 31.*
by King *Kenwalk*. *Angl. Sacra.*
T. 1. Annal.
Winton in B. Cotton.

Note, That at the first Foundation, this Monastery was for Secular Chanons, till the Year 963; that Bishop *Ethelwold*, by the Command of King *Edgar*, turned out these Chanons, and placed *Benedictine Monks* in their rooms.

'This Year *Paulinus* deceased at *Rochester*, who had been first Arch- *Anno Dom.*
'Bishop of *Tork*, and afterwards Bishop in this City, and was Bishop *DCXLIV.*
'21 Years, 2 Months, and 12 Days *Oswin*, the Son of *Oswic*, the 'Cousin of *Edwin*, was made King of *Deira*, and reigned 7 Years.

The next Year,
In the room of *Paulinus*, Arch-Bishop *Honorius* consecrated *Ithamar* a *Anno Dom.*
Kentish Man, who was equal to his Predecessors in Learning and Piety. *DCXLV.*
Cenwallc was driven out of his Kingdom by *Penda* King of the *Mercians*.

Of which, *Bede* gives us a more particular Account, That refusing to receive the Christian Faith, he not long after lost his Kingdom; for having divorced his Wife, the Sister of *Penda* King of the *Mercians*, he had therefore not only War made upon him, but was driven out of his Kingdom upon that account; so that he was forced to retire to *Anna* King of the *East-Angles*, with whom remaining 3 Years in Banishment, he came first to the knowledge of, and there received the true Faith, for that King was a good Man, and happy in a pious Issue.

'This Year King *Cenwallc* was baptized: And, as *William* of *Malmesbury* *Anno Dom.*
relates, after 3 Years banishment, gathering fresh Forces, recovered his *DCXLVI.*
Kingdom, and proved the greatest of the *West-Saxon Kings* that had reigned hitherto, as shall be in due time related: But *Bede* tells us, That after this King had been some time restored, there came out of *Ireland* *Id.*
a certain Bishop called *Agelbert*, a *French Man*, who offered himself to the King to preach the Gospel, whose Learning and Industry when the King understood, he offered him the Bishoprick of that Province, and consenting

Anno Dom.
DCXLVI. sending to the King's Desires, he remained there Bishop several Years; till the King finding he could not learn *English*, and growing weary of his bad Pronunciation, introduced another Bishop, one *Wini* of his own Nation, over his Head, who had been ordained in *France*, and so dividing the Province into two Diocesses, settled the latter in his Episcopal See at *Winchester*; at which *Agelbert* being offended, because the King had done it without his Knowledge and Consent, he returned into *France*, and there accepting of the Bishoprick of *Paris*, died an old Man; but not many Years after his departure, *Wini* being driven from his Bishoprick, retired to *Wulfer* King of *Mercia*, and buying of him the Episcopal See of the City of *London* for a Sum of Money, sat there Bishop as long as he lived; thus Simony crept very early into the *English* Saxon Church: So the Kingdom of the *West-Saxons*, was no small time without a Bishop, whereupon King *Cenwalc* being afflicted with great losses in his Wars, sent Messengers into *France*, to Bishop *Agelbert*, desiring him to return, and reassume the Bishoprick he had left; but he excused himself, that he could not return, being already engaged in another Charge; yet to comply as far as he could to the King's desires, he sent him his Nephew *Elutherius* a Priest, to be ordained Bishop if he pleased; who being Honourably received by the King and People, and having been ordained Bishop by *Theodorus*, Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*, did for many Years Govern alone the Diocess of the *West-Saxons*. This, tho' happening in a course of some Years, is by *Bede* related as one continued Story.

Anno Dom.
DCXLVIII. " This Year *Cenwalc* (King of the *West-Saxons*.) gave *Cuthred* his Cousin Three Thousand Hides of Land, near *Æscadune*, (now called *Aston* near *Wallingford*): This *Cuthred* was the Son of *Cwichelme*, and he the Son of *Cynegils*: But two years after,

Anno Dom.
DCL. " *Ægelþerth*, a Bishop, (who came from *France*.) after *Byrinnus* undertook the Bishoprick of the *West-Saxons*, as has been already related at large by *Bede*.

Anno Dom.
DCLI. " This Year *K. Oswin* was slain, xii. Kal. of September: And within twelve days afterwards died also *Aidan* the Bishop.

Lib. 3. c. 14. But the manner of this King's Death is by *Bede* thus related, That King *Oswin* (who succeeded *K. Oswald* his Brother,) had, from the beginning of his Reign, a Consort, or Sharer of the Royal Dignity of the *Northumbrian* Kingdom, called *Ofri*, the Son of *Utric*, of the Posterity of King *Edwin*; whilst *Oswin* govern'd the Province of *D-ira* for Seven Years with great Happiness and Love of his Subjects; But *Ofri*, who reigned in the Kingdom of *Bernicia*, would not long maintain Peace with him; 'till at last fresh Diffentions still arising between them, he destroyed *Oswin* by Treachery; for both their Armies now lying near each other, as ready to fight, when *Oswin* saw, that being weaker in Force, he was not able to wage Battle with him who came against him with a much greater Army, he judg'd it better to lay aside all Thoughts of fighting, and to preserve himself and his Men for some better Opportunity: So he sent home his Army from a place called *Wilfers Dun*, and himself retired with only one faithful Follower, to lie concealed in the House of Earl *Hunwald*, whom he supposed to have been faithful to him; but it proved far otherwise, for by him he was betray'd, and there slain by the Command of *K. Ofri*, together with his faithful Servant *Tondbere*, in the ninth year of his Reign, at a place called *I-gerlingum*.

Thus

Anno Dom.
DCLII. This Fact of King *Oswin*, as it was deplorable to all Men, so it afterwards proved most hateful to himself; who, repenting of it, built there a Monastery to expiate the Crime, and to pray, as well for his own Soul as for that of the King he had kill'd. This King *Oswin* was a Man of a beautiful Aspect, tall of Stature, affable, and very bountiful; all which excellent Endowments, both of Mind and Body, procured him such Reputation, that he was generally beloved; and many Noble Persons, out of all the *English* Provinces, thought themselves happy if they could get into his Service; but above all, his Humility and singular Modesty were most remarkable, whereof *Bede* gives us this Instance: *K. Oswin* had bestowed an excellent Horse upon *Aidan*, (that charitable B. of *Lindisfarne*.) but the Bishop, when a poor Man ask'd an Alms, gave him the Horse with all the rich Furniture upon him: The King hearing of this, as they were going to Dinner, said to him, My Lord Bishop, Why would you give that Noble Horse, that I bestowed upon you for your own Saddle, to a poor Man? Have we not many worse Horses, and other Things, which would better serve the Poor, instead of this Horse I made choice of for your own riding? The Bishop instantly replied, Sir, What do you say? Is that Son of a Mare more dear to you than the Son of GOD? With that they went to Dinner, the Bishop took his Seat, but the King, being newly come in from Hunting, sat down by the Fire with his Attendants; but remembering what the Bishop had said, he rose suddenly up, and giving his Sword to his Servant, ran hastily to the Bishop, and falling down at his Feet, besought him not to be angry, affirming, he would never after speak, or concern himself, whatever he gave to the Children of GOD. The Bishop being wonderfully amazed, and rising hastily from his Seat, raised him up, telling him, he was very well pleased if he would but sit down to Dinner, and be cheerful: The King then, at his Request, began to be merry; but the Bishop to be sad, in so much that he shed Tears; of which his Priest taking Notice, and in their own Language, (being the Scottish, which neither *Oswin* nor his Servants understood,) demanded the Reason: I know (saith he,) that the King will not live long, for till now I never beheld an humble King; whence I apprehend, that he will speedily be taken away from us; for this Nation is not worthy of such a Governor. Not long after, this Pre-*l*age of the Bishop was fulfilled in the Murder of *Oswin* (as you have heard): But *Aidan* lived till the twelfth day after his Death, and then died himself on the last of August: Of the Miracles of which Bishop, *Bede* gives us too long an dan incredible Account either to be believed, or inserted here.

" This Year *Cenwal*, (King of the *West-Saxons*.) fought at *Bradenford*, near the River *Asene* (in *Wiltshire*); but it is pity that our Annals had not told us against whom he fought, which I cannot find in any Author, tho' it is most likely to have been against the *Mercians*; for *Ethelward*, in his Chronicle, says, That *Cenwal*, about this time, was engaged in a Civil War, which must be understood with those of his own Country, and the *Mercians* were his next Neighbours. The next Year

" The Mid-land *English* (or *Mercians*.) under *Peadda* their Eolderman or Governour, received the Faith of Christ: Which Conversion *Bede* relates more at large; when, speaking of this *Peadda*, the Son of *Penda*, as being a young Man, most worthy of the Name of a King, was, by his Father, set over a Province of that Nation; *Will. of Malmesbury* calls it part of that Kingdom; and that this Prince went to *Osry*, desiring *Alfreda* his Daughter to Wife, but could by no means obtain her, unless he, together

Anno Dom.
DCLIII.Anno Dom.
DCLIII.

Lib. 3. c. 21.

Anno Dom.
DCLIII.
together with his whole Nation, would receive Baptism; but he having heard the Preaching of the Gospel, through the Hope of a future Immortality, voluntarily professed that he would be a Christian, whether he had married the Virgin or not; being chiefly persuaded to receive the Faith by *Alefrid*, the Son of King *Osry*, who was his Friend and Relation, having married *Cymburge* his Sister: So that King was baptised by Bishop *Finan*, together with all his Train, in that famous Town of the King's, which *Bede* calls *Admurum* (that is, *Walltown*, near the *Pict's* Wall); and taking with him four Priests to teach and baptise his Nation, he return'd home with much Joy; these Priests coming with the King into this Province preach'd GOD's Word, and were as willingly heard and receiv'd; and both, the Noble as well as the inferior sort, renouncing their Idolatry, were baptised; nor did King *Penda* himself prohibit them from preaching in his own Kingdom, if they would, but rather hated and despised those, whom, professing the Faith of Christ, he found not to perform Works suitable to it; calling them miserable and contemptible Wretches, who failed to obey that GOD in whom they believed. These Things fell out two Years before the Death of King *Penda*.

Bede 16. c. 22.
About the same time the *East-Saxons*, at the Instance of King *Osry*, again received the Christian Faith, which they had formerly rejected, having (as you have heard,) driven away *Mellitus* their Bishop; for *Sigebert*, who was now King of that Nation, having succeeded *Sigebert*, Sir-named *The Little*; This Prince being a Friend to King *Osry*, and using to come sometimes to visit him into the Kingdom of *Northumberland*, he was wont often to tell him, *That those could not be GODS that were the Works of Mens Hands; but that GOD was an Incomprehensible Being, Invisible, Omnipotent, and Eternal, who govern'd all Things both in Heaven and Earth, and would judge the World in Equity; and that all those who would learn, and do His Will, should receive Eternal Rewards*: These and many other such Things, when King *Osry* had often inculcated with a Brotherly Affection, at last by the Persuasion of that King, and of divers of his Friends, he also Believed, and was baptised, with all his Followers, at the same place where *Peadda* had been Christened before, (*viz.* at *W' all-Town* above-mentioned). King *Sigebert*, being thus made a Christian, returned to his own Kingdom, only asking of King *Osry* to appoint him some Teachers, who might convert and baptise his Nation into the Faith of Christ; so the King sent to the Kingdom of the *Mercians*, and called back *Cedda*, who had been before sent thither; and giving him a certain Priest for his Companion, sent him to preach the Word to the *East-Saxons*: When these had passed through all places, and had gathered a very large Church, it happened some time after, that *Cedda*, returning home, went to *Lindisfarne*, to confer with Bishop *Finan*; who, when he found the Work of the Gospel to have so well prospered under his Ministry, calling to him Two other Bishops, ordained *Cedda* Bishop over the Nation of the *East-Saxons*; who thereupon returned into his own Province, and finishing the Work he had begun with greater Authority, Built Churches in many places, and ordained Priests and Deacons, who might help him in the Preaching of the Word and Baptism; especially in a City, which is called in the *English* Tongue, *Ibancestir*, as also in that which is called *Tylabury*; the former of which places was upon the Bank of the River *Pent*, and the other is near the *Thames* (now called *Tillbury*) in which having gathered together a small company of Christ's Servants, he taught them the

the Discipline of a Monastick Life, as far as they were capable to receive it.

This Year, (according to the *Saxon Annals*) *Anna*, King of the *East-Angles* was Slain; being overcome in Fight by King *Penda*, of whom *H. Huntington* gives us but a slender Account, only that *Anna* and his whole Army perished in a moment, by the edge of the Sword; so that scarce any of them remained *Anno Dom.*
DCLIV.

This Year also, one *Bottulf* began to Build a Monastery at *Icanho* (supposed to be *Boston* in *Lincoln-shire*). As also *Honorius*, Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*, Deceased on 20. Kal. Octob. The same Year likewise (according to *Mat. Westminster*) *Ercombert* King of *Kent* Deceased, *Egbert* his Son Succeeded him; in the beginning of whose Reign, *Ethelbert*, and *Ethelred*, the Sons of his Uncle *Ermenred*, being but Youths, were cruelly Murdered by one *Thanor*, the King's Servant, without his privity; whose Bodies were strangely discovered, where they were buried, by a Light from Heaven: whereupon their Bodies were removed to the Monastery of *Warinens*: The Miracles that followed in the doing of which, I omit as incredible.

This Year King *Penda* was Slain at *Winwidfeld*, with Thirty others of the Royal Blood. *Anno Dom.*
DCLV.

Of which Battle *Bede* gives us a particular account; That *Osri* having long endured the Ravages, and Devastations of his Country by the Inroads of King *Penda*, and having had his strong City of *Bebbanburg* (now *Bamburrough* Castle) assaulted, and set on Fire, and thereby very near taking, found himself too weak to resist, and offering him many Rich Presents, desired to buy a Peace; which *Penda* proudly refusing, and resolving nothing less should satisfy him than this King's destruction; *Osri* upon that turning his Gifts into Vows to God, implored the Divine Assistance; devoting his Daughter (then but one Year Old) to be a Nun, and with Twelve Portions of Land, (whereof each maintained Ten Families,) to build and endow Monasteries: So it seems, his Vows proved more successful than his Treaties; for hereupon, he with *Alfred* his Son, gathering a small Army, therewith encountered, and discomfited the *Mercians*, having then Invaded and wasted the *Northumbrian* Kingdom, tho' they were Thirty times more in number, and led by experienced Captains: This Battle was fought near a place called *Loyden* (now *Leeds* in *Tork-shire*;) besides this *Ethelwald*, the Son of *Oswald*, who ruled in *Deira*, took part with the *Mercians*, but in the Fight withdrew his Forces, and in a safe place waited for the Event; with which unseasonable Retreat, the *Mercians* perhaps, being terrified, and misdoubting greater danger fled; their Commanders together with *Penda* himself, being almost all Slain; amongst whom was *Ethelher*, King of the *East-Angles*, who forgetting the Death of his Brother *K. Anna*, formerly Slain by *Penda*, now took part with him, and was the chief Authour of this War; many as they were flying were drown'd in the River *Winved*, then swoln above her Banks: The death of *Penda*, that Cruel, and Heathen King, caused a General rejoycing among the Christians, according to the Old *English* saying, (mentioned by *Mathew Westminster*) at *Winved*: So that after *Penda* had been the death of no less than Four or Five Christian Kings, whom he slew in Battle, he himself underwent the same Fate; so little Difference is there between the deaths of Good, and Bad Princes; only the former are called God's Corrections, but the latter his Judgments.

Anno Dom.
DCLV. But to *Ethelber*, succeeded *Ethelwald* his Brother, and to *Penda* his Son *Peadda*, who being a Christian and Son in Law to *Oswi* himself, he allowed him to hold the Province of *South Mercia*, divided from the *Northern*, by the River of *Trent*, then containing (according to *Bede*) Five Thousand Families,) to be held as Tributary to the *Northumbrian* Kingdom.

After this the *Mercians* became all *Christians*, by the means of King *Oswi*, and *Peadda*: and here that Copy of the *Saxon Chronicle*, Written in the Abby of *Peterburgh*, gives us a large account of the Foundation of that Abby, which is thus; "That in the Time of this *Peadda*, he and *Oswi*, the Brother of King *Oswald* met, and conferred about building a Monastery, in honour of *Christ* and *St. Peter*, which they afterwards did, and gave it the Name of *Medeshamsted*, from a certain Well, which is there, called *Medeswell*; so they laid the Foundations, and when they had near finished the Work, they committed it to the Care of a certain Monk, called *Saxulf*, who was dear to God, and beloved of all the Nation; for he was a Rich, and Noble Person in his time, but is now much richer in *Christ*.

This Year also, (*Honorius* the Archbishop deceasing, on the 7th of the Calends of *April*) *Ithamer* Bishop of *Rochester*, Consecrated *Deus Dedit* to be Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*. This was the first *English* Monk, that had ever been chosen Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*, and was also the first that was Consecrated but by one Bishop; for the better sound fake, he changed his Name to *Deus Dedit*, having been before called *Fridona*, or *Fridon*.

Anno Dom.
DCLVI. This Year was *Peadda* Slain about *Easter*, by the Treachery of his Wife, the Daughter of *K. Oswi*, and *Wulfher* (his Brother) the Son of *Penda* succeeded him.

Tho' not until some Years after; for upon the Death of *Peadda*, King *Oswi* seized also that part of the Kingdom, and held and laid it to his own Dominions.

Here the *Saxon Chronicle* proceeds to give us a further account, concerning the finishing of the aforesaid Monastery of *Peterburgh*; but tho' it was done some Years after; and the Relation be somewhat long, yet because it shews more plainly than any other History, the Form and Manner of erecting such a Foundation, I shall give you the substance of it, omitting what is not pertinent to our purpose. The said Chronicle proceeds thus,

"That in his (*viz.* *Wulfher's*) Reign, the Abby of *Medeshamsted* was greatly increased in Riches, for that King favoured it very much, for the sake of his own Brother, *Peadda*, and of *Oswi*, his Brother in the Christian Faith; as also of *Saxulf* the Abbot; wherefore he said that he would render it yet more famous, and would highly adorn it, being thereunto persuaded By his Brothers, *Ethelred*, and *Mervalla*, and his Sisters, *Kyneburg*, and *Kyneswith*, as also by Arch-Bishop *Deus Dedit*, and all his Wife Men, both Clerks and Laicks that were in his Kingdom; then the King sending for the said Abbot, told him, that since his Brother *Peadda*, and his Friend *Oswi* had begun this Monastery and that he was Departed this Life, therefore the Abbot should, take diligent care to see it finished, and he would provide all things, as both Gold and Silver, Lands and possessions, and whatever else was needful for it; whereupon the Abbot went home, and setting to the Work, so far advanced it, that in few Years it was finished; which

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Anno Dom.
DCLVI. "when it was told the King, he was very joyful, and sent to give notice of it to all his *Thanes* throughout the whole Nation, as also the Arch-Bishop, Bishops Earls and all who loved God, that they should come to him; so he appointed them a day when the Monastery should be Consecrated; at which Consecration King *Wulfher*, and his Brother *Ethelred*, and his Sisters were all present, as was also Arch-Bishop *Deus Dedit*, and *Ithamer* Bishop of *Rochester*, together with *Wina* Bishop of *London*, and several other Bishops: There were also present all the *Thanes* that were in his Kingdom, when this Monastery was Consecrated, in the Names of *St. Peter*, *St. Paul*, and *St. Andrew*: Then the King rising up from his Chair, spoke thus, with a loud Voice before all his *Thanes*; *Thanks be to the most High and Omnipotent GOD, for this honour which he hath done me*, and I will, That you all confirm my Words; I *Wulfher* do give this Day to *St. Peter*, and to *Saxulf*, and to the Monks of this Monastery, all these Lands, Waters, &c. and all the Territories lying round about them, which are of my Royal Patrimony; so freely that no Man shall have thence any Tribute or Revenue, besides the Abbot and Monks, which Gift is this; Then the King proceeded to declare the Meets and Bounds of the Lands, which he had given; which because they are not to our purpose, I omit, only that they reach'd as far as *Stamford*, and were above Threecore Miles about; then said the King, *The Gift indeed is small, but I will, that they hold it so freely, that none may exact any Geld or Tribute out of it, but what is paid to the Monks; and I do hereby free this Monastery, from being subject to any, but the See of Rome; but I will also, That all those who cannot go thither, should here implore to St. Peter*: "When the King had spoke these things, the Abbot made a request to him, in the behalf of certain Religious Monks, who desired to lead the Lives of *Anchorites* and therefore prayed, that on a certain Island, a small Monastery should be Built, wherein they might live in Peace and Solitude; which was presently granted by the King; then he also desired his Brothers and Sisters, that for the good of their Souls, they would be witnesses to his Charter; conjuring all those who should succeed him, to preserve his Gift Inviolable, as they hoped to be partakers of Eternal Life, and would escape Eternal Torments; then follow the Names of the Witnesses, who were present, and who subscribed, and with the sign of the Cross confirmed it, by their consents; that is, King *Wulfher*, who first of all confirmed it with his Word, and then sign'd it with the Cross, and then spake thus; *I King Wulfher with the Earls, Floretoghs, and Thanes, being Witnesses of my Gift, do confirm it with Christ's Cross, before the Arch-Bishop Deus Dedit*: Then follow the Subscriptions of the Kings, and others of the Blood Royal, (*viz.*) *Oswi*, King of *Northumberland*, King *Sygar*, King *Sibbi*; *Ethelred* the King's Brother, together with his Sisters above named, as also of *Deus Dedit*, Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*; after whom follow the Subscriptions of the rest of the Bishops, together with some Presbyters and *Saxulf* the Abbot; as also of divers Eldermen or Governours of Countries, who with divers others of the King's great Men, did likewise confirm it: This Charter was made in the Year after our Lord's Nativity, 664, being the Seventh Year of King *Wulfher's* Reign: they did then also denounce the Curse of God, and all his Saints against all that should violate any thing that was there done; to which they all answered, *Amen*. As soon as this was over, the King sent to *Rome* to

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"Pope Vitalian, desiring him to confirm all that he had granted by his Letters, or Bull, which the Pope immediately performed, being to the same effect, with the King's Charter already mentioned; in this manner was the Monastery of *Medeshamsted* Founded, which was afterwards called *Burgh* (now *Peterburgh*).

But to return again to Civil Affairs, having dwelt I doubt too long upon Ecclesiastical.

Anno Dom. DCLVIII. "This Year, *Kenwalk* (King of the *West-Saxons*) fought against the *Welsh*, at a place called *Peonnum*, and pursued them as far as *Pedridan*. Of which Fight *H. Huntington* gives us this further Account; That at the first Onset, the *Britains* were too hard for the *English*; but they abhorring flight as bad as Death it self, persisted in fighting with them, till the *Britains* growing tired, and disheartened, fled, and were pursued as hath been already said, so that they received a very great blow.

Anno Dom. DCLIX. "This Year, according to *Florence of Worcester*, *Hilda* the Abbess Founded a Monastery at a place called *Streanhsale*, wherein she lived and dyed Abbess.

The same Year also, according to the same Author, *Innum*, *Eaba*, and *Eadbert*, Eoldermen of *Mercia*, rebelled against King *Osri*, and proclaimed for their King, *Wulfer*, the Son of *Penda*, whom they had hitherto kept concealed; Also *Edelbert*, or *Aglebert* the Bishop left King *Cenwalch*, and took the Bishoprick of *Paris*; and *Wina* held the Bishoprick of *Winchester*, of both which *Bede* hath already given us a particular account.

The same Year also (according to *Florence of Worcester*,) *Cuthred* the Son of *Guichelm* a Cousin to King *Cenwalch*, as also *Kenbryht* the Eolderman, great Grandson to King *Ceanlin*, and Father of King *Cadwalla* dyed.

Anno Dom. DCLXI. "This Year (according to the *Saxon Annals*) King *Cenwalch* fought about the time of Easter with King *Wulfer* at *Posentesbyrig* [supposed to be *Pontesbury* in *Shropshire*;] and *Wulfer* the Son of *Penda* wasted the Country as far as *Ælsceldune*, now *Aston* near *Wallingford*; and *Cuthred* the Son of *Guichelm*, as also King *Kenbryht* dyed.

Lib. II. Cap. 13. The same Year, according to † *Bede*, *Wulfer* took the Isle of *Wight*, with the Country of the *Meanwari*, and gave them to *Athelwald*, King of the *South Saxons*, because he had been that King's Godfather at his Baptism; and *Eoppa* the Priest, at the Command of Bishop *Wilfrid*, and King *Wulfer*, first of all offered Baptism to the Inhabitants of that Island; whether they accepted it or not, is very uncertain: But I cannot but here observe the uncertainty of the History of these Times; for *Ethelwerd* in his Chronicle under this Year, and at this very place above mentioned relates, that *Cenwalk* had the Victory, and carried away *Wulfer* Prisoner.

These *Meanwari* here mentioned by *Bede*, are supposed by Mr. Camden in his *Britannia*, to have been the People of that part of *Hampshire*, lying over against the Isle of *Wight*.

This Year also *Sigebert*, King of the *East-Saxons*, (tho standing firm in the Christian Faith) was (as *Bede* tells us) wickedly Murder'd by the Conspiracy of two Brethren in places near about him, who being asked what moved them to do so wicked a Deed? gave no other than this Barbarous Answer; That they were angry with him for being so gentle to his Enemies, as to forgive them their Injuries when ever they besought him: But the occasion of his death is much more remarkable; for one of those Earls who

who slew him, living in unlawful Wedlock, stood thereof excommunicated by the Bishop; so that no man might presume to enter into his House, much less to Eat with him; the King not regarding this Church-Censure, went to a Feast at his House, upon an Invitation, whom the Bishop meeting in his return, tho penitent for what he had done, and fallen at his Feet, yet gently touched with the Rod in his Hand, and being provoked thus foretold: *Because thou hast neglected to abstain from the House of this Excommunicate, in that House thou shalt dye*, and so it fell out, not long after, perhaps from that Prediction; God then bearing witness to his Minister, in the due power of Church Discipline, when Spiritually executed on the Contemner thereof: Yet *Bede* is so Charitable as to believe, that the unfortunate Death of this Religious Prince did not only atone for his fault, but might also increase his merit: To *Sigebert*, *Snidhelm* the Son of *Sextald*, succeeded in that Kingdom, who was Baptized by Bishop *Cedda* in the Province of the *East-Angles*, in the Royal Village, called *Rendlesham*, *Eadwald* King of that Country (who was the Brother of King *Anna*) being his Godfather.

Anno Dom. DCLXIV. "The Sun was now eclipsed *10. Non Maij*; and *Ercenbryht* King of *Kent* departed this Life, and *Eggbryht* his Son succeeded him in that Kingdom.

As for King *Ercenbert*, *Will. Malmesbury* gives him a very good Character; being famous for his Religion to God, and his Love to his Country; but he had no Right to the Crown save only by Election, having an Elder Brother, called *Ermenred*, who was alive at the beginning of his Reign, and left two Sons behind him.

"*Coleman* also with his Companions then departed to his own Nation; the same Year there was a great Plague over all the Isle of Britain, in which perished *Tuda* the Bishop, and was buried at *Wagele* (which *Bede* calls *Pegnalesh*;) also *Ceadda* and *Wilwerth* were now Consecrated Bishops; and the same Year too the Archbishop *Deu Dedit* dyed, after whom the See remained void for Four Years.

But of the occasion of this departure of *Coleman*, *Bede* hath given us a long and particular account; (viz.) That a Synod being called at *Streanhsall* (now *Whitby* in *Tork-shire*) by the procurement of *Hilda* the Abbess of that place; tho by the Authority of King *Osri*, (who was there present,) concerning the old Difference about the observation of *Easter*; *Wilfred* the Abbot, and *Romanus* a Priest, were very earnest for the observation of it, according to the Order of the Church of *Rome*; and *Coleman* Bishop of *Lindisfarne* was as zealous on the other side; but after many Arguments pro and con, (which you may find at large in *Bede*,) the Synod at last determining in favour of the *Romish Easter*, it so far displeased *Coleman*, that he was resolved to quit his Bishoprick, and depart into *Scotland*, to the Isle of *Iye*, (from whence he came,) rather than to comply with it; from whence he also departed into *Ireland*, (here called *Scotland*) where he built a Monastery in that Country, and lived all the rest of his days, and in which only *English Men* were admitted, at the time when *Bede* wrote his History.

But after the departure of *Coleman*, one *Tuda*, who had been ordained Bishop among the *Southern Scots*, was made Bishop of *Lindisfarne*, but he enjoyed that Bishoprick but a very little while.

But after the Death of Bishop *Tuda*, (according to the Life of Bishop *Wilfrid*) King *Osri* held a great Council with the Wise Men of his Nation,

* I lately published at Oxford, by the Learned Dr. Gale.

Anno Dom. tion, whom they should chuse in the vacant See, as most fit for that holy
DCLXIV. Function, when they all with one Consent nominated and chose Abbot *Wilfrid* as the fittest and worthiest Person to succeed him; but being to be Consecrated, he refused it from any Bishop at home, because he look'd upon them all as Un-canonical, being all ordained by *Scottish* Bishops, who differed from the *Roman* Church about this Point of keeping *Easter*; so that he would needs go over into *France* for Ordination; where staying too long, the King put *Ceadda* (who had lately come out of *Ireland*) into his Place; which *Wilfrid* upon his return much resenting, retired to his Monastery at *Ripon*, and there resided; as also sometimes with *Wulfher*, King of *Mercia*, or else with *Egbert* King of *Kent*, till he was restored to his See.

Bede tells us, that the above-mentioned Eclipse was followed by a sudden Pestilence the same Year, which first depopulating the Southern Parts of *Britain*, then proceeded to the Northern, wherein Bishop *Tuda* deceased; it also invaded *Ireland*, and there took off many Religious, as well as Secular Persons.

The same Year also (according to *Florence*) *Ercombert* King of *Kent* dying, left that Kingdom to *Egbert* his Son: Also *Ethelwald* King of the *East Angles* dying this Year, *Aldulf* succeeded him.

Lib. 4. c. 30.

About this time (according to *Bede*) *Siger* and *Sebba*, succeeding *Smid-helm* in the Kingdom of the *East Saxons*, being unsteady in the Faith, and supposing the late great Pestilence to have fell upon them for renouncing their old Superstition, relapsed again to Idolatry, and rebuilt the Idol-Temples, hoping by that means to be defended from the present Mortality; but as soon as *Wulfher*, King of the *Mercians*, (to whom this Kingdom was then subject) heard of it, he sent Bishop *Jaruman* to them, who, together with their Fellow-Labourers, by their sound Doctrine, and gentle Dealing, soon reclaimed them from their Apostacy.

Anno Dom.
DCLXV.

This Mortality is also partly confirmed by *Mat. Westminster*, who the next Year relates so great a Mortality to have raged in *England*, that many Men going in Troops to the Sea-side, cast themselves in headlong, preferring a speedy Death before the Torments of a long and painful Sickness; tho' this seems to be no other than the great Pestilence which raged the Year before, unless we suppose it to have lasted for 2 Years successively.

The same Year also, according to the Account of an ancient *British* Chronicle, (lately in the Possession of Mr. *Robert Vaughan*,) *Cadwallader*, last King of the *Britains*, having been forced by a great Famine and Mortality to quit his Native Country, and to sojourn with *Alan* King of *Armorica*; finding no hopes of ever recovering his Kingdom, from thence went to *Rome*, where, professing himself a Monk, he died about 8 Years after. Now, tho' the *British* History of *Caradoc* (Translated by *Humphrey Lloyd*, and Published by Dr. *Powel*,) places *Cadwallader's* going to *Rome* *Anno* 680, which, Mr. *Vaughan* in the Manuscript I have by me, (and which is already cited in the former Book) proves, can neither agree with the Account of the said old Chronicle, nor yet with the Time of the great Mortality above-mentioned; for *Caradoc* and *Geoffrey of Monmouth* do both place *Cadwallader's* going to *Rome* in the Year of the great Pestilence, which (as *Bede* and *Mat. Westminster* testify) fell out in the Year 664, or 665, and therefore that learned Antiquary very well observes, That as for their Calculation, who prolong *Cadwallader's* Life to the Year 638, or 689; and place his going to *Rome* in Pope *Sergius's* time,

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he thinks they had no better Warrant for it, than their mistaking *Cead-Ann Dom.*
walla, King of the *West Saxons*, (who then indeed went to *Rome*, and there died) for this *Cadwallader*, who lived near 20 Years before, whereby they have confounded this History, and brought it into a great deal of uncertainty; whereas that ancient Appendix annex'd to the Manuscript, *Nennius*, in the *Cottonian* Library, (whose Author lived above 300 Years before either *Geoffrey*, or *Caradoc*,) doth clearly shew, that this Monastery above-mentioned, and consequently *Cadwallader's* going to *Rome*, happened in the Reign of *Osri* King of *Northumberland*; who, according to the *Saxon Annals*, began to Reign *Anno* 642, and died *Anno* 670; and therefore no other Mortality ought to be assigned for *Cadwallader's* going to *Rome*, than this in King *Osri's* Reign, *Anno* 665, for the Words of the said old Author are these: '*Osri*, the Son of *Ethelfred*, reigned 28 Years, and 6 Months; and whilst he reigned, there happened a great Mortality of Men, *Catwalater* (so he spells it) then reigning over the *Britains*, after his Father, and therein perished. Now the Case is clear, if these Words in the Latin, *Et in ea perit*, have relation to *Cadwallader*, (as most likely they have,) considering *Osri* lived 5 Years after the Year 665, wherein this Mortality raged; then *Cadwallader* never went to *Rome* at all, but died of this Plague; but of this, I dare not positively determine, since the greater part of the *Welsh* Chronicles are so positive in *Cadwallader's* dying at *Rome*. But to return to our *Annals*.

Anno Dom.
DCLXVI.

'This Year *Osri* King of *Northumberland*, and *Egbrith* King of *Kent*, with the Consent of the whole *English* Church, (as *Bede* relates,) sent *Wigheard* the Presbyter to *Rome*, to be there made Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*, but he died almost as soon as he arrived: So that *Theodorus* being the next Year consecrated Arch-Bishop, was sent into *Britain*. Of which Transaction, *Bede* gives us this particular Account.

Anno Dom.
DCLXVII.

About this time also, (as *Bede* relates,) *Wina* Bishop of *Winchester* being driven from his See by King *Kenwalch*, went and bought the See of *London* of King *Wulfher*. This is the first Example of Simony in the *English* Church.

Lib. 3. c. 29.

The See of *Canterbury* had been now vacant for above 3 Years, for the Pope was resolved himself to Ordain an Arch-Bishop; and at last, at the Recommendation of one *Adrian* a Greek Monk, (who might have been Arch-Bishop himself, but refused it,) the Pope chose this *Theodorus*, then a Monk, and a Native of *Tharsus* in *Cilicia*; who, being an excellent Scholar, brought the knowledge of the Greek Tongue, as also *Arithmetic*, *Musick*, and *Astronomy*, in use among the *English Saxons*.

This Arch-Bishop, immediately upon his coming into *England*, made a thorough Visitation of his Province, and (as *Bede* tells us) surveyed all Things, and ordained Bishops in fit Places; and those Things which he found less perfect than they should be, he by their Assistance corrected; among which, when he found fault with Bishop *Ceadda*, as not having been rightly Consecrated; he humbly and modestly replied, *If you believe that I have not rightly undertaken the Episcopal Charge, I willingly quit it, since as I never thought myself worthy, so I never consented to accept it, but in obedience to the Commands of my Superiours.* But the Arch-Bishop seeing his Humility, answered, "That he would not have him lay aside his Episcopacy; and so he again renewed his Ordination according to the Catholick Rites.

Lib. 4. c. 3.

Anno Dom.
DCLXVII. From whence it appears, that this Arch-Bishop then thought the Ordination of the English and Scottish Bishops, who differed from the Church of Rome, as to the time of keeping *Easter*, to be Uncanonical; and for this reason *Bede* here also tells us, That Bishop *Wilfrid* was sent into France to be Ordained: But as for this Bishop *Ceadda*, *Florence* of Worcester informs us, That he was now also deprived of his Bishoprick, (and *Wilfrid* restored to it,) as having been unduly Elected thereunto; which, tho' *Bede* doth not tell us in express Words, yet he confirms it in the very next Chapter, where he tells us, That *Jaruman*, Bishop of the Mercians, being now dead, King *Wulfher* did not ask Arch-Bishop *Theodorus* to Ordain a new One, but only desired of King *Osri*, that Bishop *Ceadda*, the Brother of *Cedda*, should be sent to him to take that Charge, (who lived privately at his Monastery of *Lestingen*, where he was then Abbot,) *Wilfrid* then not only Governing the Diocess of *Tork*, and all the Northumbers, but also the *Picts* as far as King *Osri*'s Dominions extended. But to return again to the *Saxon Annals*.

Anno Dom.
DCLXIX. 'This Year King *Egbert* gave to *Basse* the Priest *Reculf*, where he built a Monastery: This was afterwards called *Reculver* [in Kent].

Anno Dom.
DCLXX. 'Osri, King of Northumberland, died xv Kal. Martij, [and was buried at *Streanhsale* Monastery.] and *Egfrid* (or *Egfrid*) his Son reigned after him; also *Lothaire*, Nephew of Bishop *Agelbert*, took upon him the Episcopal Charge over the West Saxons, and held it 7 Years; Arch-Bishop *Theodorus* Consecrated him. He whom these Annals call *Lothair*, was the same with *Leutherius* Bishop of Winchester.

* *Lib. 4. c. 5.* * *Bede* tells us further of King *Osri*, That being worn out with a long Infirmary, he was so much in love with the Roman Rites, that if he had recovered of the Sickness of which he died, he had resolved to go to Rome, and end his Days at the Holy Places; having engaged Bishop *Wilfrid* to be the Guide and Companion of his Journey, promising him no small Rewards for his Pains.

Anno Dom.
DCLXXI. 'This Year was a great slaughter of Birds. *H. Huntington* renders it a great Fight of Birds, which seems to have been some remarkable Combat of Crows or Jackdaws in the Air, of which we have several wonderful Relations in our Histories. *Mat. Westminster* relates, that the strange Birds seemed to flie before those of this Country, but that many Thousands were killed.

Anno Dom.
DCLXXII. 'This next Year *Cenwalch* King of the West Saxons died, and *Sexburga* his Wife held the Kingdom after him for one Year. Of whom *William* of Malmesbury gives this Account; That this King, dying, left the Kingdom to *Sexburga* his Wife; nor did she want Spirit or Courage to discharge all the Functions of a King, for she straitways began to raise new Forces, as also to keep the Old to their Duty; to govern her Subjects with moderation, and to keep her Enemies in awe; and, in short, to do such great Things, that there was no Difference, but the Sex, between Her and a King: But as she aimed at more than Feminine Undertakings, so she left this Life when she had scarce Reigned a Year about.

But *Mat. Westminster* says, she was expelled the Kingdom by the Nobles, who despised Female Government: But what Authority he had for this, I know not, for I do not find it in any other Author; whereas if what *William* of Malmesbury says of her be true, it was not likely they should Rebel against so good a Governel, who seems to have been the perfect Pattern of an Excellent Queen.

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After the Death of King *Cenwalch*, and (as I suppose) Queen *Sexburga* likewise, *Bede* relates, That the Great Men or Petty Princes of that Kingdom, divided it among them, and so held it for 10 Years; in which time *Eleutherius*, Bishop of the West Saxons (i. e. of Winchester) dying, *Heddi* was Consecrated by Arch-Bishop *Theodorus* in his stead; in whole time those Petty Princes being all subdued, *Ceadwalla* took the Kingdom; but this does not agree with the *Saxon Annals*.

About this time (tho' *Bede* does not set down the Year) King *Egfrid* of Northumberland waging War with *Wulfher*, King of Mercia, won from him all the Country of *Lindsey*.

About this time also died *Ceadda*, Bishop of *Litchfield*, (according to *Ran. Higden's Polychron*;) but *Bede* does not tell us the time of his Death, tho' he mentions it, and there gives a large Account of the great Humility and Piety of that good Bishop, and of the Pious End he made: He is called by us at this day *St. Chad*.

This Year *Egbert*, King of Kent, deceased, (according to *Bede's Epitome*;) who (as says *Math. Westminster*) gave part of the Isle of Thanet to build a Monastery, to expiate the Murder of his Cousins, whom he had caused to be slain, as you have already heard.

The same Year was a Synod of all the Bishops and great Men of England held at *Heortford*, (now *Hartford*;) which Synod (as *Bede* tells us) was called by Arch-Bishop *Theodorus*; where *Wilfred* Bishop of *Tork*, with all the rest of the Bishops of England, were either in Person, or by their Deputies, (as *Florence* relates,) and in which divers Decrees were made for the Reformation of the Church; the first and chiefest of which was, That *Easter* should be kept on the first Lord's Day after the Fourteenth Moon of the First Month (i. e. January); which tho' it had been before appointed by the Synod at *Streanhsale* above-mentioned, yet that being not looked upon as a General Council of the whole Kingdom, it was now again renewed; the rest of them concerning the Jurisdictions of the Bishops, and the Privileges and Exemptions of Monasteries, I pass over, and refer you to Sir *H. Spelman's* First Volume of *Councils* for farther satisfaction: But I cannot omit, that it was here first Ordained, That tho' Synods ought to be held twice a Year, yet since divers Causes might hinder it, therefore it seem'd good to the whole Council, that a Synod should be assembled once a Year at a place called *Cloueshoe*.

This Year also the *Saxon Annals* relate, 'That *Etheldrethe*, late Wife to *Egfrid* King of Northumberland, founded the Monastery of *Ely*, (in which she her self became the first Abbess.) She (as *Bede* tells us) had been twice married, but would never let either of her Husbands enjoy her; and at last (with much ado) obtained Leave of this King to quit his Palace, and retire into a Nunnery; which perverting of the Ends of Marriage, was counted a great piece of Sanctity in those Times. But the Monastery above-mentioned being burnt and destroyed by the Danes, Anno 870, was afterwards re-edified by King *Edgar*, as shall be in due time more particularly related.

'Also *Egbert*, King of Kent, deceased; and *Lothair*, his Brother, succeeded him.

This Year also, according to *Bede*, *Bosa* Bishop of *Dunmoe* being deprived by reason of his Infirmities; two Bishops, (viz.) *Acca* and *Bedwin*, were placed in that Diocess, one of whom had his See at *Dunmoe* (now *Dunwich*) in *Suffolk*, and the other at *Helmham* in *Norfolk*.

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Anno Dom. 'This Year *Æscwin* began to Reign over the *West Saxons*.] Here also follows his Pedigree needless to be repeated; for *William* of *Malmesbury* remarks no more of him, than that he was supposed to be the next of the Royal Line, as being the great Nephew of *Cynegils*, by his Brother *Cuthgils*.

* Published by Sir J. Ware 1664, with other Pieces of Bede, and Arch-Bishop Egbert; it is also in Manuscript in the Cottonian Library.

The same Year (as *Bede* tells us in *his Lives of the Abbots of *Wiredun* and *Girry*) Abbot *Benedict*, (I suppose from his Episcopal Actions surnamed *Biscop*;) having before come over with Arch-Bishop *Theodorus*, was by him made Abbot of the Monastery of *St. Peter* in *Canterbury*; which he 2 Years after resigning, and *Adrian*, that great Scholar, succeeding him, he went again to *Rome*, and then returning into *Britain*, brought along with him many Books of Divine Knowledge; and then applying himself to *Egfrid*, King of *Northumberland*, he obtained of him as much Land as served 70 Families, lying near the Mouth of the River *Wir*, (in the Bishoprick of *Durham*;) where he began a Monastery in Honour of *St. Peter*; but before it was finished; he went into *France*, and from thence brought Masters, who built the Church of Stone after the *Roman* fashion: and the Work being near finished, he sent into the same Country for Artificers, who understood the making of Glass, which till then had been unknown in *Britain*; wherewith he glazed the Windows of the Church and Monastery he had there built, and thereby taught the *English* Nation the Art of Glass-making; which (says my Author) hath proved so useful in making of Lamps for Churches, and also other Vessels so necessary for divers Uses: And because this Island, nor yet *France* it self, could then afford all the Ornaments requisite for the Altar, he took care to fetch them from *Rome*, whither he went for that purpose; from whence again returning, he brought a great many choice Books of all sorts, together with divers Relicks of Saints, and curious Pictures, with which he adorned the Church he had built; and he likewise received a Bull from Pope *Agatho*, whereby the Monastery also, by the Consent and License of King *Egfrid*, was freed from all Secular Servitude.

But some time after, (*Simeon* of *Durham* says 8 Years,) King *Egfrid* (being very well satisfied with what *Benedict* had done) bestowed as much more Land upon him as then maintained 40 Families, for the building of another Monastery at a Place called *Girry*, (now *Tarrow*;) near the Mouth of the River *Tine*, which was built in Honour of *St. Paul*; when also, by reason of his frequent Absence and Employment in other Affairs, he appointed one *Easterwine* his Kinsman, Abbot of that of *St. Peter*; and *Ceolfred*, a Monk of the same Monastery, over that of *S. Paul*; in which Charges they continued several Years under his Inspection; till at last, after the decease of *Easterwine*, and another Abbot called *Sigfrid*, *Ceolfred* above-mentioned was made Abbot of both Monasteries, which he Governed many Years; until He resigning that Charge, went to end his Days at *Rome*, but died by the way in *France*. These Transactions, tho' happening in the space of about 40 Years, I have here put together, that you may have at once the History of these two ancient and famous Monasteries, in the latter of which *Bede* himself (the Author of this Account) lived, and died a Monk, as shall be related hereafter.

About this time also, (tho' *Bede* does not set down the Year,) Arch-Bishop *Theodore* deposed *Winfrid*, Bishop of the *Mercians*, for some Canonical Disobedience, and ordained *Sexwulf*, Abbot of *Medeshamsted*, in his Room. But to return to the Annals.

* This Year *Wulfher* the Son of *Penda*, and *Æscwin* Son of *Cenwulf*, fought at *Bedanheafde*; and also King *Wulfher* deceased the same Year.] Where that Place was, is uncertain, (tho' some suppose it to be *Bedwin* in *Wiltshire*, lying near *Berkshire*.) *H. Huntingdon* describes this Battle to have been very sharp; but that the *Mercian* King, inheriting his Father's, and his Grandfather's Courage, was somewhat superiour; yet that both Armies were terribly shattered, and many Thousands slain on both Sides; on which our Author makes this just Reflection, 'That from hence it is worth while to observe, how Vile the Actions of Men, and how Vain those Wars are, which Princes call *Glorious Undertakings*; for when these Kings had brought so great a Destruction upon their own Nations, both of them survived not long after: For (according to *Florence's* Chronicle) King *Wulfher* deceased this Year, having destroyed the Worship of Idols throughout his Kingdom, and caused the Gospel to be preached in all Places of his Dominions, and *Eshelred* his Brother succeeded him in the Kingdom; whom *William* of *Malmesbury* describes to have been more famous for Devotion, than Fighting, unless when he shewed his Courage in a notable Expedition against *Kent*; or else when he met and repell'd *Egfrid*, King of *Northumberland*, and forced him to return home, recovering from him all *Lindsey*, which *Wulfher* had taken away before, tho' with the loss of his Brother *Edwin*, in that Expedition; after which, he spent all the rest of his Life in Peace.

About this time also, according to *Math. Westminster*, (for *Bede* hath not set down the Years,) *Erkenwald*, younger Son of *Anna* King of the *East Angles*, was by Arch-Bishop *Theodore* ordained Bishop of *London*, being a Man of great Worth and Piety.

This Year also (according to *Florence*) King *Wulfher* was first baptized, but the *Saxon Annals* mention no such thing; and therefore I wonder from whence he had it, for it is quite contrary to what *Bede* relates, concerning his being Baptized long before; or else, How could he be Godfather to *Edelwalch*, King of the *West Saxons*, who was Baptized near 20 Years before? But I suppose *Florence* had it from some old Monkish Legend, if not from the *Roman Martyrology* it self, in which is related, that incredible Story of King *Wulfher's* murdering of his two Sons, *Ulfwald* and *Rufin*, with his own Hands, because they had been instructed in the Christian Faith by *Ceadda*, Bishop of *Litchfield*. And Mr. *Stow*, in his Chronicle, having found the same Story in an old Ledger-Book of that Church, hath thought fit to insert it into his History; placing the Year of their Suffering in *Anno* 668, when all our Historians do at that time relate him to have been a Christian. But this Book adds further, That the Queen, Mother to these Princes, caused them to be buried under a great heap of Stones, and thereby gave Name to the Town of *Stone* in *Staffordshire*. I thought good to take notice of this Romance, because a greater Author, viz. Mr. *Camden* himself, hath also thought fit to put it into his **Britannia*, from the Authority of a Manuscript Book once belonging to the Abby of *Peterburgh*.

But it is time to look back upon Ecclesiastical Affairs; for now (according to *William* of *Malmesbury*) one *Adhelm* a Monk began to build the Abby of *Malmesbury*, having before obtained a License for so doing, together with a Grant of certain Lands, called *Madulfsburgh*, from *Luthberius* Bishop of *Winchester*; the Place being so called from one *Maidulf* a Scotch Monk, and Philosopher, (under whom *Adhelm* had formerly studied)

* In Staffordshire.

Anno Dom.
DCLXXV.
Vid. Monast.
Angl. p. 97, 98.
who died at this Place, where *Maidulf* had also begun a small Monastery; but the few Monks that were there had no Means to subsist but by Alms, until such time as this *Aldhelm* built it anew, and got it Endowed by the Charity of *Ethelred*, King of the *Mercians*; *Ceadwalla*, and *Ina*, Kings of the *West Saxons*, with other Noble Benefactors: So that it soon became one of the greatest and richest Monasteries in *England*, being at first called *Madunesburg*, and afterwards *Malmesbury*.

About the same time also, according to the old Book of the Abby of *Abingdon* in the *Cottonian Librarie*, the Abby of *Abingdon* was founded by one *Hean*, Nephew to *Cissa*, a Petty Prince under *Kentwin*, King of the *West Saxons*, in *Wiltshire* and *Berkshire*; the Place at first was called *Sheovt-sham*, and the Foundation was for no more than an Abbot, and 12 Monks, but was afterwards much increased by the Charity of succeeding Kings; being rebuilt by Abbot *Ordgar* in the Reign of King *Edgar*, having been burnt and destroyed by the *Danes* in the time of King *Alfred*.

Lib. 4. c. 6.
This Year also (according to *Bede*) Arch-Bishop *Theodore* consecrated *Erkenwald* Bishop of *London*, who was in great Reputation for his Sanctity, having, before he came to be Bishop, founded two Monasteries, the one for *Ethelburg* his Sister, at *Berking*; the other for himself, at *Cherte-sey* in *Surrey*.

Anno Dom.
DCLXXVI.
This Year *Esfwin*, Bishop of the *East Saxons*, departed this Life, and *Hedda* took the Bishoprick of that Province, and *Centwin* succeeded in the Kingdom of the *West Saxons*; which *Centwin* was Son to *Cynegils*, and he the Son of *Ceolwulf*: Also *Ethelred*, King of the *Mercians*, waited *Kent*. Of which Expedition, *H. Huntington* further relates, That this King made War against *Lothair*, King of *Kent*; but he fearing that Valour, so Hereditary to the *Mercian* Family, kept out of fight, and durst not meet him; whereupon the King of *Mercia* destroyed the City of *Rochester*, and passing through the Kingdom of *Kent*, carried away a great deal of Spoil.

Lib. 4. c. 12.
Bede adds further, That he destroyed both Churches and Monasteries, without any regard to Religion, and so spoiled the Church and Palace of *Rochester*, that *Putta*, the Bishop of that See, was forced to retire to *Sexwulf* Bishop of the *Mercians*; and from him receiving the Possession of a certain Church, there ended his Days in Peace. This *Putta* is by *Florence* of *Worcester*, and *William* of *Malmesbury*, made the first Bishop of *Hereford*; which Church, it seems, *Sexwulf* parted with to him, tho *Bede* does not expressly mention it. Also *Eadhed* was now ordained Bishop in the Province of *Lindisse*, which King *Egfrid* had lately conquered from *Wulfher* King of the *Mercians*. But when *Ethelred* (Successor to *Wulfher*) recovered that Province, this Bishop retiring from *Lindisse*, governed the Church of *Ripon*.

The same Year also *Osfic*, a petty Prince of this Country, built a Nunnery at *Bath*, which was afterwards turned to a House of Secular Canons; but King *Edgar* turned them out, and placed *Benedictines* in their Places.

Anno Dom.
DCLXXVIII.
This Year being the Eighth of the Reign of *Egfrid*, King of *Northumberland*, (according to *Bede*, and the *Saxon Annals*.) there appeared a Comet which continued 3 Months, and arising toward Morning, carried with it a large Tail like a Pillar; in which Year also (as *Bede* relates) there arose a great Contention between King *Egfrid*, and Bishop *Wilfrid*, who was expelled his Bishoprick, and two others substituted in his Room over the

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Northumbrian Nation, (to wit,) *Bosa*; who Governed the Province of *Deira*; and *Eatta*, that of *Bernicia*; the former having his Episcopal See at the City of *Tork*, and the other at *Hagulfstad*, being both of them preferred from being Monks. *Stephen Haddi*, the Author of **St. Wilfrid's* Life above-mentioned, as also **Will. of Malmesbury*, relate the Quarrel between King *Egfrid* and the Bishop to have proceeded from the Envy and Ill-will of *Erminburge* his Queen, she making the King jealous of his Secular Glory, and Riches, and the great Retinue that followed him; whereupon the King resolved to be rid of him; so that presenting *Theodore* Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury* with great Gifts, they persuaded him to come into that Province; and, together with three Bishops he brought with him, who were not of the Northern Dioceses, they not only condemned, but deprived Bishop *Wilfrid*, being absent; whereupon the Bishop went to the King, and the Arch-Bishop, and asked them, What was the Reason, that without any Crime alledged, they had robbed him of his Estate that was given him by former Kings, for God's sake? But (if this Author may be credited) they gave him a very trifling Answer, saying, That they found no Fault in him; yet would not alter what had been Decreed against him: Whereupon the Bishop, by the Consent of the rest of his Fellow-Bishops of his Province, appealed to *Rome*. But certainly these Bishops could not at that time be many, for there were then no more in this Province than *Lindisfarne*, and *Whitern* in the *Picts* Country:

Towards *Rome* he went the next Year; but in his way thither, landing in *Friseland*, he stayed there all that Winter, converting the People of that Province: And then proceeding in his Journey to *Rome* the Spring following, where arriving, he applied himself to the Pope, and presented him with a Petition; which being read before Pope *John*, and the Synod at *Rome*, he was by the said Pope, and all the Bishops there present, (being 150 in Number) Decreed to be restored to his Bishoprick; but he could never prevail so far as to get this Council's Decree to be received as long as King *Egfrid* lived.

The same Year Bishop *Wilfrid* returning into *England*, was received by *Beorthwald*, Nephew of *Ethelred* King of the *Mercians*, who then governed part of that Kingdom under his Uncle; who hearing of it, his Wife being the Sister of King *Egfrid*, commanded *Beorthwald* immediately to dismiss him; from whence, he went to *Centwin* King of the *West Saxons*, where staying but a little while, he was also driven from thence, because the Queen was Sister of Queen *Erminburge*. Thus *Stephanus Haddi*, in his Life of Bishop *Wilfrid*, relates; but it is to be doubted with too much Partiality on his side.

Bede gives us a more particular Account of the rest of his Actions, that tho he were thus expelled his Bishoprick, yet that he could not be restrained from Preaching the Gospel; for retiring to the Kingdom of the *South Saxons*, which lies between that of *Kent*, and that of the *West Saxons*, where *Edilwalch*, then King, (and who had not been long before Baptized at the perswasion of King *Wulfher*, as has been already said,) gave him Commission to Convert and Baptize, not only the Principal Officers and Knights of that Province, but divers Presbyters, (there named, who came along with him,) did then, or not long after, Christen the rest of the common People; and *Ebba* the Queen was also baptized in the Province of the *Westii*, but what Queen this was, *Bede* does not tell us:

Anno Dom.

DCLXXIX.

Cap. 40.

Bede cap. 13.

Bede ibid.

Bede, lib. 4.
cap. 21.Bede, lib. 4.
cap. 19.

So that before this, it seems, tho' the King was a Christian, yet the whole Province of the South Saxons were as yet unconverted to the Christian Faith, of which the Author of the Life of Bishop Wilfrid gives this Reason; that this Province, by reason of the multitude of the Rocks, and thickets of the Woods, was hitherto almost inaccessible to strangers: But * Bede further tells us, That then there lived a certain Irish or Scotch Monk, named Dicu, who had a little Monastery in a place called Bosanham encompassed with Woods and the Sea, where he with five or six Brethren served God in great Poverty and Humility; yet would not any of the People imitate their Lives, or hear their Preaching; but when Bishop Wilfrid preach'd the Gospel to them, he did not only free them from Eternal Torments, but also from present destruction, for it had not rained (as my Author says) for Three Years before in that Country; whence multitudes of the poorer sort of People daily perished by Famine; so that many becoming desperate, Forty or Fifty Men in a Company, being almost starved, would all take hands together, and at once leap down a Rock into the Sea: But on the first day of their publick Baptism, soft and plentiful showres descending, restored plenty to the Summer following; so this People casting away their Idolatry, became not only enrich'd with Spiritual, but Temporal Blessings; for when the Bishop came into this Province, and saw so dismal a Famine, he taught them how to get their livings by fishing; for though the Sea and Rivers abounded plentifully with Fish, yet had not they the Wit to make Nets to take any but Eels; whereupon the Bishop taught them, by joining many of those small Nets together, to make them serve to catch Sea-Fish, of which they took so great a multitude, that they maintained themselves with them, till other Provisions could be had.

At this time also King Edelwalch gave Bishop Wilfrid a certain Island, called Seoleseu, that is (in the old English Saxon) the Island of Seales, (or Sea Calves) where Wilfrid founded a small Monastery, consisting chiefly of those Brethren he brought with him, and which his Successors hold to this day, (viz. in Bede's time;) for this place (after called Selsey:) was made the seat of the Bishop of that Province, until it was long after removed to Chichester; here Bishop Wilfrid lived, and exercised his Episcopal Functions, till the death of King Egfrid.

The same Year, (according to the Saxon Annals) Eswin was slain near Trent, in which place also King Egfrid and Ethelfred fought the same Year, and now also St. Etheldrith deceased, and Coludesburgh, was burnt.

H. Huntington more at large relates this Fight between the Kings of Northumberland and Mercia; and Bede also tells us, This Young Prince (mentioned in the Annals) being the King of Northumberland's Brother, and then about Eighteen Years of Age was slain, and extremely lamented in both Kingdoms; For King Ethelfred had Married Ostrithe his Sister, but when Arch-Bishop Theodore saw the causes of their Intestine Quarrels daily to encrease, he by his intercession and persuasions made Peace between the two Kings, on this condition; that King Ethelfred should pay King Egfrid a pecuniary Mulct for his Brother, who was slain.

This Queen Etheldrith here mentioned in the Annals, was Daughter to Anna, King of the East-Saxons, and Wife of King Egfrid, who yet remained a Virgin; for tho' she had been twice Married, yet would she never let either of her Husbands lye with her; but she dyed at last Abbess of the Monastery of Eli, which she her self built, and of whom Bede makes

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a large Elegy both in Prose and Verse; and that after she had been there buried Sixteen Years, her body being taken up as whole as at first, she was canonized, and called St. Audrey of Ely; but this Coludesburgh here mentioned in the Annals, was a great Monastery of Monks and Nuns together, afterwards called Coldingham, in the Marches of Scotland; (which as Bede tells us) was a very magnificent building for that Age, but by the just judgment of God for the loose living of the Monks and Nuns, was burnt; tho' it happen'd not by any Miracle, but by meer carelessness of the Servants.

About this time also, according to an ancient Manuscript Copy of Florence of Worcester's Chronicle in the Bodleian Library; the Province of the Mercians was by the Common Council or consent of Ethelred (King of that Kingdom) and of Theodore Arch-Bishop of Canterbury divided into Five Dioceses; Bosel being ordained Bishop of the Wicci who had his seat Worcester, whilest Cuthwian was ordained to the Diocess of Litchfield, Saxulf was pleased to continue Bishop over middle England, having his See at Leicester, and Ethelwine was set over the Province of Lindisse having his See at Cidnacester; but as for the See of Hereford, that had been founded about Three Years before by Bishop Putta, by the means and consent of Bishop Saxulf, as hath been now observed. But to return

to our Annals. This Year, Theodore the Arch-Bishop summon'd a Synod at Heathfeld; (now Hatfield in Hertfordshire) that he might correct divers errors concerning the Christian Faith; but * Bede gives us a fuller account of it, and tells us, it was summoned to condemn the Heresie of Eutyches, who then maintained but one will and Person in Christ, and which then troubled the Latin as well as Greek Church; and therefore the Arch-Bishop being resolved to prevent it, held this Synod, in which the Five first General Councils, were not only received, and confirm'd, but also the latter held at Rome under Pope Martyn I. in the Reign of the Emperor Constantine.

Bede also tells us, That there was present at this Council, John the Praecentor, or chief Chanter of the Church of St. Peters in Rome, whom Pope Agatho had sent hither, not only to instruct the English Monasteries, how to Sing after the Roman Fashion, but also to give him an account of the Faith of the English Church, which he did at his Return to Rome, much to its advantage.

And the same Year, according to Bede and the Saxon Annals, Hilda the Holy Abbess deceased at Streanshal, (now Whitby in York-shire,) which she her self had Founded; she was Grand Niece to King Edwin, and having been converted by Paulinus, had been almost ever since her Conversion a professed Nun, first in the Monastery of Cale in France, and was afterwards Abbess of divers Nunneries in England, being esteemed a Lady of great Sanctity and Knowledge. At this Monastery of Streanshal, (which was then for Men as well as Women) lived Cadmon the English Saxon Poet, who is supposed by Bede to have been once Divinely inspired in his sleep to make Verses in his own Tongue upon the Creation of the World, and ever after kept that faculty upon other Divine Subjects; there are divers of his Paraphrases in Saxon Verse still extant, upon several Stories in Genesis and Exodus, but very hard to be understood by reason of the Obsolescence of the Saxon Dialect. They have been Printed at Oxford, by the Learned Junius.

About

Anno Dom.
DCLXXX.Ibid. Lib. 4.
cap. 25.Anno Dom.
DCLXXX.
Id. cap. 5.Vi. Sir H.
Spelman 1.
Vol. p. 168.

Id. Cap. 18.

Anno Dom. About this time also (according to *Florence*) the Kingdom of the *Mercians* became divided into five Diocesses; and *Talfride* a learned Monk, of the Abbess *Hilda's* Monastery, was elected first Bishop of *Worcester*, but dyed before his Ordination. *DCLXXX.*

Cited in Monasticon, p. 120.

But the ancient Chronicle of the Church of *Worcester*, now in the Cottonian Library relates, the Church of *Worcester* to have been first founded by *Athelred*, King of the *Mercians*, and *Theodore* Bishop of *Canterbury*; one *Bosil* being made the first Bishop of that See, and fate therein Eleven Years.

There was then also founded a Colledge of secular Canons, which so continued as the Chapter of this Church till *Anno Dom.* 991, when Bishop *Oswald* turned them out, and put in *Benedictine* Monks in their Rooms.

About the same time also, one *Oswald* Nephew to King *Ethelred*, founded a College for Secular Canons at *Perthore*, in *Worcestershire*, which continued till King *Edgar* and Bishop *Oswald*, *Anno* 984. brought in *Benedictine* Monks in their Places.

I may also add, under this Year, that pretended Bull of Pope *Agatho's* Privileges, together with the Charter of this K. *Ethelred*, which is recited in the *Peterburgh* Copy of the *Saxon* Annals, under *Anno* 675, and is there related to have been about the same time confirmed in the Council at *Heathfield* above-mentioned; whereby were granted to the Monastery of *Medeshamstead* divers great Immunities; which Bull does not only confirm all those Privileges formerly granted by Pope *Vitalian*, but there is also further added this, that the Abbot should be the Pope's Legat over the whole Isle (of *Britain*); and that whatsoever Abbot was elected by the Monks, should be immediately consecrated by the Archbishop of *Canterbury*; with divers other Things too tedious here to relate: Which Bull, being recited in the Council above-mentioned, was by them established and confirmed; which being done, the King is said to have made a Speech, reciting all the Lands he had given to the said Monastery, and then, having subscribed the Charter, the Queen, *Adrian* the Pope's Legat, and all the Bishops and Abbots, (whose Names are there mentioned) did so likewise, under dreadful Curses upon those that should violate the Privileges above-mentioned.

But notwithstanding the so exact Recital, and supposed Confirmation of this Charter in the Council above-mentioned, we have very great Reason to suspect this Bull, as also the Charter it self, to have been forged long after by the Monks of *Peterburgh*; for, in the first place, the Privileges granted to this Abbey do not only exceed any that had been granted by the Pope to any Monastery in *England*, but also were such, as we do not find it ever enjoy'd; as particularly, that of their Abbot's being the Pope's ordinary Legate all over this Island, which had been such a Diminution of the Rights of the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, as he would never have so easily paid over: And besides all which, the Names of the Bishops, who are put to this Charter, do not at all agree with the Circumstances of Time; for, first, it is certain, that *Wilfred* is here styled Archbishop of *Tork*, which Title he never took upon him, being then no more but a Bishop under the Jurisdiction of Archbishop *Theodore*; and by whom he, at this Time, stood deprived, and was not present at this Council, nor did return this Year from *Rome*, (as this Copy of the Annals makes him to have done,) but was indeed returned from thence near three Years before; being at this Time converting the *South-Saxons*, (as hath been already related:)

related:) Neither was *Putta*, Bishop of *Recheſter*, or *Waldhere*, Bishop of *London*, at the time when this Council was held, though their Names are also put to this Charter; for the former had been dead eleven Years before, and one *Quichelme* was then Bishop of that See, as appears by the Catalogue of the Bishops in Sir *H. Spelman's Faſti*, at the end of the Volume of *English* Writers. after *Bede*; nor was the latter then Bishop of *London*, but *Erkenwald*, who was elected to that See above fifteen Years before, and continued in it 'till after the Reign of King *Ina*, who began not to reign 'till *Anno* 688; so that upon the whole matter, I take this Charter to be a notorious piece of Forgery.

This Year *Trumbriht* was consecrated Bishop of *Hagulfſlad*, and *Trumbriht* Bishop of the *Picts*: This was the Bishoprick of *Wyterne*, called in Latin *Candida Caſa*; which at that time (as *Bede* testifies) belonged to the Kingdom of *Northumberland*; and also *Centwin*, (King of the *West-Saxons*;) put the *Britains* to flight as far as the Sea; *H. Huntingdon* ſays, That he also wasted all their Country with Fire and Sword; but the *Welſh* Chronicle of *Caradoc* (translated by *H. Lloyd*) relates, That this Year *Kentwin*, King of the *West-Saxons* gathered a great Company of his Nation together, and came against the *Britains*, who seem'd ready to receive the Battle; but yet, when both Armies appeared in sight of each other, they were not all desirous to fight, for they fell to a friendly composition and agreement; (*viz.*) That *Ivor* should take *Ethelburga* to Wife, who was Cousin to *Kentwin*, and quietly enjoy all that he had got during the Reign of *Ivor*; but of this our *English* Histories are silent.

This Year the Nunnery of *St. Peter*, in *Gloceſter*, was founded by *Oſric*, then a petty Prince or Governour under *Ethelred*, King of the *Mercians*, but was afterwards King of the *Northumbrians*: This Monastery, tho' it had the honour of having Three Queens successively, Abbeſſes of it, was destroyed by the *Danes*, but afterwards was re-edified for *Benedictine* Monks by *Aldred* Bishop of *Worceſter*, *Anno* 1058. *Anno Dom. DCLXXXII.*

This Year also, (according to *Bede*) *Egfrid*, King of *Northumberland*, sent a great Army into *Ireland*, under one *Bert* (or *Bryt*) his General, who miserably wasted that innocent Nation, which had been always friendly to the *English*; (which Character perhaps might have been due to them in *Bede's* time;) and did not so much as spare the Churches or Monasteries; but the *Islanders* as far as they were able, repel'd Force with Force, and invoked the Divine assistance to revenge their quarrel which happen'd the next Year, as the same Authour relates. For, *Lib. 4. c. 26.*

This Year, not long before the Death of King *Egfrid*, that Holy Man *Cuthbert*, was by the same King ordered to be ordained Bishop of *Lindisfarne*, tho' he was at first chosen to be Bishop of *Hagulfſlad* instead of *Trumbert*, who had been before deposed from that Bishoprick; yet because *Cuthbert* liked the Church of *Lindisfarne* better, in which he had so long convers'd, *Egfrid* was made to return to the See of *Hagulfſlad*, to which he was at first ordained, whilst *Cuthbert* took the Bishoprick of *Lindisfarne*. *Anno Dom. DCLXXXV. Bede. lib. 4. cap. 27, 28.*

But I shall now give you from *Bede* a farther account of the Life of this good Bishop: he had been first bred in the Monastery of *Maitross*, and was afterwards made Abbot of the Monastery of *Lindisfarne*; retiring from whence, he had for a long time lived the Life of an Anchorite in the life of *Farns*, not far distant, but when there was a great Synod assembled, King *Egfrid* being present at a place called *Trisford*, near the River *Alne*, where Arch-Bishop *Theodore* pretending, *Cuthbert* was, by the

Anno Dom. DCLXXXV. general consent of them all, chosen Bishop; who when he could not by any Messages or Letters be drawn from his Cell; at length the King himself, with Bishop *Trumwin*, and other Noble and Religious Persons, failed thither, where they at last, after many intreaties, prevailed upon him, to go with them to the Synod; and when he came there, tho' he very much opposed it, yet he was forced to accept the Episcopal Charge; and so was consecrated Bishop the *Easter* following; and after his Consecration, in imitation of the blessed Apostles, he adorned his calling by his good Works; for he constantly taught the People committed to his Charge, and incited them to the love of Heaven, by his constant Prayers and Exhortations; and, which is the chief part of a Teacher, whatsoever he Taught, he himself first practised; so having lived in this manner about Two Years, being then sensible that the time of his Death (or rather of his future Life) drew near, he again retired to the same Island, and Hermitage from whence he came.

ib. cap. 26.

The same Year also King *Egfrid* rashly lead out his Army to destroy the Province of the *Picts*, (tho' his Friends, and principally Bishop *Cuthbert*, did all they could to hinder it), and having now entered the Country, he was brought (before he was aware) by the feigned flight of his Enemies, between the streights of certain inaccessible Mountains, where he, with the greatest part of his Forces he had brought with him, were all cut off, in the Fortieth Year of his Age, and the Fifteenth of his Reign. And as the Year aforegoing, he refused to hear Bishop *Cuthbert*, who dissuaded him from invading *Ireland*, which did him no harm; so *Bede* observes it was a just Judgment upon him for that Sin, that he would not hear those who would then have prevented his Ruine.

From this time, the Grandeur and Valour of this Kingdom of the *Northumbrians* began to decline; for the *Picts* now recovered their Country, which the *English* had taken away; and the *Scots* that were in *Britain*, with some part of the *Britains* themselves, regain'd their Liberty, which they did enjoy for the space of Forty Six Years after, when *Bede* wrote his History: But *Alfred* Brother to this King succeeding him, quickly recovered his Kingdom, tho' reduced into narrower bounds: He was also a Prince very well read in the Holy Scriptures.

ibid.

The same Year, (as the *Saxon Annals* relate) *Kentwin*, King of the *West-Saxons* dying, *Ceadwalla* began to Reign over that Kingdom, (whose Pedegree is there inserted, which I shall refer to another place:) and the same Year also died *Lothair* King of *Kent*; (as *Bede* relates) of the Wounds he had received in a Fight against the *South Saxons*; in which *Edric*, his Brother *Egbert's* Son, Commanded against him, and reigned in his stead.

This Year (also according to the *Annals*) *John* was consecrated Bishop of *Hugulstad*, and remained so till Bishop *Wilfrith's* return; but afterwards Bishop *Bosa* dying, *John* became Bishop of *Tork*, but from thence, many Years after, retired to his Monastery in *Derawade*, (now called *Beverlie* in *Tork-shire*;) This Year it rained Blood in *Britain*; and also Milk and Butter were now turned into somewhat like Blood. You are here to take notice, that this Bishop *John* above mentioned, is the famous *St. John of Beverlie*; of whom *Bede* in the next Book tells so many Miracles.

But our *Annals* do here require some farther Illustration; for this *Ceadwalla* here mentioned, was the Grandson of *Cearlin*, by his Brother *Cutha*; who being a Youth of great hopes, was driven into Banishment by

by his Predecessour, and (as *Stephen * Heddi* in Bishop *Wilfrid's* Life relates) lay concealed among the Woods and Defarts of *Chyltern*, and *Ondred*, and there remained for a long time; till raising an Army, (tho' *Bede* does not say from whence,) he slew *Aldelwald*, King of the *South-Saxons*, and seized upon his Province; but was soon driven out by two of that King's Captains, viz. *Bertune* and *Autune* who for some time kept that Kingdom to themselves: the former of whom was afterwards slain by the same *Ceadwalla*, when he became King of the *West-Saxons*; but the other who reigned after him, again set it free from that servitude for many Years; from whence it happen'd, that all that time they had no Bishop of their own; for when *Wilfrid* return'd home, they became subject to the Bishop of the *West-Saxons*, (that is, of *Dorchester*) which return (as the Author of *Wilfrid's* Life relates) happen'd this Year, being the Second of King *Alfred's* Reign, who then invited him home, and restored him to his Bishoprick, as also to his Monastery at *Rypun*, together with all his other Revenues, according to the Decree of Pope *Agatho*, and the Council at *Rome* above mentioned; all which he enjoyed till his second Expulsion, as you will hear in due time.

After *Ceadwalla* had obtain'd the Kingdom, he subdued the Isle of *Wight*, which was as yet infected with Idolatry; and therefore this King resolved to destroy all the Inhabitants, and to Plant the Island with his own Subjects; obliging himself by a Vow, (altho' he himself (as it is reported) was not yet baptized,) that he would give the Fourth part of his Conquests to God; which he made good, by offering it to Bishop *Wilfrid*, who was then come thither by chance out of his own Country. The Island consisted of about Two Thousand Families, and the King bestowed upon this Bishop, as much Land there as then maintained Three Hundred Families, the Care of all which the Bishop committed to one of his Clerks, named *Bernwin*, his Sisters Son, who was to Baptize all those that would be saved. *Bede* also adds, That amongst the first Fruits of Believers in that Island, there were two Royal Youths, Brothers, who were the Sons of *Arwald*, late King thereof; who having hid themselves for fear of King *Ceadwalla*, were at last discovered, and by him ordered to be slain, which when the Abbot of *Reodford* heard, (as having his Monastery not far from thence) he went to the King, who then lay private in those Parts to be cured of the Wounds he had received in taking of the Island, and desired of him, if the Youths must needs dye, that they might first receive Baptism, which the King granted; whereupon the Abbot immediately instructed, and then Baptized them; so when the Executioner came to put them to Death, they cheerfully underwent it, because they hoped thereby to obtain an Eternal Kingdom. Thus the Isle of *Wight* did, (tho' last of all) receive the Christian Faith, and that upon very harsh terms; as if God would make them suffer for their so long refusal of the Gospel.

The same Year also, *Ceadwalla* and *Mollo* (or *Mull*) his Brother wasted *Kent*. And, *W. Malmesbury* adds, That the occasion of this War, was to be revenged of King *Edric*, who had killed *Lothair* his Predecessour, and that falling upon that Province, now grown Effeminate with long Peace, he committed a great deal of Spoil throughout the Country; but at last meeting with the *Kentish* Men, was repulsed with loss.

Anno Domini.
DCI XXXVI. This Year also, according to *Stephen Heddi's* Life of Bishop *Wilfrid*, he was re-called home by King *Alfred*, and restored to his Sees of *Tork*, and *Hagulfstad*, the Bishops that then enjoyed them being turned out.

Id. 1014. 30. The same Year also *Cuthbert*, that Pious Bishop of *Lindisfarne*, having resigned his Bishoprick, and retired again to *Ferne-Island*, there deceased, but his Body was translated to *Lindisfarne*; which being taken up Eleven Years after, was found as entire, as when it was first buried.

Anno Domini.
DCI XXXVII. This Year *Mollo* (or *Mull*) the Brother of King *Ceadwalla*, but now mentioned, was burnt in *Kent*, and Twelve others with him; but *Ceadwalla* afterwards wasted *Kent* the same Year, which action *Will. of Malmesbury* and *H. Huntington* relate more at large; That *Ceadwalla* in the second Year of his Reign, sent his Brother *Mollo* (at his own request) to Ravage and Plunder the Province of *Kent*, out of a Desire of Spoil, and Ambition of Glory; so marching into *Kent*, (then divided into divers Factions) and finding none there to resist him, he laid all the Country waste; but when he despised his Enemies, and thought he might do what he pleased with them; going about to plunder a certain House, and having no more than Twelve Men in his Company, being there encompassed on the sudden with far greater Forces, and not daring to fall out upon them, they set the House on Fire about his Ears; where He with Twelve Knights were burnt: And thus this brave Army consisting of the Flower of the *West-Saxon* Youth came to nothing.

But *Will. Thorne*, in his Chronicle of the Abbots of *St. Augustine, Cant.* relates the Death of this Prince, with more Circumstances (*viz.*) That he invading and spoiling *Kent*, and coming before the City of *Canterbury*, and being there stoutly resisted by the Citizens, till almost all his Men were killed, was at last constrained to flee to a certain House, where the Men of *Canterbury* burnt him to Death, as hath been already related; but it seems his Body not being reduced to Ashes, was taken up and buried in the Church of the Abby of *St. Augustine*, with the Kings of *Kent*; this I thought fit to add as not being found elsewhere.

But when *Ceadwalla* heard this news, being extremely enraged at it, he again entered *Kent*, and there satiating himself with Spoil and Slaughter, when he had left nothing worth carrying away, returned home Victorious.

Anno Domini.
DCI XXXVIII. This Year, King *Ceadwalla* after he had Reign'd 2 Years (perhaps having some remorse for his former Cruelties,) went to *Rome*, and there received Baptism from Pope *Sergius*, "who gave him the Name of *Peter*;" "where he not long after dyed, and was buried in the Church of *St. Peter*;" to whom *Ina* succeeded in the Kingdom of the *West-Saxons*, and "Reigned Thirty Seven Years: He also built the Monastery at *Glastonbury*;" (now *Glastonbury*) and also went to *Rome*, and there remained "until his Death."

Id. 1015. 1016. *Bede* (who has given us a long Epitaph on *Ceadwalla*, both in Verse and Prose,) places this Prince's Baptism by the Pope, in *Anno* 639, which might very well be, for he resigned his Kingdom the Year above mentioned, and it was ended by that time he could be baptized, and so the *Saxon* Annalist might well place both that and his Baptism under one, and the same Year: The *British* Historians confounded this *Ceadwalla* with their King *Ceadwalla*, who slew King *Edwin*; but he lived above Twenty Years before this time, as hath been already observed.

But

But *Dr. Povel*, and *Mr. Vaughan* in their Learned Notes upon *Cadwallo's* *Welsh* Chronicle, do suppose (with great probability) that this *Cadwallo* was *Edwal*, surnamed *Twrch*, Prince of *Wales*, who about this time began to Reign, being the Son of *Cadwalader*; and may also very well agree with what *Guidonius* writeth of one *Ethwal* Prince of *Wales*; who about this time went to *Rome* and there dyed; for in proper Names it is an easy matter for a Capital C to creep in, since it was commonly used in old hands, at the beginning of a Paragraph: and might by an Ignorant Copier be added to the Name it self, and so of *Edwal* make *Cadwal*, and from thence *Cadwalader*.

But the Year after *Ceadwalla* dyed at *Rome*, (according to *Bede*, as well as our Annals) *Theodorus* Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury* also deceased, being Eighty Eight Years of Age, having sat Arch-Bishop Twenty Two Years, and was buried in the Church of *St. Peter* in *Canterbury*; *Bede* tells us, That the *English* Church never attained to that height of perfection under any Arch-Bishops Government, as it did under his; he being the first Arch-Bishop, who Exercised his Metropolitan Jurisdiction over all the Bishops, as well beyond, as on this side of *Humber*.

Berthwald, who now succeeded *Theodore* in the Arch-Bishoprick, had been Abbot of a certain Monastery, called *Raculf* (now *Reculver* in *Kent*) near the Isle of *Thanet*; and was a Man well read in the Scriptures, and skil'd in Ecclesiastical Discipline; but yet he ought not to be compared to his Predecessors: he was Elected this Year, but it seems his Consecration was deferred till near Three Years after, when the *Saxon* Chronicle likewise recites it.

This Year also (according to *Florence*) *Ina* a Prince of the Royal Blood took the Kingdom of the *West-Saxons*, being the Son of *Kenred*, the Son of *Ceolwald*: Yet it seems he had no right by Succession; for *Will. of Malmesbury* tells us expressly, That it was more in respect to his own Natural Virtue, than to the Right of a successive descent, that he was now made King; and indeed, How could it be otherwise, his Father *Kenred* being then alive?

This Year also, Abbot *Benedict* (above-mentioned) dyed, after a long Sickness, of whom *Bede* in his Life (already cited) gives us a large Account, that having been at first a Servant to King *Oswin*, and receiving from him a competent Estate for his Quality, he quitted a Military Life for a Heavenly one, and leaving his Country, went to *Rome*, in the Company of *Alfred*, Son to that King; and upon his return thence the second time, professed himself a Monk in the Isle of *Lyren*; where staying Two Years, he accompanied *Wjghard* to *Rome*, who went thither to be ordained Arch-Bishop, but soon after dying there, he again returned home with Arch-Bishop *Theodore*, and after some time built the Monasteries of *Wyremouth* and *Girry*, as you have already heard; and now after a long Sickness, made a Holy End in the Monastery of *St. Peter* at *Wyremouth*, where he was also buried.

About this time *Wylfred*, the Son of *Egbert*, King of *Kent*, being Established in his Kingdom, did by his Piety and Industry free it from Foreign Invasions; and one *Snebbeard*, (or *Webbeard*) held part of it together with him for some time.

This Year also according to *Florence*, for the Years are not exactly set down by *Bede*, or *Stephen Heddi*; Bishop *Wilfrid* was the second time Expe'd from his Bishoprick by *Alfred*, King of *Northumberland*; which,

(as

Anno Dom. (as this Authour in his Life relates) happen'd because that King had not restored to the Church of *St. Peter at Ripon* divers of its Possessions; **DCXCI.** The next was because the Monastery of *Hagulfad* had been erected into a Bishoprick without his consent, and contrary to the privilege which Pope *Agatho* had bestowed upon it; And lastly, because that King would have compelled him to obey certain Decrees of Arch-Bishop *Theodore*, which had been made in Bishop *Wilfrid's* absence, and during the first quarrel that had risen between them; which he refusing to observe, thereupon retired to his old Friend *Ethelred*, King of the *Mercians*, who received him with great honour.

But King *Alfred*, as likewise Arch-Bishop *Bertwald*, and all the Bishops of *Britain*, being assembled in a Synod, at a place called *Onestresfeld* or *Elosterfeld*, They sent Messengers to Bishop *Wilfrid*, desiring him to appear before them; but when he came to the Synod, he could by no means agree with them, because they did not perform what they had promised by their Messengers; so that great disputes arising chiefly from those Bishops of the new Sees, who together with certain Abbots had been also set on by King *Alfred*, and for the sake of their own private Interests, did not desire the Peace of the Church; they also objected many false things against him which could no ways be proved; and at last decreed that the Bishop should be censured according to the Decrees of the late Arch-Bishop *Theodore*; whereupon Bishop *Wilfrid* asked them, with what Face they could prefer the Decrees of *Theodore* before the Apostolical Canons, which had been enjoined them from Pope *Agatho*, and Pope *Sergius*? but when no due or decent manner of speaking was observed, and that they urged him to subscribe a Resignation of his Bishoprick, and Monasteries in *Northumberland*, and *Mercia*, into the hands of the Arch-Bishop, he utterly refused it, and only offered to submit to the Judgment of the Arch-Bishop, as far as it was agreeable with the Canons of the Holy Fathers; but at last they offered him, that if he would resign his Bishoprick, he might still retain his Abbey of *Ripon*, and live there in quiet, provided he did not go out of the bounds of the Monastery, nor exercise any Episcopal Jurisdiction; upon which, he in a long Speech set forth his former Merits, in converting the *Northumbrian* Nation to the due observation of *Easter*; Then asked them for what offence they went now about to degrade him? To which the King and the Arch-Bishop replied, That he was culpable in this, and was therefore to be condemned, because he had prefer'd the Judgment of the Men at *Rome* before theirs; and the King then offer'd the Arch-Bishop to make him submit by force to their Judgment, but this was opposed by most of the Bishops, because he had come thither under their safe conduct; Then the Bishop retired again to King *Ethelred*, setting forth the hard usage which he had received at the Synod, whereupon the King promised him never to alter any thing in the Monasteries, which he had bestowed upon him, until he had sent to *Rome* for the Pope's Judgment of these Matters, and how he might act safely therein; but in the mean time the Arch-Bishop and the Synod did not only deprive, but also Excommunicate Bishop *Wilfrid*, and also all those who were in communion with him; so that none might so much as eat with them, and whatsoever they touched, was looked upon as defiled.

Wherefore Bishop *Wilfrid* was again forced to go to *Rome*, there to make his appeal before the Pope, to whom he presented a long Petition, setting

setting forth that the Troubles which he had met with in *Britain*, had proceeded from those, who having seized upon his Bishoprick, and Monasteries, had refused to observe the Decrees of his Holiness's Predecessors; whereupon the Pope at that time holding a Council at *Rome*, did there hear the whole difference between him and Arch-Bishop *Bertwald*, who had now sent his Deputies thither, together with the accusations against him; so in short, upon a solemn hearing of the whole matter on both sides, and after above Seventy Congregations, in about Four Months time, (in all which the Bishops Innocence did more and more appear,) he was at last absolved by the Pope, and the whole Council; the particulars of which are too long to relate, only that thereupon the Pope wrote Letters to *Ethelred*, King of the *Mercians*, and *Alfred*, King of *Northumberland*, reciting Bishop *Wilfrid's* former appeal to Pope *Agatho*; and the Decree that had been made in his Favour; as also what had been now done at *Rome*, and how well the Bishop had acquitted himself of whatsoever had been laid to his Charge; and therefore did not only order them to receive him, but also admonished Arch-Bishop *Bertwald* to call another Synod, together with Bishop *Wilfrid*, and there to Summon the Bishops, *Bosa* and *John*, to hear what they would say in their own behalf; and if they could make any agreement, with the liking of Bishop *Wilfrid*, it would be very grateful to him; but if otherwise, they were to exhibit the Reasons of their dissent before the Pope, there to be determined in a more ample Council; and whoever should refuse this, should be subject to be Excommunicated, and deposed from his Bishoprick.

The Bishop in his Return home with these Letters, fell so sick by the way, that he was like to dye at *Melune* in *France*, where ('tis said) he had a Vision of an Angel appearing to him, which promised him restitution to his See within Four Years; so he at last arrived again in *Britain*, where applying himself to Arch-Bishop *Bertwald*, He being frighted with the Pope's Letters, which had been before sent him by Messengers, received Bishop *Wilfrid* very kindly, and being then reconciled to him, promised to mitigate that harsh Judgment, given against him in the former Synod.

Then the Bishop delivered his Letters to *Ethelred*, (who, having at that time resigned his Kingdom, was become a Monk,) and so used his Interest with King *Cenered*, whom he had appointed King in his stead, that he promised to obey the Pope's Decrees; not long after which the Bishop likewise sent an Abbot with a Priest to King *Alfred*, desiring his leave to return home, and to deliver him the Pope's Letters, and the Decrees which had been made on his behalf; which Messengers tho' the King civilly received, yet he plainly told them, That he would do them any other Favour, but that it was in vain to trouble him any further in this matter, because whatever the Kings his Predecessors, together with his Counsellors, as also the late Arch-Bishop *Theodore* had already judged, and what he himself, together with the present Arch-Bishop, and all the Bishops of the *British* Nation had lately Decreed, That he was resolved never to alter for any Letters sent (as they said) from the Apostolick See; so the Messengers returning without any success, the Bishop continued where he was for some Years: but the King it seems repented at last of this harsh Resolution, and would have altered it, as you will hereafter find.

Anno Dom.
DCXCI.

I have been the more exact in this transaction of Bishop *Wilfrid's*, because it has never been as yet published in *English* before, and it also gives us a great light into the Affairs of the Church at this time; and lets us know that the Kings of *Northumberland* did not then think themselves bound to observe the Pope's Decrees, tho' made upon Appeals to *Rome*, if they were contrary to a General Synod, or Council of the whole Nation.

Anno Dom.
DCXCH.

About this time (tho' it be not mentioned in *Bede*, nor in the *Saxon Chronicle*) *Ina*, King of the *West-Saxons*, summoned a great Council or Synod of all the Bishops, with the Great and Wise Men of his Kingdom; which, because it is the first Authentick great Council, whose Laws are come to us entire, I shall set down the Title of it as it is recited in the First Volume of *Sir H. Spelman's British Councils*; it begins thus; *Ina by the Grace of God, King of the West-Saxons, by the Council and Advice of Cenred, my Father, and Hedde and Erkenwald my Bishops; with all my Ealdermen, and sage Ancients of my People, as also in an Assembly of the Servants of God, have Religiously endeavoured, both for the health of our Soul, and the common preservation of our Kingdom, that right Laws and true Judgments be Founded, and Established, throughout our whole Dominions, and that it shall not be Lawful for the time to come, for any Ealderman, or other Subject whatever, to transgress these our Constitutions.*

I have also given you an Extract of the chief of those Laws, as far as they relate to any thing remarkable, either in Church or State; referring you for the rest to the Laws themselves.

1. If a Servant do any Work on a Sunday, by Command of his Master, he shall be free, and the Master shall be amerced Thirty Shillings; but if he went about the Work without his Master's privy, he shall be beaten, or redeem the penalty; but a Freeman, if he work on that Day, without the Command of his Master, shall loose his Freedom, or pay 60 Shillings; if he be a Priest, his penalty shall be double.

2. The portion or dues of the Church shall be brought in by the Feast of St. Martyn, he that payeth them not by that time, shall be amerced Forty Shillings, and besides pay twelve times their value.

3. If any guilty of a capital Crime shall take refuge in a Church, he shall save his Life, and yet make recompence according to Justice and Equity; if one deserving Stripes run to a Church, the Stripes shall be forgiven him.

4. If any one Fight within the King's House, or Palace, he shall forfeit all his Goods, and it shall be at the pleasure of the King, whether he shall have his Life or not; he that Fights in a Church, shall pay 120 s. in the House of an Alderman, or other sage Nobleman, 60 s. whosoever shall Fight in a Villager's House paying Scot, shall be punished 30 s. and shall give the Villager 6 s. and if any one Fight in the open Field, he shall pay 120 s.

5. He that on his own private account shall revenge an injury done to him, before he hath demanded Justice, shall restore what he took away, and be paid forger 30 Shillings.

6. If

6. If a Robber be taken, he shall lose his Life, or redeem it according to the Anno Dom. estimation of his Head; we call Robbers to the Number of Seven or Eight Men; DCLXXX. from that number to Thirty Five, a band; all above, an Army.

7. If a Country Boor, having been often accused of Theft, if he be at last taken, he shall have his Hand or Foot cut off.

8. If any one Kill another's Godfather, or God-Son, the satisfaction shall be according to his Quality and Circumstances; let the compensation due to the Relations, and that due to the Lord, for the loss of his Man, be both alike: and let the one encrease, according to the Circumstances of the Person, just as the other doth; but if he were the King's Godson, let him make satisfaction to the King, as well as the Relations; but if his Life was taken away by a Relation, then let the Money due to the Godfather be diminished, as it useth to be, when Money is paid to the Master for the Death of his Servant: If a Bishop's Son be killed, let the penalty be half so much.

From which Laws we may observe that our Saxon Ancestors were strict observers of the Lord's day, and would not permit any servile Work to be done thereon: Secondly, that the superstition of Sanctuaries was very ancient in England, as well as elsewhere: Thirdly, That Theft, Murder, and all sorts of Crimes, were then redeemable by pecuniary Mulcts; either to the King, or to the Friends of the party slain, or wrong'd, or else by loss of Limbs; but there is one Law behind that is very remarkable.

That if any English Man, who hath lost his Freedom, do afterwards Steal, he shall be hang'd on the Gallows; and no Recompence made to his Lord; if any one Kill such a Man, he shall make no recompence on that account to his Friends, unless they redeem him within a Twelve Month. Where it appears that no English Freeman could then be hang'd for any fault but Treason, (tho' that is not express'd in these Laws): but as for the last clause in these Laws, That if the Son of a Bishop be killed, the penalty should be half, whereby some would prove, that Bishops were then Married, it is a mistake; for by those words are only meant a Bishop's Spiritual Son, or Godson, and not his Natural, or Conjugal Son.

This Year the Kentishmen made a League with King *Ina* and gave him Thirty Thousand Pounds to obtain his Friendship, because they had before burnt Anno Dom. Moll his Brother. Also Withred began to Reign over the Kingdom of Kent, DCXCIV. and held it Thirty Three Years. William of Malmerbury makes him to have been Elected King by the General Consent of his Subjects, and that he did not deceive their expectation in governing them well.

The Saxon Chronicle here also proceeds, and gives us his Pedegree, which being not to our purpose, I omit; only, you may take notice, that he was the Son of one *Ecbert*, and not of the last King that Reigned.

As soon as ever he was made King, he commanded a Great Council to be summoned, at a place called *Becanceld* (which though it be somewhere in Kent, yet no body certainly knows where it lay, unless it were *Beckanham*, which lies near *Surry*;) at which Council *Withred* Himself was present, as also the Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury* and the Bishop of *Rochester*, and with them all the Abbots and Abbesses, together with many Wise and Prudent Men, who were

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there

Anno Dom. DCLXXXV. there assembled, that they might all take Council about the repairing of the Churches in Kent; then the King began to speak thus, I will, That all Churches and Monasteries, which have been given and endow'd for God's Glory, in the Days of the Faithful Kings my Predecessours, shall remain so to God's Honour for ever; Therefore, I Withred being an Earthly King, yet moved by the Heavenly one, have learnt from our Ancestours, that no Lay-man ought to have right to meddle with any Church, or any of those things, that belong to it; Wherefore we do firmly Decree, and appoint, and in the Name of the Omnipotent God, and all his Saints, do straitly forbid all the Kings our Successours, with all Ealdermen, (i.e. Governours or Judges) and other Laymen, to exercise any Lordship or Dominion over those Churches, and their possessions, which either I, or my Predecessours, have given for the Honour of Christ, and our Lady St. Mary, and all the Saints: but when it shall happen that a Bishop or any Abbot, or Abbess shall depart this Life, let it be told the Arch-Bishop, that by his command one may be chosen, who is most worthy; Moreover let the Arch-Bishop make good tryal of his Life, who shall be elected to so Holy a Function, neither let any one be Elected, or Consecrated, without the consent of the Arch-Bishop; for as it is the King's duty to appoint Ealdermen, Sheriffs, and Judges, so it is the Arch-Bishop's to Govern the Church of God, and to take care of it; as also to appoint and elect Bishops, Abbots, and Abbesses, Presbyters, and Deacons, as also to Consecrate, Confirm and Instruct them by his good Precepts, and Example; least any of God's Flock should wander out of the way, and perish.

This passage being found in the Cottonian Copy of the Saxon Annals, I thought good to insert, as a Monument of the ancient power of the Arch-Bishop of Canterbury, as Governour of the Church of England, though then under the power of the Pope in Ecclesiastical Matters. These are the chief heads of this famous Council; nor do the other Copies in Sir H. Spelman's Collection, differ much from this in the Saxon Annals; only there follows the Subscriptions of King Wythred, and Werburg his Queen, (who Subscribed for her self, and the Prince her Son,) then follow those of the Bishops and Abbots, and after them of Five Abbesses of that Kingdom; which shews them to have been present at this Council; but whether as consenters, or voters, or else as bare witnesses, I shall not determine; but it is observable that their Names are written not only before all the Presbyters, but also before Botred, a Bishop, though of what Diocess is not specified: But to return to Civil affairs.

About this time also, as Bede relates, (though no Historian hath given us the Year) Sebbi, King of the East-Saxons, being fitter for a Bishop than a King, and being at last taken with a great bodily Infirmary, preferred a private Life before a Crown, and took upon him the Habit of a Monk, with the Benediction of Waldhere, then Bishop, and Successour to Erkenwald in the See of London; so this pious King, after he had bestowed a great Sum of Money in Charity, soon departed this Life, leaving his Sons Sighard and Senfrid to succeed him.

Anno Dom. DCXCVII. This Year the Southumbers (that is the Mercians) killed Ostrythe the Wife of Ethelred their late King, and the Sister of King Egfrid. H. Huntington calls it a vile Wickedness, but would not, or could not give us the reason why they did so; nor what punishment was inflicted upon them for it.

This Year likewise was held the Council of Berghamsted in Kent, Bertwald Arch-Bishop of Canterbury, Gilmund Bishop of Rochester, and all the Ecclesiastical Order of that Kingdom, together with all the Lay or Military Men being there assembled, by the Common, and Unanimous Assent of

of All; they decreed these Laws should be added to the Laws and Customs of the Kentish Men: the Constitutions of this Council are called in the Saxon Title, the Judgments or Doomes of King Withred; But tho' they relate chiefly to Ecclesiastical Matters, yet I shall here insert some of the chief of them.

The First Law is, That the Church shall be free, and enjoy her own Judgments, Rents, and Pensions; and that Prayer be made for the King, and his Commands obeyed, not of necessity or Compulsion, but out of good will.

Secondly, If any Military Man (called there a Gefithcund-man, in the Saxon Original,) shall, after this Council is ended, despising the King's Law, and the Judicial Sentence of the Bishop's Excommunication, be taken in Adultery, let him pay to his Lord an 100 Shillings.

By which Law it appears, there was at this time Knights Service in England, and also, that slighting of Excommunication had no further Temporal Penalty, than a pecuniary Mult.

And that it was to the Lord of whom he held his Land, That he was to pay it, appears by the next Law, by which it is appointed, that if the Adulterer were a Country Man, or Villager, (called there Georlesman) he shall pay Fifty Shillings (to his Lord,) yea tho' he do Pennance for that Sin.

Thirdly, If on Saturday in the Evening, after the Sun is set; or on Sunday Evening after the same time; a Servant shall, at the Command of his Master, do any work, let his Master redeem the offence with paying Eighty Shillings.

Fourthly, If a Layman kill a Thief, let him lye without any Wiregild, that is, without making any satisfaction to the Friends of the party slain.

This Year also the Picts slew Bert the Ealderman, H. Huntington ascribes this to the Curse of the Irish Nation, whose Churches he had in the late Invasion destroyed; for as King Egfrid Invading the Country of the Picts was there cut off; so entering their Country to revenge the Death of his Master, he was likewise slain.

Mat. Westminster calls this Ealderman, Brithric, Earl of the Northumbers, but from what Authority I know not.

I shall conclude this Century with a very remarkable Transaction out of Bede, that happen'd about the latter end of it. Egbert, an English Priest, living in Ireland, being hindred by a Storm that forced him back from Preaching the Gospel (as he intended) in Germany, he persuaded one Willbrode his Country-man to do it; who having obtain'd the Pope's License to Preach to the Heathen Nations, he performed it first by preaching the Gospel in old Frizeland, (which then included not only those Provinces, called East and West Frizeland to this day, but also Holland and Zealand, and divers others of the Belgic Provinces;) where he converted all those Nations to the Christian Faith, and was afterwards, at the desire of Pipin, (father to King Charles,) ordained by the Pope, Arch-Bishop of the Frisons, Anno Dom. 596: and upon his return to Rome; Pipin, being then Major of the Palace, (or General of France,) gave him for his Episcopal See that famous Castle, which is called in the Old

Anno Dom. Language of that Nation, *Wiltaburg*, but in the *Gallie* Tongue, *Trajectum*, DCXCIX. at this day *Utrecht*.

But not long after, two Priests, each of them named *Henwald*, and for distinction surnamed from the colour of their Hair, the Black and the White, being by his Example piously affected to the Souls of their Country-men, the *Old Saxons*, at their coming into *Old Saxony* to convert them, met with much worse Entertainment; for being in the House of a Farmer, who had promised to convey them (as they desired) to the Governour of that Country, and being discovered by their daily Ceremonies to be Christian Priests, and the cause of their coming also known, they were by him and his *Heathen* Neighbours cruelly butcher'd, and their Bodies flung into the *Rhine*; but the Governour coming to the knowledge of it, being enraged at such Violence offered to two Strangers, sent Armed Men, and slew all those wicked Inhabitants, and burnt their Village.

Anno Dom. About this time Sir *H. Spelman*, in his first Volume of *Councils*, records a Charter of Privilege granted by King *Wythred* in a General Council or Synod of *Kent*: whereby, with the Consent of the Chief Men of his Kingdom, he freed all the Churches thereof from all Publick Payments or Tributes whatsoever; provided they yielded the King and his Successors the same Honour and Obedience, as they had done his Predecessors, under whom hitherto they had enjoyed all Justice and Liberty. This was done in the Eighth Year of his Reign, at a Place called *Cylling*; which seems to be no more than a Confirmation of what had been done 6 Years before in the Council of *Becancelde*. But to return to our Annals.

Anno Dom. 'This Year *Cenred* began to Reign over the *Southumbers*, (i. e. the *Mercians*;) as has been already said.

Anno Dom. 'Hedda, the Bishop, departed this Life; he held the Bishoprick of *Winchester* 27 Years.

Anno Dom. This Hedda is he, of whom *Bede* gives the Character of an Excellent Bishop, and one who Adorn'd the Episcopal See, converting more by his Example, than Preaching.

Anno Dom. 'Ethelred, the Son of *Penda*, King of the *Mercians*, became a Monk, (at *Bardeney* Abbey,) having reigned 29 (or rather 30) Years, and *Cenred* succeeded him, (who was his Cousin-German.)

William of *Malmesbury* further adds, That from a Monk he came to be Abbot of that Monastery, wherein he died; and that of *Osgilde*, the Sister of *Egfrid* King of *Northumberland*, he begat a Son, called *Ceolred*; yet for all this, *Ethelred* passing him by, he appointed *Genred*, the Son of his Brother *Wulfher*, for his Successour; who reigned with great Love to his Country, and a singular Probity of Manners, till, in the Fifth Year of his Reign, he went to *Rome*, and, (as *Bede* tells us) taking upon him the Habit of a Monk, during the Papacy of Pope *Constantine*, there ended his Days in Prayers, Fasting, and Alms.

Anno Dom. 'Eadfert, or *Alfred*, King of the *Northumbers*, deceased on the 19th Kal. Jan. at *Driffild*, (in the 12th Year of his Reign,) *Osred*, his Son, succeeding in that Kingdom.

But *Stephen Heddi*, in his Life of Bishop *Wilfrid*, (and who lived at that time,) hath given us a more accurate Account of the Death of this King, and of his Successors, viz. That King *Alfred* lying now sick upon his Death-bed, repented of what he had done toward Bishop *Wilfrid*, and

and promised, That if ever he recovered of that Sickness, he would restore the Bishop, and in all Things observe the Decree of the Apostolick See; but if he died, he enjoyn'd, who ever should succeed him, to be reconciled with that Bishop for the good of both their Souls; but this King dying, one *Eardwulf* succeeded him, tho' but for a small time; and the Bishop going to him, and carrying that King's Son along with him, he sent Messengers before, supposing him to be his Friend; but the King being perswaded by his Councillors, and also prompted by his own natural Wickedness, sent the Bishop word, (binding it with an Oath,) That unless he departed his Kingdom within the space of six Days, whosoever he found of his Company should be put to Death; Not long after which harsh Message, a Plot being laid against him, he was driven out of the Kingdom, which he had scarce enjoyed two Months, and so the Royal Youth *Osred*, Son of the late King *Alfred*, succeeded in the Kingdom, and became Bishop *Wilfrid*'s adopted Son.

In the first Year of which King, the Author above-mentioned hath given us the following Account, concerning the Restitution of the said Bishop, viz. That *Berthwald*, Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*, came about this time from the South, together with all the Bishops, Abbots, and Chief Men of the whole Kingdom, by the Precept of the Apostolick See, to hold a Synod at a Place lying on the East-side of the River *Nid*, in *Northumberland*; where the King, with his Bishops and Chief Men being met, the Arch-Bishop made a Speech to them, setting forth the Letters from the Pope, which Bishop *Wilfrid* had brought directed to himself, and which he desired might be read; the Purport whereof was to the same effect, as you have already heard: Then *Elsteda* the Abbess, Daughter to the late King, as also *Berechtfred*, the second Man in the Kingdom, set forth the Will of the late King, and therefore that it was fit to obey it, as well as the Commands of the Apostolick See; whereupon the King, with his Great Men and all the Bishops, upon mature Deliberation, resolved to be reconciled to Bishop *Wilfrid*, and that his two Monasteries of *Rypon* and *Hagulfstad*, together with all their Revenues, should be restored to him; and so a firm Reconciliation being made, all the Bishops departed in Peace.

But yet for all this, by what *Richard Prior* of *Hagulfstad* hath left us of this matter, it appears, that *Wilfrid* did not carry the Cause so clearly as this Author would make it; for he only was restored to the Bishoprick of *Hagulfstad*, and Bishop *John* above-named was from thence translated to *Tork*, which Bishop *Wilfrid* had held before; only Bishop *John* parted with *Hagulfstad* for Peace-sake. I have been the more exact in this Transaction, because it has never been done by any body in our Language before.

Also it is to this Year we are to refer the great Council, which *Bede* tells us was held in the Kingdom of the *West Saxons*; in which, after the Death of Bishop *Hedda*, the Bishoprick of that Province became divided into two; one whereof was conferred on *Daniel*, who held it at the time when *Bede* wrote his History; and the other was bestowed upon *Aldhelm* above-mentioned, then Abbot of *Malmesbury*, who was now made Bishop of *Shireburn*, and when he was only an Abbot, did, at the Command of a Synod of the whole Nation, write an excellent Book against that Error of the *Britains*, in not keeping *Easter* at the due time; whereby he converted many of those *Britains* which were then subject to the *West Saxons*, to the Catholick Observation thereof: Of whose

Anno Dom. DCCV. whose other Works likewise, *Bede* gives us there a Catalogue; being a Person (says he) admirable in all Civil, as well as Ecclesiastical and Divine Learning; and, as *William of Malmesbury* further informs us, was the first of the *English Saxons* who wrote *Latin Verses* with a *Roman Genius*.

There is here in the *Saxon Annals* a Gap for the space of 3 Years, in which I think we may (according to *H. Huntington's* Account) place what *Bede* relates in the Chapter and Book last cited, viz. That *Daniel* and *Aldhelm* yet holding their Sees, it was ordained by a Synodal Decree, That the Province of the *South Saxons*, which had hitherto belonged to the Diocess of *Winchester*, should now be an Episcopal See, and have a Bishop of its own; and so *Ceadbert*, who was then Abbot of the Monastery of *Selsey*, was consecrated first Bishop of that Place; who dying, *Ceolla* succeeded in that Bishoprick; but he likewise dying some Years before *Bede* wrote his History, that Bishoprick then ceased.

Anno Dom. DCCIX. This Year the *Saxon Annals* began with the Death of Bishop *Aldhelm*, (whom it calls Bishop of *Westwude*, for so *Shireburne* was then called,) after whom one *Forther* took the Bishoprick, and this year *Ceolred* succeeded in the Kingdom of the *Mercians*; for now *Kenred* (King of the *West Saxons*) went to *Rome*, and *Offa*, with him and *Kenred*, remained there to his Life's end; and the same year Bishop *Wilferth* (or *Wilfred*) deceased at *Undele*; his Body was brought to *Rypon* in *Yorkshire*. This is the Bishop whom King *Egferth* long since forced to go to *Rome*.

There being divers Things put very close together under this Year, they will need some Explanation. This *Offa*, here mentioned, was (as *Bede* and *William of Malmesbury* relate) the Son of *Sigher*, King of the *East Saxons*; who, being a young Man of a sweet Behaviour, as well as handsome Face, in the Flower of his Youth, and highly beloved by his People, and having not long before succeeded to the Kingdom, (after *Sighard* and *Senfrid* above-mentioned,) he courted *Keneswith*, the Daughter of King *Penda*, whom he desired to marry; but it seems, not long after their Marriage, he over-perswaded him to embrace a Monastick Life, so that he now went to *Rome* for that End. And *Bede* tells us expressly, that both these Kings left their Wives, Relations, and Countries, for Christ's sake. But to this *Offa* succeeded *Selred*, the Son of *Sigebert* the Good, in the Kingdom of the *East Saxons*. *H. Huntington* proposes King *Offa* as a Pattern to all other Princes to follow, and makes a long Exhortation to them to that purpose; as if a King could not do GOD better Service, nor more Good to Mankind by well-governing his People, than by renouncing the World, and hiding his Head in a Cell: But such was the Fashion, or rather Humour, of that Age; and the Affairs, as well as Consciences of Princes, being then altogether Govern'd by Monks, it is no wonder if they extoll'd their own Profession, as the only One wherein Salvation could certainly be obtained.

But since I have already given you from *Bede* and *Stephen Heddi* a large Account of Bishop *Wilfred's* Life and Actions above-mentioned, I shall not need to add any more to it. He was certainly a Man who had tried all the Vicissitudes of an adverse, as well as a prosperous Fortune, having been no less than three times deprived of his Bishoprick; the first time unjustly, but whether we may say the same of both the other, seems doubtful; for let his Friends say what they will, it is evident, he was at first deprived for opposing a very good Design, viz. That of dividing the

the *Northumbrian* Kingdom into more Diocesses, and he having the rich *Anno Dom.* Monastery of *Hagulfstad* under his Charge, would not permit it to be DCCIX. made a Bishoprick, tho' the Diocess was more than he could well manage; and this seems to have been the true Original of that great Quarrel between him and the two Kings *Egfrid* and *Alfred*, as you have already heard; so it should seem, the Wrong pretended to have been done him was none at all, or else such holy Men as *St. Cuthbert*, *St. John of Beverlie*, and *Eatta*, are described to be, would never have accepted of the Bishopricks of *York* and *Hagulfstad* during the time of his Deprivation; and it is very strange, that two Arch-Bishops successively, with the greater part of the Bishops of *England*, should have agreed to his Deprivation, if there had not been great Cause for it; nor would so holy and knowing a Woman as the Abbess *Hilda*, have been so much against him, had not there been some substantial Reason to justify it; but he had the Pope on his side, who always encouraged Appeals to *Rome*, and then it was no wonder if he prevailed; but he was certainly a Prelate of a high Spirit, and great Parts, and who building a great many Monasteries by the Benevolence of the Kings and Princes of that Time; and himself, (tho' a Bishop,) being Abbot of two of them at once; it was no wonder if he grew very rich, which, together with his high way of Living, (being the first Bishop of that Age who used Silver Vessels,) it procured him the Envy of those Princes; but he was a grand Patron of the Monks, and therefore it is not to be wondered at if they cried him up for a Saint, of whom the Writer of his Life, (which he Dedicates to *Acca* his Successour,) relates too many Miracles to be believed, (raising the Dead, curing the Lame, being very ordinary Feats,) but the Monks being the only Writers of that Age, we must be contented with what Accounts they will give us, tho' thus much must be acknowledged in his Commendation, That he converted great Multitudes to the Christian Faith, and caused the Four Gospels to be written in Letters of Gold.

But having given you this Account of Bishop *Wilfred's* Life, it is fit I say somewhat further of his Death, concerning which, the Author *Cap. 62, 63.* above-mentioned tells us, That having lived 4 Years in Peace after his last Restitution, he at last went to visit the Monasteries which he had founded in the South Parts of *England*, where he was received by his Abbots (whom he had put in) with great Joy; till coming to a Monastery which he had founded at *Oundale* in *Northamptonshire*, being there seized with the same Sickness which had often attacked him before, (tho' what it was, this Author does not tell us,) he there died, having before made his Will, and given a great deal, both in ready Money and Jewels, to the Monasteries he had founded: His Body was carried with great Pomp and Attendance of many Abbots and Monks to his Abbey of *Rypon*, and there buried.

This Year *Acca* (the principal Chaplain of Bishop *Wilfred*) succeeded *Anno Dom.* him in his Bishoprick of *Hagulfstad*; (To this Bishop, *Florence of Worcester* gives the Character of a skilful Singer, and Learned in the Scriptures;) DCCX. Also this Year *Beorthfrith* the *Ealderman* fought against the *Picts* between *Else* and *Cere*, (supposed to be *Carehouse* and *Hatfield* in *Northumberland*;) and also King *Ina*, and Nun his Kinsman, fought with *Gerent* King of the *Britains*; and the same Year *Hygbald* was slain.

Mar. Westminster places this Action in *Anno* 708, and makes this *Hygbald* to have been killed in the beginning of the Fight by the *Welsh* King above-

Anno Dom. above mentioned; and He being there put to flight, left great spoils behind him to the *English*; who (as *Florence* adds,) obtained the Victory.

DCCXII. This *British* Prince here mentioned, is supposed to have been King of *Cornwall*; for we can find no such name in the Catalogue of the Princes of *North*, or *South-Wales*.

Lit. 5. c. 22. About this time, according to *Bede*, *Naitan* King of the *Picts* being convinced by the frequent reading of divers Ecclesiastical Writers, renounced his Error, concerning the Celebration of *Easter*; and that he might likewise reclaim his Subjects with greater Authority, he desired the assistance of the *English* Nation, and therefore sent Messengers to *Ceolfrid*, Abbot of the Monastery of *Weymouth*, desiring some Exhortatory Letters from him, whereby he might confute those who presumed not to keep *Easter* at the due time; as also concerning the true manner of shaving of Priest's Crowns; he likewise desired some Architects, that might build a Church for him after the *Roman* fashion, which he promised to Dedicate in honour of *St. Peter*.

To which Pious requests *Ceolfrid* assenting, did not only send him the Architect he desired, but also writ him a long Epistle upon those two Questions in which he desired to be satisfied, which you may see at large in *Bede*; where, besides many notable Arguments for keeping *Easter* on the first *Sunday* after the first Full Moon that follows the Vernal Equinox, and besides some others, there is this doughty Reason against the *Scotch* way of shaving Crowns, that it was the Tonsure of *Simon Magnus*; and then what good Christian could not but abhor it as much as Magick it self!

" This Year *Guthlac* dyed, as also *Pipin* King of *France*; this *Guthlac* here mentioned, was at first a Monk at *Rebandun* Abbey, but afterwards professing himself an *Anchorite*, he retired into the Fens, and built himself a Cell, at *Croyland*: of him the Monkish Writers of those times relate incredible Miracles, of his Temptations, Sufferings by, and Victories over, Evil Spirits, which then haunted that place, at which some Years after the Abbey of *Croyland* was founded.

The same Year also *Egwin*, Bishop of *Worcester*, founded the Abbey of *Evesham* upon this occasion; the *Virgin Mary* (as the Monks relate) had appeared about this place to one *Eoves* a Shepheard, and not long after to the Bishop himself, having a Book in her hand, bringing two Female Attendants with her, (though who they were it seems she did not declare;) whereupon the Bishop there founded this Monastery, testifying this Vision in the Charter of the Foundation, which you may see at large in *Monast. Anglic.* as also in Sir *H. Spelman's* first Volume of Councils; but as for the Story related by the *Magdeburg Centuriators*, that the *Virgin Mary* did then Command her Image to be set up, and worshiped in that Church, there being no colour for it in the pretended Charter of the Bishop himself, that must be certainly forged; for as Sir *H. Spelman* has very well observed, Arch-Bishop *Brightwald* is said to have writ this Charter by the command of the Pope; whereas this Arch-Bishop was never at *Rome*; nor was the Council in which it is said to have been confirmed, held, till after Bishop *Egwin's* Return home into *England*; and as for the Kings, *Kenred*, and *Offa*, who are made to witness and confirm it, they had both of them resigned their Crowns, and gone to *Rome* Five Years before the date of this Charter, which is *Anno Dom.* 714; therefore I shall pass it by as a mere Fable; since it is certain that the wor-

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ship of Images was not then, nor long after introduced into the *English-Saxon* Church. *Anno Dom. DCCXII.*

But before I dismiss this Subject concerning the foundation of the Abby of *Evesham*, I cannot forbear taking notice of another Charter pretended to be made *Anno Dom.* 709; by King *Kenred*, and King *Offa* above mentioned, wherein they grant those Lands, in which the *Virgin Mary* was supposed to appear to Bishop *Egwin*, for the building of a Monastery according to the Rule of *St. Benedict*; in which Charter, tho' the Lands are particularly named and set out, yet it is as justly suspicious as the other, to have been forged by the Monks of that Abby in after times; as Sir *H. Spelman* very well observes, who hath Printed both these Charters in his first Volume of Councils; the former of which is dated at *Rome*, Five Years before the other of Bishop *Egwin's*, and is supposed to be subscribed by the Pope, this Bishop himself, and the two Kings; who there stile themselves, the former by the Title of King of *Mercia*, and the latter by that of King of the *East-Angles*; whereas it is apparent both from our Annals and Historians, that they had both then resigned their Kingdoms to their Successors, before they went to *Rome*; and, which is worse, *Offa* was not King of the *East-Angles*, but of the *East-Saxons*, as *Bede* expressly relates; nor can the fault be laid upon the Transcribers, since the Error is in the Original Charter it self; neither do we read of any King of the *East-Angles* all that time, till King *Offa*, upon the Murther of King *Ethelbert*, seized that Kingdom; but enough, if not too much, of these Monkish Forgeries: we shall now return to our Annals.

" King *Ina* and *Ceolred* fought at *Wodensburh* in *Wiltshire* a great and bloody Battle; and now also *Dagobert* King of the *French* deceased. *Anno Dom. DCCXV.*

This Year was founded at *Thedewkesbury* in *Glocestershire*, a noble Monastery, for *Benedictine* Monks, by *Odo* and *Dodo*, Ealdermen of *Mercia*. *Anno Dom. DCCXVI.*

" The same Year *Osred* King of *Northumberland* was killed near the Southern borders; *Mat. Westminster* relates it was in a Fight near the Sea, but names not the Enemy with whom he fought. This *Osred* held the Kingdom Eleven Years, then *Cenred* took it, and held it Two Years, and after him *Osric*, who held it Eleven Years. The same Year also *Ceolred*, King of the *Mercians* Dyed, and lyeth Buried in *Licetfield* (now *Lichfield*): Then *Ethelbald* succeeded him in the Kingdom of *Mercia*, and held it Forty One Years. *Vi. Monast. Angl. P. 152.*

Of this King *Osred* above mentioned, *Will. of Malmesbury* gives a very bad Character, that he stained his Reign by Debauching the Chastity of the *Professed Nuns*, and that he was at last Slain by the Treachery of his Relations, who also brought the same fate upon themselves.

But this King *Ethelbald* above mentioned, was the Son of *Almer*, and he of *Eoppa*, (whose pedigree is already set down.) Also this Year *Egbert*, that venerable person, converted the Monks of *Hii* to the right Faith, so that they afterwards observed *Easter* Orthodoxly, as also the Ecclesiastical Tonsure, the relation of which, *Bede* hath given us at large; being in short, that *Egbert* the Priest (above mentioned) coming out of *Ireland* on purpose to convert those Monks, they were so moved by his Pious Exhortations, that leaving the Traditions of their Fore-fathers, they afterwards observed the Catholic (i. e. *Roman*) Rites; *Egbert*, after he had lived with these Monks in this Island for Thirteen Years, dyed there.

F f

This

Anno Dom. DCCXVII. " This Year *Ingil* the Brother of King *Ina* deceased, whose Sisters were *Werburch*, and *Cuthburgh*; the latter of whom Built the Monastery of *Wintburne*: She was once Married to *Eadbert*, King of *Northumberland*, but whilst he lived, they were made to renounce each other's Bed.

In this Year also (as *Ingulphus* in his History of the Monastery of *Croyland* relates) that Abby was founded by *Ethelbald*, King of the *Mercians*, in honour of *St. Guthlac*, the *Anchorite*, then lately deceased, it was for *Benedictines*: You may see this King's Charter in the aforesaid Authour, whereby he granted to this Monastery, the whole Isle of *Croyland*, then containing Four Leagues in length, and Three in breadth, with all the *Marishes* adjoining, there particularly mentioned.

Anno Dom. DCCXX. About this time, according to the *Welsh Chronicle*, *Roderic* (or *Rodri*) the Son of *Edral Imrich*, began to Reign over the *Britains* in *Wales*.

Anno Dom. DCCXXI. " This Year *Daniel* Bishop (of *Winchester*) went to *Rome*; and the same Year *Ina* slew *Cinewulf* *Atheling*, (that is, Prince of the Blood Royal;) and the same Year *St. John*, Bishop of *Hagulfstad*, deceased, who was Bishop Thirty Three Years and Eight Months, whose Body was buried at *Beverlie*.

This was he, who being first Bishop of *Hagulfstad*, and then of *Tork*, was after his Death Canonised by the Name of *St. John* of *Beverlie*; to whose shrine many Pilgrimages were made, and of whom the Monkish Legends relate many incredible Miracles, nor is *Bede* himself wanting in his Stories of this Bishop, which notwithstanding, I think, are better omitted: But *Bede* under this Year gives us this account of him, that when he was not able, by reason of his Age, to perform his Episcopal Functions, having ordained *Wilfred* his Presbyter, Bishop of *Tork* in his room, he retired to his Monastery in the Forrest of *Deira*, where he finished his Life in a Heavenly Conversation.

Anno Dom. DCCXXII. " This Year Queen *Ethelburg* destroyed the Castle of *Taunton* (now *Taunton-Dean* in *Somersetshire*) which *Ina* had before built, and *Eadbert* was forced to flye into *Surry*, to the *South-Saxons*, where *Ina* also fought with them. *H. Huntington* tells us, That the reason why Queen *Ethelburg* destroyed this Castle, was, because *Eadbert*, a Rebellious Prince of the Blood Royal, had taken it; and made it the seat of this Rebellious War.

Anno Dom. DCCXXV. It being now (according to *Bede*) the Seventh Year of the Reign of *Ofric* King of *Northumberland*, King *Wythred* dyed, who was Son of *Egbert* King of *Kent*, after having reigned Thirty Four Years and an half; He left Three Sons, *Ethelbert*, *Eadbert*, and *Alaric* his Heirs: *Will. Malmesbury* gives him this Character, that he was gentle at home, invincible in War, and who strictly observed the Christian Religion; but according to our Annals, *Eadbert* his Son succeeded alone to him in the Kingdom: This Year also (according to our Annals) "*Ina* fought a gain with the *South-Saxons*, and there slew *Eadbert* *Atheling*, whom he had before banished.

H. Huntington farther informs us, That King *Ina* pursued *Eadbert* into *Southsex*; and a nameless Authour adds, That he then slew *Aldwin*, King of the *South-Saxons*, (who took his part) and Conquered that Country.

Also the same Year, King *Ina* new built the Ancient Monastery of *Glastenbury*, endowing it with divers Lands, and also granted it an Exemption

emption from all Episcopal Jurisdiction, with divers other priviledges, as you may find in his Charter, confirmed by a great Council of the whole *West-Saxon* Kingdom; the Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*, and *Baldred*, King of *Kent*, with divers other Bishops and Great Men being present, and subscribing to it in the presence of all the Lay-people.

This Charter is in the Manuscript, in the Library of *Trinity Coll.* in *Cambridge*; and is also Printed by Sir *H. Spelman* in his First Volume of *British Councils*: It was also sent to *Rome*, and there confirmed by the Pope, as the Book of *Glastenbury* relates.

About this time (as *Ranulph* of *Chichester* in *Polychronicon* relates) that *Ina*, King of the *West-Saxons*, first conferred upon *St. Peter* (that is the Bishop of *Rome*) a Penny from every House in his Kingdom, which was called by the *English-Saxons* *Romescot*; and in *Latin* *Donarius Sancti Petri*, i.e. *Peterpence*,) which is also allowed by *Polydore Virgil* in his History (who was once the Pope's Collector of this Tax in *England*;) but since I do not find this confirmed by any Ancient Authour or Council, I suspend by my belief of it; since I do not look upon the bare Testimony of the Collector of *Polychronicon*, as of sufficient Authority for a matter of this Moment; but if it were ever granted by this King, it is likewise as certain, that it could not be done without the consent of the *Mycel-Synod*, or great Council of the Kingdom, though that be not now to be found.

This Year, according to *Bede*, and the *Saxon Annals*, deceased *Tobias*, Bishop of *Rocheſter*; a most learned Man, for he was bred under the discipline of Arch-Bishop *Theodorus* and Abbot *Adrian*, and was so well skill'd in the *Greek* and *Latin*, that they were as perfect and familiar to him as his Mother Tongue; he was buried at *Rocheſter* in *St. Paul's* Porch adjoining to the Church of *St. Andrew*, after whom *Aldwulf* was made Bishop of that See, Arch-Bishop *Bertwald* consecrating him.

" King *Ina* went to *Rome*, and there dyed; and *Ethelheard* his Kin-
" man succeeded him in the Kingdom of the *West-Saxons*, and held it
" Fourteen Years. Anno Dom. DCCXXVIII.

William of *Malmesbury*, and *H. Huntington* do both give King *Ina* great Commendations, proposing him as an Example not only of Magnanimity and Justice, by the good Laws he made, but also of Piety and Devotion; in that he was perswaded to quit all Worldly Vanities for a Monastick Life, and that by the frequent Exhortations of the Queen his Wife; who, when she saw nothing would prevail upon him, took this course; which, (tho none of the cleanliest,) I will here give you: Once when the King had made a great Entertainment at one of his Country-houses, as soon as the Company was gone, the Queen ordered the Steward to defile all the Rooms with Cow-dung and other filth, and also put a Sow and Pigs into the Bed, where they had lain the Night before; but when the King and Queen had gone some part of their Journey, she perswaded him to return back again to the same place, otherwise he would run a great hazard; which being done, when the King saw the place, which was yesterday fit to entertain a Prince, now thus spoiled, being much troubled at it, he went to the Queen, and complain'd to her of it; at which she laughing replied; "*My Lord and Husband*, See what is become of all that Feasting and Magnificence we saw Yesterday, Are they not all gone and past, like Water that runs into the Sea? so of all those Vanities there remains nothing, but this Dung and Filth, that only serves to represent the Corruption of the Soul by such Excesses; think then Sir,

Anno Dom. "how soon that Flesh will rot that is now pamp'rd, by Luxury; and *DCCXXVIII.* "the greater and more powerful we are, the greater will our Torments "be hereafter. She needed to say no more, for she had now brought over her Husband to her Sentiments, which she had for some Years before constantly instill'd, tho' hitherto in vain; thus after so many warlike Triumphs, being at the highest pitch of Humane Felicity, he went to Rome, where he shewed not the least Pride in his Conversation, but without exposing himself to publick view; being there shorn a Monk, grew old in that mean Habit; nor was his Wife, who had been the Author of this Resolution, wanting in following the same Example, accompanying him thither her self, comforting him, and confirming him in that Course he had undertaken by her own Example; so not living far from each other in Mutual Love, they at last departed this Life, nor without doing divers Miracles, if our Author may be credited.

*Vid. Lam-
bert's Arch.
cap. 17.

But before we dismiss the History of this King, it is fit we should take notice of a notorious falshood inserted by some Ignorant trifling Monk, among the Laws of King * *Edward the Confessor*, concerning "this King *Ina's* Marrying *Guala*, the Daughter of *Cadwalader*, King "of the *Britains*; from which Daughter we are there told, that Country was called *Wallia*, which in Ancienter times had the name of *Cambria*, and that all the *English* who lived at that time, took their Wives "from the *British* Stock, as they did also from the *English*; and that "this was done by the Advice of a Common Council of the Kingdom, "and that in this manner they were made one Nation, and one People, "by God's mercy; throughout the whole Kingdom of *Britain*; which hath given occasion to some fabulous Historians to make this *Ina* King of *Wales*, as well as *England*, though without any ground. Since none of the Ancient *British*, or *English* Chronicles, do ever mention any such thing: For during the Reign of this *Ina*, *Ivor* the Son of *Alan*, Duke of *Britain*, is Recorded by the *Welsh* Chronicles to have Reigned in *Wales*; but the likeness of these two Names, I suppose gave the first occasion to this Fable.

The same Year that *Ina* went to Rome, the *Saxon Annals* relate, "That "King *Ethelhard* (his Successour) fought with *Oswald*, *Aetheling*, which "Oswald was the Son of *Aethelbald*; and he the Son of *Cynebald*, Grand- "son to King *Cearlin*; who as *H. Huntingdon*, and *Will. of Malmesbury* tell us, Being a Young Prince of the Blood Royal and raising a Rebellion against him in the beginning of his Reign, endeavoured to obtain the Kingdom for himself; but being worsted was forced to Flee.

Anno Dom. "This Year appeared a Comet, and that Holy Man *Egbert* dyed at *DCCXXIX. Hye.*

This *Egbert*, was the person above mentioned, who brought over the Monks of that Monastery, to keep *Easter* after the *Roman* manner.

Anno Dom. "This Year *Oswald Aetheling*, dyed, (as it is supposed in Banishment.) *DCCXXX.*

"This Year *Osc* King of *Northumberland* was slain, and *Coenwulf* succeeded him, and held it Eight Years; who was the Son of *Cutha*, and

Anno Dom. "he the Son of *Cuthwin*: where follows his Pedigree as far as *Eoppa*. *DCCXXXI.*

This Year (*Bede* also tells us,) *Bertwald* the Arch-Bishop Deceased; being worn out with Age, and Infirmities, having held that See Thirty Seven Years and Six Months; in whose room *Tatrin* was made Arch-Bishop,

Bishop, who had been a Priest in the Monastery of *Berodune*, in the Kingdom of the *Mercians*: he was consecrated at *Canterbury* by *Daniel*, *Anno Dom.* Bishop of *Winchester*. *Inguald* Bishop of *London*, *Aidwin*, Bishop of *Leich-* *DCCXXXI.* *field*, and *Aldulf* Bishop of *Rocheſter*; he was a Man famous for Religion and Prudence, and very well skill'd in the Scriptures: he ſate Arch-Bishop till *Bede's* Death, and lived but Three Years after; here also follow in *Bede*, the Names of the rest of the Bishops, that were his Contemporaries, which is unnecessary here to be inserted.

But as for the state of Civil Affairs, when *Bede* finished his History, he gives us this brief Account, viz. "That *Coenwulf* (who was then "King of *Northumberland*;) had been in the beginning of his Reign perplexed with great Troubles, the end of which *Bede* could not then foresee; the Nation of the *Picts* at this time kept their league, with "the *English* Nation, and rejoiced to be partakers of the Catholick "Peace and Truth with the Universal Church: This he speaks because *Natan* King of the *Picts*, had been but a little before brought over to imbrace the *Romish* observation of *Easter*, and to their manner of shaving Priest's Crowns.

Also the *Scots*, who Inhabit *Britain*, being kept in within their own "limits, did practise no Treachery against the *English* Nation; as to "the *Britains*, tho' the greatest part, from a natural hatred to the *English* "Nation, did oppose the Catholick observation of *Easter*, yet the Divine Power, as well as Human Force, being against them, they could "not obtain their desires; for though they were partly at their own disposal, yet were they in great measure subject to the *English*; in "this Peaceable and quiet time, the most part of the *Northumbrian* "Nation, as well Nobles as Private Persons, chose rather to make "themselves and their Children Monks, than to Educate them in a Military Life; which (says he) What end it will have, the next Age will shew.

And so indeed it did, not long after *Bede's* Death, for when the best Men thus retired into Monasteries, none but the worse, or meaner sort being left, they soon fell into horrid Rebellions and Civil Wars; one King driving out, and Murdering another, leaving the People an easy Prey to the *Danes*, who in the next Generation Invaded them: This (as *Bede* relates) was the Present State of *Britain*, in his Time, about 285 Years after the Arrival of the *English Saxons*.

We being now bereft of the assistance of so good an Authour, must for the future wholly rely upon the *Saxon Annals*, together with the other Monkish Writers; tho' indeed for near the space of above Thirty Years last past, *Bede* growing more intent upon Ecclesiastical than Civil Affairs, (being all most wholly taken up with the reciteing of Visions and Miracles,) and mentioning other things only by the bye, hath given us so slender an account of those times, that if we had not found some assistance from the *Saxon Annals*, (as well as from other Writers,) the History of that Age, though very short and obscure, would yet have been much more imperfect without them.

But to proceed now with our *Saxon Annals*.

"This Year *K. Ethelbald* took *Sumerton*; and *Acca* was driven from "his Bishoprick of *Hagulfad*, (I suppose by the then King of *Northumberland*, though no Author expressly mentions it.) *Will. of Malmesbury* tells us, that this *Ethelbald* was that great and powerful King of the *Mercians*

Anno Dom. to whom *Boniface*, Bishop of *Mentz*, (being then the Pope's Legat,) *DCCXXXIII.* writ a sharp Letter, setting forth, and reprov- ing, the then reigning Vices of this Nation, and particularly of that King himself; who, relying on the vain Confidence of his Justice and Alms, was not ashamed (no more than the Noblemen of his Kingdom, by his Example,) to commit Unclean-ness even with Consecrated Nuns, which wicked Actions the Bishop foretells would be the ruin of himself and Kingdom, as it proved in the end.

But King *Ethelbald*, after he had thus taken *Somerton*, with an Army too powerful to be resisted by the K. of the *West Saxons*, became so great, that (as *H. Huntington* observes,) he made all the rest of the Provinces of *En-land*, together with their Kings, subject to him, as far as the River *Humber*: This *Somerton* was anciently a great Town and Castle of the *West-Saxon* Kings, and gave Name to that County, which we now call *Somersetshire*, though at present it be but an ordinary Country Village. Also this Year the Sun was so much eclipsed, that (as the Epitome of *Bede* and *Ethelward* relate,) on 13^o *Kal. Sept.* its whole Orb seem'd as it were covered with a black Sheild.

Anno Dom. This Year also the Moon appear'd as it were stain'd with Blood, and *Simeon* *DCCXXXIV.* of *Durham* saith it lasted one whole hour, and then a Blackness following, it return'd to its natural Colour. 'Also *Tatwin* the Archbishop deceased; and *Egbryht* was made Bishop of *Tork*: Now *Bede* also died.

But the Author of his Life (in Manuscript in the *Cottonian Library*) refers it to the Year following; and the Chronicle of *Mailros*, with greater Truth, to the Year 736; for he was (as his Life above-cited relates,) born *Anno* 677, and deceased in the 59th Year of his Age.

But since *Bede* our Historian deceased about this time; and that it is to him we are beholding for the greatest part of the History of this present Pe-riod, it is fit we give you a short account of his Life; He was born in the Province of *Northumberland*, not far from the Monastery of *Gyrwie* (the place is now call'd *Tarrow*,) near the Mouth of the River *Were*, where he was bred up from seven Years of Age, and in which, being profess'd, he lived a Monk all the rest of his Life, spending his time in the Study of the Scriptures, saying his Prayers, or Writing Comments upon the Old and New Testaments, as also his Ecclesiastical History, (so often cited by us,) besides divers other Books, containing the Lives of Saints, and other Matters, of Humane, as well as Divine Learning; whose Titles you may find at the end of his said History: 'Till at last, being wasted by a long Asthma, he there made an Heavenly End, as may be seen in his Life above-mentioned: So that *Simeon* of *Durham* very well observes, that though he lay, as it were, hid in the utmost Corner of the World, yet, after his Death, he became known in all Parts by his Learned Writings; therefore he hath, for his great Piety, as well as Learning, justly obtained the Title of *Venerable Bede*: After whose decease, (as *Will.* of *Malmesbury* rightly observes,) all knowledge of Actions pass'd was almost lost even to his own Times, since none proved an Emulator of his Studies, nor a Follower of his Learning; so that to a slothful Generation, one more slothful still succeeding, the Love of Learning for a long time grew cold in this whole Island.

Anno Dom. 'This Year Bishop *Egbryht* received the Pall from *Rome*; but you must *DCCXXXV.* here observe, that by the Pope's thus sending a Pall to the Bishop of *Tork*, he now became an Archbishop, and consequently Metropolitan of all the

Northumbria

Northumbrian Provinces, that See having been, ever since the Time of *Anno Dom.* *Paulinus's* Flight out of *Northumberland* into *Kent*, and carrying the Archi- *DCCXXXV.* episcopal Pall along with him, no more than an ordinary Bishoprick, sub- ject to the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, from whose Power it was from this time exempted, and came now to have Supreme Jurisdiction over all the Bishops in *Deira* and *Bernicia*, as far as the *Pictish* Kingdom.

'The Arch-bishop *Nothelm* received his Pall from *Rome*:] This was *Anno Dom.* the new Archbishop of *Canterbury*, who succeeded *Tatwine*. *DCCXXXVI.*

You may take notice, that it was in those Times usual for the Pope to send a Pall to every new Archbishop upon his Consecration, to shew his Dependance upon the See of *Rome*, and for which every Archbishop paid a great Sum of Money to the Pope's Treasury.

This *Nothelm*, when he was a Presbyter of the Church of *London*, was he, to whom *Bede*, in the Epistle before his History, owns himself be- holding for divers ancient Monuments relating to the *English* Church, as also Epistles out of the Pope's Repository.

'This Year Forthere Bishop of *Scireburn*, with *Frithogithe* Queen of the *Anno Dom.* *West-Saxons*, went to *Rome*. *DCCXXXVI.*

Where (as *H. Huntington* tells us,) they both took upon them the Monastick Habit; which, in those days, very many of the *English* Nation, of all Degrees and Qualities, as well high as low, were wont to do. For now also (as our Annals relate,) 'Ceolwulf, King of *Northumberland*, 'surrendered his Kingdom to *Eadbert* his Cousin, who reigned Thirty one 'Years: (This *Ceolwulf* was he to whom *Bede* dedicated his History; who, after his professing himself a Monk in the Monastery of *Lindisfarne*, (as *R. Hoveden* relates) brought the Monks of that place from the strict discipline of drinking only Milk or Water, to drink Wine, and Ale, and they might very well afford it, for he brought along with him good provisions to live easily, as great Treasures and Revenues in Land (recited at large by *Simeon* of *Durham*) all which he bestowed on that Monastery; no wonder then if such great Commendations be given by Monkish Writers to Kings becoming Monks.

The same Year also, (as *Simeon* of *Durham*, and *Mat.* of *Westminster* relates) *Alwin* Bishop of *Lichfield* dying, there were two Bishops ordain- ed in that Diocesis, *viz.* *Wicca* at *Lichfield*, and *Tocca*, the first Bishop of *Leycester*, which Town from this time continued a Bishop's See, for divers Ages: Also this Year (according to the *Saxon Annals*) 'the Bi- 'shops *Ethelwald*, and *Acca* deceased, and *Cynwulf* was consecrated Bi- 'shop; and the same Year *Ethelbald* King of the *Mercians* wasted the 'Contry of *Northumberland*. (And as *H. Huntington* adds,) carried a- way as much Spoil as he had a mind to from thence: Also (as *Simeon* of *Durham* relates) *Snebricht* King of the *East-Saxons* died this Year.

'*Eadbricht* (or *Egbert*) the Son of *Eatta*, who was the Son of *Leodwald* *Anno Dom.* *DCCXXXVII.* began to Reign in the Kingdom of the *Northumbrians*, and held it One and Twenty Years; *Egbert* Arch-Bishop of *Tork* was his Brother, who were both buried in the City of *Tork*, in the same Church-Porch.

But it there is an over-sight in these Annals, for this *Eadbricht* above mentioned, must be the same with *Eadbricht*, under the former Year.

This Year also, (according to *Simeon* of *Durham*) *Snebricht* King 'of the *East-Saxons* died.

Ceolwulf

Anno Dom. DCCXXXIX. *Geolwulf*, late King of Northumberland, died this Year (according to *Mat. Westminster*) in the Monastery of *Lindisfarne*: Also (as *Simon of Durham* relates) *Nothelm*, Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*, deceased; but the *Saxon Annals* defer his Death two Years longer.

Anno Dom. DCCXL. This Year *Acca*, Bishop of *Hagulfstad*, deceased, who, as the same Author relates, was had in great Reverence, not only during his Life, but also after his Decease, for his great Sanctity and supposed Miracles.

Anno Dom. DCCXLI. King *Ethelred* deceased, and *Cuthred* his Cousin succeeded in the Kingdom of the *West Saxons*, and held it 16 Years.] This King made sharp War against *Ethelbald* King of the *Mercians*, and that with various Success, (as *H. Huntington* tells us,) sometimes making Peace, and then again renewing the War.

This Year also *Nothelm* the Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury* deceased, and *Cuthbert* was Consecrated in his stead, as was also *Dun* Bishop of *Rochester*, (after the Death of *Eadulph*.) This Year also the City of *Tork* was burnt, together with the Monastery, (as *Simon* has it.)

Anno Dom. DCCXLII. Now was held the great Synod at *Clovehoe*, where were present *Ethelbald* King of the *Mercians*, and *Cuthbert* the Arch-Bishop, with many other wise Men.

Where this *Clovehoe* was, is now very uncertain, since the Name is wholly lost; some suppose it to have been *Cliffe* in *Kent*, near *Gravesend*; but it is not likely that *Ethelbald*, being now the chief King of *England*, would permit this Council to have been held out of his own Dominions; so that *others suppose it to have been *Abingdon* in *Berkshire*, which was anciently called *Secwesham*, where (as the old Book of that Abbey tells us) was anciently a Royal Seat of the Kings, and where there used to be great Assemblies of the People concerning the arduous Affairs of the *Mercian* Kingdom.

But tho we are more certain of the Decrees of this Council, than of the Place, where it was held; yet since it was a meer Ecclesiastical Synod, and no great Council of that Kingdom, and that its Decrees were chiefly made in Confirmation of the Charter of King *Withred* concerning free Elections to Monasteries in *Kent*, according to the Directions of the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, I shall refer you to the Canons themselves, as they are to be found in the *Decem Scriptores*, and *Sir *H. Spelman's British* Councils; and shall only take notice of this one, that now Bishops were first ordered to visit their Diocesses once a Year.

Anno Dom. DCCXLIII. This Year *Ethelbald* King of the *Mercians*, and *Cuthred* King of the *West Saxons*, fought against the *Britains*.] *H. Huntington* tells us, That these two Kings now joining their Forces brought two great Armies into the Field against the *Welsh-men*, who not being able to defend themselves, were forced to flee, leaving great Spoils behind them; so both the Kings returned home Victorious.

Anno Dom. DCCXLIV. According to *Florence of Worcester*. *Wilfred*, the second Bishop of *Tork* of that Name, died, after he had sat 30 Years. Also this Year, according to the *Annals*,

Daniel resigned the Bishoprick of *Winchester*, being worn out by Age, and *Hunferth* succeeded him; and they say, the Stars seemed to fall from Heaven. But *Simon of Durham* calls them, (with more probability,) such Lightnings as those of that Age had never before seen.

About

About this time also, (according to *Simon*.) there happened a great Fight between the *Picts* and the *Britains*, I suppose he means those of *Cum-berland*, for no other *Britains* lay near the *Picts*.

This year Bishop *Daniel* (above-mentioned) deceased, after he had been 43 years Bishop.

This year *Scred* (King of the *East-Saxons*) was slain;] But by whom, or which way, is not here said. This *Scred* was surnamed *The Good*, and reigned 38 years.

Switheard, King of the *East-Angles*, dying, *Elfwold* succeeded him, as the Chronicle of *Mailros* relates.

This Year also was held the second Council at *Clovehoe*, under *Cuthbert* Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*, there being present, (beside the Bishops, Abbots, and many Ecclesiasticks,) *Ethelbald*, King of the *Mercians*, with his chief Men and Ealdermen: In which, besides many Decrees concerning the Unity of the Church, and for promoting Peace, (which you may see at large in Sir *H. Spelman's* First Volume of Councils;) and after, the reading of Pope *Zachary's* Letters to the People of *England* to live more continently; These (among other) Decrees were likewise passed, viz. 1. That the Reading of the Holy Scriptures be more constantly used in Monasteries. 2. That Priests receive no Reward for baptizing Children, or for other Sacraments. 3. That they learn the Creed, and the Lord's Prayer in *English*; and are likewise to understand and interpret into their own Tongue the Words of Consecration in the Celebration of Mass, and also of Baptism, &c.

This year *Cynric Aetheling* (that is, Prince of the Blood-Royal of the *West Saxons*) was slain; and *Eadbriht*, King of *Kent*, died, after six Years Reign; and *Ethelbryht*, the Son of King *Withred*, succeeded him.] This *Cynric* was he, whom *H. Huntington* relates to be Son of *Cuthred*, King of the *West Saxons*; who, tho young in Years, was a great Warrior for his time, yet perished in a sudden Sedition of his own Souldiers, but where he does not say.

Simon affirms, That *Elfwald*, King of the *East Angles*, now dying, *Hunbeanna* and *Albert* divided that Kingdom between them; but what relation they had to the late King, he does not tell us.

This year *Cuthred*, King of the *West Saxons*, in the 12th Year of his Reign, fought against *Ethelune*, that courageous Ealderman.] *H. Huntington* calls him a bold Earl, who moved Sedition against his Lord; and tho he were inferior in the number of his Souldiers, yet maintained the Fight a great while by his sole Courage and Conduct; but while he was ready to get the Victory, a Wound he then unfortunately received, so disabled him, and disheartened his Men, that the King's (being the stronger, as well as the juster) Side, did thereby prevail.

Also the same Year (according to *Simon* of *Durham*, and the Chronicle of *Mailros*.) *Eadbert* King of *Northumberland* led *Kynwulf* Bishop of *Lindisfarne*, Prisoner to the City of *Beban*, who it seems had some ways rebelled against him, for he then also caused the Cathedral Church of *Lindisfarne* to be besieged.

The same Year (as *Bede's* Continuator relates) *Eadbert*, King of *Northumberland*, made War upon the *Picts*, and subdued all the Country of *Kyle*, with other Territories, joining them to his own Dominions.

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This

Anno Dom.
DCCLIII.

'This Year (according to the Saxon Annals.) King *Cuthred* fought against the Britains:] (But of this, the Welsh Chronicles are silent, as well as other Authors.) 'The same Year also, (being the 12th Year of his Reign,) King *Cuthred* fought against *Ethelbald*, King of the Mercians, at *Georgesford* (now *Burford*) in *Oxfordshire*, and there put him to flight.

But *H. Huntington* gives us this Battle more at large. That King *Cuthred* being not any longer able to bear the Insolencies and Impositions of that proud King *Ethelbald*, took Arms, and met him with an Army in the Field, preferring his Liberty before his Life, being encouraged by Earl *Ethelune* above-mentioned, who it seems was now cured, and reconciled to the King, relying upon whose Courage and Council, he resolved to undertake this War; but *Ethelbald*, as a King of Kings, had brought along with him, besides his own Mercians, the Kentish Men, with the East Angles and Saxons, which made all together a very great Army, and being both drawn up on the Spot, they approached each other, whilst Earl *Ethelune* marching before the West Saxons, carried the Royal Standard, (being a Golden Dragon,) and in the beginning of the Battle challenging him to a single Combat, there slew the Standard-bearer of the Enemy; upon which a great Shout being given, *Cuthred's* Souldiers were very much encouraged; then both Armies engaging, there followed a great and bloody Fight, of which our Author gives us a long and pompous Relation. Pride and Ambition (says he) inciting the Mercians, and fear of Servitude provoking the West Saxons, to fight it to the last; but wherever Earl *Ethelune* charged the Enemies, he with the force of his invincible Battle-Axe destroyed all before him; but at last *K. Ethelbald* and the Earl meeting, they fought together with great Obstinacy and Resolution; till G O D, who resisteth the Proud, so discouraged this King, that he turned his Back, and fled, whilst his Men still fought on; yet at last they were all routed; nor from that time, to the day of his Death, did G O D give him any more Success.

Anno Dom.
DCCLIV.

'*Cuthred*, King of the West Saxons, departed this Life; and (according to *Simcon*) *Sigebert*, his Cousin, succeeded him: Also *Cyneheard* succeeded in the Bishoprick of *Winchester* after *Hunferth*, and the same year the City of *Canterbury* was burnt.

Anno Dom.
DCCLV.

'This Year was very remarkable, for now (as our Annals inform us) *Cynmulf*, with the Wife and Noble Men of the West Saxons, deprived King *Sigebert* of the whole Kingdom for his Cruelty and Injustice, (except *Hampshire*,) which he kept for some time, until he slew one *Cumbran* an Ealderman, (who had continued longest with him;) so that at last *Sigebert* was driven into *Andred's* Wood, where he remained till such time as a certain Hogheard ran him through with a Lance at *Pruutes-Flood*, and thereby revenged the Death of *Cumbran* the Ealderman. This King *Cynmulf* often overcame the Britains in Fight, but after he had governed the Kingdom about 30 Years, he was slain by *Cyneheard Etheling*, brother to *Sigebert*; as shall be shewn hereafter.

H. Huntington is very particular in the Reasons, and manner of King *Sigebert's* Deposition, and tells us, That being puff'd up with the good Success of his Predecessours, he grew intollerable to his Subjects; for he had oppressed them by all manner of ways, and wrested the Laws for his own Advantage, inasmuch that this *Cumbran*, one of his noblest Earls, at the Desire of the People, represented their Grievances to this cruel King, who, because he perfwaded him, that he should govern them

more

more gently, and thereby become more beloved both by God and Man, he presently commanded him to be slain, and so daily increased in his Tyranny, till in the beginning of his Second Year, the Great Men and People of the whole Kingdom being gathered together, by the Provident Deliberation, and Unanimous Consent of them All he was expelled the Kingdom; and *Cinewulf*, a notable young Man of the Blood Royal, was Elected King in his room.

This is the first Example we have in our English History, of the Solemn Deposition of a King, by the Authority of the Great Council of the Kingdom, concerning whom our Author bids us remark the manifold Justice and Providence of God, how sometimes it doth not only recompence Kings according to their Merits in the World to come, but also in this; for oftentimes setting up Wicked Kings for the Deserved Punishment of their Subjects, he lets some of them Tyrannize a great while, that so a wicked People might be punished, and the King becoming more wicked, may be tormented for ever; as may be seen in *Ethelbald*, King of Mercia above-mentioned, whilst God cuts others short by a speedy Destruction, lest his People, being oppress'd by too great Tyranny, should not be able to subsist under it, so that the immoderate Wickedness of a Prince does often accelerate his Punishment.

The same Year, (according to *Caradoc's* Chronicle published by Dr. *Powel*,) *Conan Tindaethry*, Son of *Rodri Molwynoc*, began his Reign over the Britains in Wales.

'This Year also, (according to the Saxon Annals,) *Ethelbald*, King of the Mercians, was slain at *Seccandune* (now *Secington*) in *Warwickshire*, after he had reigned 41 Years; and then *Beornred* usurped the Kingdom, and held it but a little while, and that with great Trouble; for the same year King *Offa* expelled *Beornred*, and taking Possession of the Throne, held it 39 Years; but his Son *Egberth* no more than 140 Days. This *Offa* was the Son of *Thincerth*, and he the Son of *Eanwulf*: The rest of his Pedigree, as far as *Woden*, I omit.

Abbot *Bromton's* Chronicle farther adds, concerning the Death of King *Ethelbald*, That he was slain in a Fight at the Place above-mention'd, yet was it not by the Enemy, but by the Treachery of this *Beornred*.

Inulph, in his History of *Croyland*, tells us, That King *Ethelbald* having founded the Abby of *Ripendune* (now *Repton*) in *Derbyshire*, (being the most famous of that Age,) was there buried; and also of this *Beornred*, (whom he calls a Tyrant,) that he did not long enjoy his Usurpation, for it seems he was not of the Blood Royal of the Mercian Kings; but when he was Expelled, *Offa* succeeded him by the General Consent of the Nobles of Mercia; but *Mat. Westminster* (who puts the Succession of King *Offa* two Years later) is more particular in this Transaction, and relates, That this *Beornred* governing very Tyrannically, the whole Nation of the Mercians rose up against him; so that both the Nobility and Commons joining together, under the Conduct of *Offa*, a valiant young Man, Nephew to the late King *Ethelbald*, they expelled *Beornred* the Kingdom; and then *Offa*, by the General Consent of the Clergy and Laity of that Kingdom, was crowned King. This was that King *Offa*, who afterwards became a Terrour to all the Kings of England.

Eadbert, King of Northumberland, and *Unust*, King of the *Picts*, brought an Army against the City *Alkuth*, which the Britains delivered upon Conditions. This is from the Authority of *Simcon* of *Durham*, and lets us see,

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that

Anno Dom.
DCCLVI.

that this City (now in Scotland) was then in the Hands of the Northern Britains.

Anno Dom. DCCLVII. This year Eadbert, King of the Northumbers, was shorn a Monk, and Osulf, his Son, succeeded him, yet Reigned but one Year, being slain by the Treachery of his own Servants on the 9th of the Kal. August following, thō without any just Cause, as I can find.

Concerning this Eadbert, Simeon of Durham, in his History of that Church, tells us, That after he had reigned 21 Years, and ruled his Kingdom with great Wisdom and Courage, so that all his Adversaries being either overcome by force, or else submitting themselves to him; the English, Pictish, and Scottish Kings, not only maintained Peace and Friendship with him, but rejoiced to do him Honour; so that the Fame of his Grandeur spreading as far as France, King Pipin not only made a League with him, but sent him great Presents; and the Kings, his Neighbours, when he was about to resign the Crown, had him in that Esteem, that they offered him part of their own Dominions, on Condition, that he would not lay down his Charge; but he refused it, and resigned his Kingdom to Uulf, his Son.

Also about this time, (according to the British Chronicles,) there was a great Battle fought at Hereford, between the Britains and the Saxons, where Dyfnwal ap Theodore was slain: But they do not tell us who obtained the Victory.

Anno Dom. DCCLVIII. This Year Cuthbert, Arch Bishop of Canterbury, deceased, having sat Arch-Bishop 18 Years. Also (according to Florence) about this time Swithred reigned over the East, and Osmund over the South Saxons; as also Beorne was King over the East Angles.

Anno Dom. DCCLIX. This Year Bregowin was consecrated Arch-Bishop of Canterbury at the Feast of St. Michael; and Ethelwold, Surnamed Moll, began to reign over the Northumbers, and at last resigned the Crown.

Anno Dom. DCCLX. Ethelwold, King of Kent, deceased; he was the Son of King Wythred. Of this King, William of Malmesbury records nothing remarkable, but that the City of Canterbury was burnt in his Reign.

Ceolwulf also, late King of Northumberland, departed this Life the same Year, dying a Monk in the Isle of Lindisfarne. But Simeon of Durham prolongs his Life 4 Years longer.

Anno Dom. DCCLXI. This Year was a very sharp Winter; and Ethelwald Moll, King of Northumberland, slew Duke Oswin at Edwinstowe on the Eighth of the Ides of August.

But thō who this Duke was, our Annals do not tell us; yet Simeon of Durham, and Roger of Hoveden relate, he was one of those Great Northumbrian Lords, that rebelled against the King; who gained the Victory over him, and those Rebels that took his part.

Anno Dom. DCCLXII. This Year deceased Bergowine, the Arch-Bishop above-mentioned. But if he sat 4 Years, (as these Annals affirm,) he could not have died till the Year following; in which also,

Anno Dom. DCCLXIII. Janbryht (who is also called Lambert) was now consecrated Arch-Bishop of Canterbury about 40 Days after Christmas. Also Frithwald, Bishop of Witherne, died on the Nones of May; he had been consecrated in York on the 18th Kalends of September, in the Reign of Ceolwulf, and sat Bishop 29 Years; and then Pighwin (or Pechwin) was consecrated Bishop of Witherne at Ælfet, on the 16th Kal. of August.

Jan-

Janbryht, the Arch-Bishop, received his Pall.] This was (as Florence Anno Dom. DCCLXIV. of Worcester informs us) from Pope Paul I.

This Year also, (as Simeon of Durham relates,) there was much mischief done by Fire, at London, Winchester, and other Places.

Alfred, King of Northumberland, began to reign, and reigned Eight Years; (Ethelwold Moll having now by Death quitted that Kingdom.)

The manner of which is given us more perfectly by William of Malmesbury, and Roger Hoveden, (viz.) That Ethelwold lost the Kingdom of Northumberland at Winchan-bea 1^o Kal. November, being murdered by the Treachery of this Alfred, who succeeded him, and was also of the Race of Ida, being his Great Nephew.

The same Year also, (according to William of Malmesbury,) Offa, King of the Mercians, envying the Greatness of the Arch-Bishops of Canterbury, did, by most noble Presents made to the Pope, obtain a Pall for the See of Lichfield, that is, That it should be for the future an Arch-Bishoprick, and that all the Bishops of the Provinces of the Kingdom of Mercia, and the East Angles, should be subject to it; and this he not only gained, notwithstanding the Opposition and Remonstrances of Arch-Bishop Jambert to the contrary, but also bereaved the Arch-Bishoprick of Canterbury of all its Lands, which lay within the Mercian Territories; which Injustice continued during the whole Reign of King Offa, till Kenulph his Successour, by the Intercession of Eanbald then Arch-Bishop of York, restored the See of Canterbury to its ancient Rights.

This Year deceased Egbert Arch-Bishop of York, (13^o Kal. Sept.) who sat Bishop 36 Years.] This is he who was Bafe Brother to the King of the same Name, and regained the Pall to his See, after it had been without it ever since the time of Paulinus: He also built a Noble Library at York, which was then counted one of the best in Europe; for William of Malmesbury relates, that Alcuin (the greatest Scholar of his time) once told the Emperour Charles, That if he would give him such Books of exquisite Learning, as he had in his own Country by the Pious Industry of his Master Arch-Bishop Egbert, then he would instruct and send him back some young Men, who should carry over the choicest Flowers of the English Learning into France.

(According to Simeon of Durham) Albert was now ordained Arch-Bishop of York.

Eadbert, the Son of Eatta, deceased on 14^o Kal. September.] This Eadbert had been formerly King of Northumberland, and (according to Simeon of Durham) died 10 Years after his taking the Habit of a Monk, and was buried at York.

Also this Year, (as the Welsh Chronicles acquaint us,) by the means of Elbodius, that Learned and Pious Bishop of North Wales, it was decreed in a General Synod of the British Nation, That Easter should be kept after the Custom of Rome; so that all Differences between that Church and the British now ceased.

Charles, King of the Franks, began his Reign; for Pepin, his Father, died this Year, (as R. Hoveden informs us:) Also the fair City of Catast in Torkshire was burnt by Borned the Mercian Tyrant; and He also perished by Fire the same Year.

This

Anno Dom. DCCLXXI. 'This Year (according to *Simon of Durham*, and *R. Hoveden*.) *Offa*, King of the *Mercians*, subdued the Nation of the *Hestings* by force of Arms; but who these People were, or where they inhabited, no Author informs us. Mr. *Lambert*, in his *Glossary* at the end of the *Decem Scriptores*, will have them to be *Danes*; but I see no reason for it here, since the *Danes* were not then settled in *England*.

Anno Dom. DCCLXXII. 'This Year died *Milred* the Bishop.] *Florence* says, he was Bishop of the *Wiccii*, (that is, of the Diocese of *Worcester*.) and was in great Reputation for his Sanctity.

Anno Dom. DCCLXXIII. This Year *Albert*, Arch-Bishop of *Tork*, received his Pall from Pope *Adrian*, as *Simeon* informs us.

Anno Dom. DCCLXXIV. 'This Year the *Northumbrians* expelled their King *Alfred* from *Tork* about *Easter*, and chose *Ethelred*, the Son of *Moll*, (once King,) for their Lord: He reigned 4 Years.

Of which Transaction, *Roger Hoveden* gives us this particular Relation; That King *Alfred* being deposed by the Common-Council, and Consent of his own Subjects, and forsaken of all his Great Men, was forced to retire first to the City of *Bebban*, (afterwards called *Banbarough-Castle*,) from whence he betook himself to *Cynoth*, King of the *Picts*, with but very few Followers.

'The same Year also appeared a Red Cross in the Heavens after Sunset, and the *Mercians* and *Kentish-men* fought at *Ottanford* (now *Oxford*) in *Kent*.] But neither the *Saxon Annals*, nor any other, vouchsafe to tell us what was the Quarrel, nor who were the Commanders on either side, nor yet what was the Success. 'Also strange Serpents were seen in the Province of the *South Saxons*.] *Mat. Westminster* places this Prodigy two Years after, and says, They seemed to creep out of the Earth.

Anno Dom. DCCLXXV. 'This Year *Cynwulf*, King of the *West Saxons*, and *Offa*, King of the *Mercians*, fought at *Binsington* (now *Bensington*) in *Oxfordshire*, but *Offa* took the Town:] So it seems *Cynwulf* had the worst of it. Here follows in the *Peterburgh Copy* another Relation concerning that Abbey, which is thus: That

'In the Reign of King *Offa* there was a certain Abbot of *Medeshamsted*, called *Beonna*, who, with the Consent of the Monks of his Monastery, leased out to *Cuthbriht* the Ealderman, *X. Bonde-land* (that is, the Ground of ten Bond-men, or Villains,) at *Swineshead*, with the Meadows and Pastures, and all other Things thereunto belonging; upon this Condition, That *Cuthbriht* should pay the Abbot Fifty Pounds, and one Night's Entertainment every Year, or else Thirty Shillings in Money; and that after his Death the Lands should again revert to the Monastery: To which Grant, King *Offa*, King *Egferth*, Arch Bishop *Higebert*, the Bishop *Ceolwulf*, the Bishop *Inwona*, with *Beon* the Abbot, and many other Bishops, Abbots, and Great Men, were Witnesses. I have inserted this Passage, tho it does not relate to the Civil History of these Times, because it is the first Example of a Lease of this kind, and seems to have been done in a great Council of the Kingdom, where these Kings were present, which was then necessary for such a Grant.

'Also in the time of this King *Offa*, (as the *Peterburgh Copies* relate,) there was a certain Ealderman, called *Brordan*, who desired of the King, That for his sake he would free a certain Monastery of his, called *Wocingas*, because he intended to give it to *St. Peter*, and to the Church of

'of *Medeshamsted*, one *Pusa* being then Abbot of it: This *Pusa* succeeded *Beonna*, and the King loved him very well; wherefore he freed the Church of *Wocingas* by the King's consent with that of the Bishop, Earls, and all other Men's consents; so that no body should from thenceforth have any duty or Tribute besides, *St. Peter* and the Abbot; this was done in the King's Town, called *Freoricburne*.

'*Pchtwin*, Bishop of *Witerne* (called in Latin *Candida Casa*) deceased XIII. Kal. Octob. he was Bishop Fourteen Years, and had been bred under *Aldhelm*, that Pious Bishop of *Winchester*; and the same Year *Ethelbert* was consecrated Bishop of that See at *Tork*, XVII. Kal. Junii.

This Year (according to the *Welsh Chronicle*) the *South-Welshmen* destroyed great part of *Mercia* with Fire and Sword: As also

The Summer following, all the *Welshmen*, both of *North* and *South-Wales*, gathered themselves together, and, Invading the Kingdom of *Mercia*, made great spoil, by burning, and plundering the Country; whereupon King *Offa* was forced to make Peace with the other *Saxon* Kings, and to bend his whole Forces against the *Welsh* Men, who not being able to encounter so great a strength as he then brought against them; were forced to quit all the plain Country, between the Rivers of *Severne* and *Wye*, and retired into the Mountains; whereupon *Offa* perceiving this, seized upon all the Country, and planted *Saxons* in their places; and annexing it to his own Kingdom, caused that famous Ditch, or Trench, to be made from Sea to Sea, betwixt his Kingdom and *Wales*, whereby he might the better defend his Country from the Incursions of the *Welsh* hereafter: This Ditch is seen at this day in divers places, and is called in *Welsh*, *Clawd Offa*, (i.e.) *Offa's Ditch*.

'This Year *Ethelbald* and *Harbert*, kill'd Three chief *Gerifs* or Governors, *Ealdwulf* the Son of *Bosa* at *Cyningselife*, (i.e.) *Kings Cliffe*; and *Cynwulf* and *Ecga* at *Helathyrn*, XI. Kal. Aprilis; then *Alfwold* took the Kingdom, (*Ethelred* being Expel'd the Land,) and Reigned Ten Years.

But *H. Huntington*, and *Simeon of Durham*, gives us a more exact account of this Matter; that *Ethelred*, King of *Northumberland*, having caused Three of his Nobles, *Aldwulf*, *Kinwulf*, and *Ecga*, to be treacherously slain by two of the same rank; The Year following his Subjects Rebelling against him, they first slew *Aldwulf*, General of the King's Army, in Flight at the place above mentioned, as they also did the two other Commanders in the same manner; so that King *Ethelred's* Captains being all slain, and his hopes as well as his Forces defeated, he was forced to flee into another Country, and so *Elfwald* the Son of *Osulf* succeeded him, tho not without Civil Broils: He was a Just and Pious Prince; yet could not escape the hard Fate of his Predecessors, as you will see in due time

'The same Year, (as the *Laudean Copy* relates,) King *Charles* entred *Spain*, and destroyed the Citties of *Pampelona*, and *Cesar Augusta*, (now called *Saragosa*.) and having joined his Army, subdued the *Saracens*, and received Hostages from them; and then returned by *Narbon* and *Gascony* into *France*.

'This Year the chief *Gerifs* or Governors of *Northumberland*, burnt *Beorne* the Ealderman in *Selctune*; 19 Kal. Januarij.

Roger Hoveden, calls these *Gerifs*, *Osbald*, and *Ethelheard*, and *H. Huntington* says, They burnt this Ealderman, or Chief Justice of the Kingdom,

Anno Dom. Kingdom, because he was more Rigid and Severe, than in Reason he ought to have been.

The same Year the Ancient Saxons and Franks fought against each other, in which Battle, Charles King of the Franks gained the Victory, having wasted the Saxon Territories with Fire and Sword, and laid them to his own Dominions; as not only our own, but the French Historians relate.

Also, Bishop Æthelheard dyed at York, and Eanbald was consecrated to the same See; and Cynebald the Bishop resigned his See at Lindisfarne, and Alchmund Bishop of Hagulfstead deceased, 7th Id. Sept. and Higbert was consecrated in his stead, the 6th of the Nones of Octob. as likewise Higbald was consecrated at Saccabrig to be Bishop of Lindisfarne. Also King Alnold sent to Rome, to demand the Pall for Eanbald, Arch-Bishop of York.

This Year Werburgh, the Wife of King Ceolred (late King of the Mercians,) deceased, (at her Nunnery of Chester, where she was Abbess, and where the Church is dedicated to her Memory:) also Cenwulf Bishop of Lindisfarne died; there was likewise now a Synod at Alesca. But under what King this Council was held, or whereabouts the place is, or what Decrees were there made, our Histories are altogether silent in, but Sir H. Spelman, in his * first Volume of Councils, supposes it to have been at a place of that Name, in the Bishoprick of Durham, where there are two places so called, the one Alesca, and the other Scola Alesca.

This Year, Cyneheard slew Cenwulf, King of the West-Saxons, but Cyneheard himself was there slain, and Eighty Four Men with him: but these Annals in the beginning of this King's Reign, under Anno Dom. DCCLV. have given us a full account of this King's unfortunate end, which I rather chuse to insert in its proper place, and was thus; ' That he endeavouring to Expel Cyneheard (Brother to the late King Sigebert out of the Kingdom;) in the mean time when he knew that the King with a small Company was gone to Merinton, (now called Merton in Surrey,) to visit a certain Woman, he there besieged him, and beset the Chamber where he was, before the King's Attendants could know any thing of it; which, as soon as the King perceived, he got out of Doors, and Manfully defended himself; but all of them assailing the King at once, they in the end slew him, (tho as Florence relates, he first forely wounded Cyneheard;) but when the King's Thanes, who were then in the same House, heard the noise, they all ran thither as fast as they could get themselves ready; but Cyneheard Ætheling promised them great Rewards, and Pardon, if they would take his part, which none of them would agree to, but presently all fought against him, till they were all kill'd, except one British Hostage, who was grievously wounded; but the next morning the King's Thanes that remained at home, coming to know that he was kill'd, (viz.) Offic, the Ealderman, and Wiverth his Thane, and all those whom he had left behind him, they all camethither on Horseback, and when they found Cyneheard Ætheling in the Town, where the King lay dead, and having the doors fast locked upon them, as they approached and endeavoured to break in; Cyneheard promised to grant them all their Liberties, and all their Lands and Goods, with great Riches and Honours, if they would deliver up the Kingdom to him peaceably; telling them moreover, That he had some of their Kinsmen with him, who would never desert him; but

but they answered, That none of their Relations were dearer to them than their own Lord, and they would never obey his Murderers; and they then farther told their Kinsmen, That if they would leave their Leader, they should all be safe, from whom they also received this Answer, That the like had been already promised to those who were of the King's Party; and said, That as they then refused their promise, so themselves should now refuse the like from them, then they fought at the Gates until they were broken open, and the Conspirators forced to retire within them, but there Cyneard Ætheling was slain, and all those that were with him, except one, who was the Ealderman's Godson, to whom, being grievously wounded, he granted his Life. This King Cenwulf Reigned One and Thirty Years, and his Body lyes buried at Wintencester, but that of the Ætheling at Axanmister, (now Axminster in Devon-shire,) being both of them descended from Cerdic, the first King of that Kingdom.

This same Year also, Brihtic began his Reign over the West-Saxons, whose Body lyes buried at Werham, and he was also descended from Cerdic in a right Line. In those times King Ælmond Reigned in Kent; he was the Father of King Egbert, and Egbert was the Father of Athulf, (or Athelwulf.)

But the Authour of these Annals is here mistaken, for tho one Ælmond was Father of King Egbert, yet was there never any of that Name King of Kent.

Bothwin, Abbot of Ripun, deceased this Year, and the same Year was held that troublesome Synod at Cealchythe, where Arch-Bishop Janbryht lost part of his Province to the See of Litchfield; also Higebryht was this Year chosen Arch-Bishop of Litchfield, by King Offa, and Egbert his Son, was anointed King with him; and in those times there were Legates sent from Pope Adrian to renew the Faith, which had been sent us by Augustine.

Note, the Pope had before granted the Pall to Litchfield, and thereby made it an Arch-Bishoprick, but it was not till the following Year confirmed in a general Synod of the Kingdom.

This Year that great Synod, or Council of Calcuith (above mentioned) was held by Gregory, Bishop of Ostia, and Theophilact, Bishop of Indertum, (then the Pope's Legates in England;) at which were also present Offa, King of the Mercians, and Cenwulf, King of the West-Saxons; where not only the Nicene Creed was again received, and confirm'd, as also the Seven first General Councils; but many Canons were made concerning Matters of Religion, and Ecclesiastical Discipline; of all which I shall here recite some that I think proper.

The second of these Decrees is, That Baptism be performed at the times appointed by the former Canons of the Church, and no other; and that all Men in general learn the Creed and the Lord's Prayer; that God-fathers shall be answerable for those Children for whom they stand, till they come to Years capable of learning the Creed and the Lord's Prayer.

The twelfth Canon is, That in the Election or Ordination of Kings, no Man should permit the Assent or Vote of Evil Men to prevail; but Kings shall be Lawfully Elected by the Clergy and Elders of the People, not begot of Adultery or Incest; because, as in our times, an Adulterer according to the Canons cannot arrive to the Priest-hood, so neither can he be the Lord's Anointed, and the Heir of his Country,

H h

and

Anno Dom.
DCCLXXXII.Anno Dom.
DCCLXXXV.Anno Dom.
DCCXXXVI.
Vid. Spelman's
Council. vol. 1

Anno Dom. and King of the whole Kingdom, who is not begot of Lawful Matrimony. The rest of it is for rendering Honour and Obedience to Kings, *DCCLXXXVI.* without speaking Evil of them, and the chief Texts out of *St. Peter* and *St. Paul*, are cited to that purpose. It is also there forbid; That any Man should conspire the Death of the King, because he is the *Lord's Anointed*; and if any shall be guilty of that wickedness, if he be a Bishop or one in Priest's Orders, he shall be deprived, as *Judas* was cast out from his Apostleship: There is also here likewise cited out of Scripture several examples of those that have been punished either for conspiring the Death of Kings, or having actually kill'd them.

The Sixteenth Canon is, That Bastards, and those begotten of Nuns, shall not inherit, which is the first Decree we find of this kind.

The Seventeenth Canon is, That Tythes shall be paid according to the Scriptures, *viz.* *Thou shalt bring the Tenth part of all thy increase, when thou bringest thy first fruits into the House of the Lord thy God*; there is likewise cited the Text in *Malachi Chap. 3.* concerning the paying of Tythes, and therefore, says the Canon, we exhort all Men, that they pay Tythes of whatsoever they possess; because it is God's special Commandment, that every Man live, and give Alms of the other 9 parts.

Whence you may observe, that as this is the first Decree of any Council in *England*, concerning payment of Tythes, so also is it hereby declared that they are due by Divine Right.

The Nineteenth Decree is, against Mens observing any Pagan Rites, and particularly of making marks and scars in any part of their Bodies for any false God. There are also other Decrees which seem very trivial, as against cutting off Horses Ears, or Tails, and slitting their Noses; as also against eating Horse-flesh, which it seems was then much in fashion amongst the Common sort of People; as also against casting of Lots for the deciding of Civil Controversies.

It also here appears by the Address of the Pope's Legates, made to him at the end of this Council, that there were two distinct Sessions of it; the first was held before King *Ælfwald*, and Arch Bishop *Eanbald*; and all the Bishops belonging to the *Northumbrian* Kingdom; as also all the Senators, Ealdermen, and People of that Country, who when these Decrees were proposed to them, did all of them with great devotion promise to observe them, and subscribed them with the Sign of the Cross. Then follow the subscriptions of the King, the Arch-Bishop of *Tork*, and the rest of the Bishops of that Province; after them follow also the Subscriptions of the Presbyters and Deacons of Churches, Judges, Chief and Noble Men, some of whom do there subscribe for all the rest.

Where this Council was held for the Kingdom of *Northumberland* is uncertain; but the second Session of it was held at *Calcuith*, now supposed to be in the Kingdom of *Mercia*, which, as also in the conclusion of this Council, it is thus recited; 'King *Offa* with all the Senators of his Kingdom, with *Janbryht*, Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*, and the other Bishops of that Province, the same Decrees being read before the Council, as well in *Latin* as in *Saxon*, so that all might understand them, they all agreed with one accord to observe them; then follow the Subscriptions of King *Offa*, and the Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*, with divers of the Nobles there present, who subscribed in the name of all the rest.

But *Will.* of *Malmesbury* in his First Book, *de Pontif.* hath given us a further account of the Acts of this Council, than what are expressed in the Canons themselves; *viz.* That in this Council, Arch-bishop *Janbryht* was forced to resign part of his Province to the Bishop of *Litchfield*, who thereby became an Arch-Bishop; so that there remained no more Bishops under the Jurisdiction of the Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*, but those of *London*, *Winchester*, *Rochester*, and *Shireburne*: But tho' it had been obtained by King *Offa* from the Pope by great importunity, and false suggestions, that Arch-Bishop *Janbryht* should be thus deprived of his Primacy; yet was it not counted of any force till it was confirmed in a great Council, and that the Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury* himself had consented to it.

The same Author further adds, That also in this Council, *Offa* the most potent King of the *Mercians*, did then cause his Eldest Son *Egfred*, a Comely and Valiant Young Man, and endued with all good Qualities; to be solemnly Crowned King; who obeying his Father in all things, Reigned together with him so long as he lived.

But it is very observable, that neither *Alrich*, then King of *Kent*, nor any of his Deputies, did appear at this Council; for which I can give no other Reason, than that this King did not approve of the Removal of the chief Archiepiscopal See from *Canterbury* in his own Dominions, to *Litchfield* in another Prince's Territories.

But as *Will.* of *Malmesbury* observes, This Violence done to the See of *Canterbury*, tho' it lasted all the Reign of King *Offa*, and also during the Life-time of Arch-Bishop *Janbryht*, who spared neither cost nor pains to get his See restored to its Ancient Dignity; yet was it all to no purpose, till such time as *Kenwulf*, King of the *Mercians*, restored the Arch-Bishoprick of *Canterbury* to its former Rights, *Litchfield* becoming again an ordinary Bishoprick, subject to the See of *Canterbury* to this day; having continued an Arch-Bishoprick only during the times of two Arch-Bishops, *viz.* for the space of about Eleven Years. But it is time to return to Civil Affairs.

The same Year (as *H. Huntingdon* relates) the Sign of the Cross appeared, of it self upon Mens Cloaths, which (if true) is wonderful to future Ages.

King *Brithric* now married *Eadburghe*, the Daughter of King *Offa*, which was done (as *Will.* of *Malmesbury* relates) to strengthen his Interest with his Neighbouring Princes; also about those times (as *Ethelwerd*, and the *Saxon Annals* inform us,) arrived in the *West* Country three Ships of *Danes*; or *Norwegians*, from *Herethaland*; (that is, the Country of *Pyrates*;) these landing, the King's Gens. or Officer coming thither on Horseback endeavoured to carry them to the King's Town (of *Dorchester*;) because he knew not from whence they came; but he was there slain with those that attended on him; after which great Multitudes of People flocking in, the *Danes* were at last forced to Flee to their Ships, and leave their prey behind them; these were the first *Danish* Ships that ever infested the *English* Nation.

Where Note, That the same People who are first called *Normans* in the *Saxon Annals*, are there also named *Danes* in other places; which shews, that the *Danes* and *Normans* were then looked upon to be one and the same People.

Anno Dom.
DCCCLXXXV.

This Year there was a general Synod assembled at *Pyncanbale*, or *Finkenbale*, (now *Finkley* in the Bishoprick of *Durham*, then part of the Kingdom of *Northumberland*) where *Eanbald* Arch-Bishop of *Tork* presided: whose Decrees you may see in Sir *H. Spelman's* 1 Vol. of Councils; but its constitutions being wholly about Ecclesiastical Discipline, and the right observation of *Easter*, it is beside my purpose to take any further notice of them.

This Year also, (according to the Annals) *Albert* the Abbot deceased; and King *Charles* passed through *Almany*, to the very Borders of *Bavaria*, (as the Latin Text of the *Laudan* Copy relates.)

Anno Dom.
DCCCLXXXIX.

Alfwold, King of *Northumberland*, was slain by one *Siege* on the IX. Kal. Octob.

This King is said by *Simon* of *Durham*, and *Roger Hoveden*, to have been a very Just and Worthy Prince, and that he was Slain by the Treachery of this *Siege*, who was one of his chief Noblemen, and being Murthered at *Cilicaster*, (near the *Pict's* Wall,) there was frequently seen a Light from Heaven over the Place, where he was Slain: He was buried in the Cathedral Church of *Hagulstad*, with great Solemnity, and there was afterwards a Church built in the Place where he was killed: and *Ofred*, the Son of *Alfred*, Reigned after him, who was the Nephew of King *Alfwold*: There was also at this time another Synod held at *Aclea*.

The same Year likewise (according to *Mat. Westminster*.) *Offa*, King of the *Mercians*, fought against *Kenwulf*, King of the *West-Saxons*, at the Siege of *Benington* Castle: But *Kenwulf* being worsted was forced to flee, and so *Offa* took the Cattle.

Anno Dom.
DCCXC.

Now *Janeryht* the Archbishop deceased, and *Ethelheard* the Abbot was elected Arch-bishop. Also *Ofred*, King of the *Northumbers*, was betray'd, and driven out of his Kingdom; and *Ethelred*, the Son of *Ethelwald* (Sir-named *Mull*), reigned after him, or rather was again restored to the Kingdom, having reigned there before, as hath been already shewn.

But *Simon* of *Durham* adds farther, that this *Ofred*, the late King of this Kingdom, having been also shaven a Monk against his Will, escaped again out of the Monastery, into the *Isle of Man*. But the next Year,

Anno Dom.
DCCXCI.

As *Simon* relates, *Oelf* and *Oelfwin*, Sons of *Alfwold*, formerly King of *Northumberland*, were drawn by fair Promises from the Principal Church of *Tork*, and afterwards, at the Command of King *Ethelred*, cruelly put to Death at *Wonnalderemere*, a Village by the great Pool in *Lancashire*, (now called *Winanderemere*.)

Also about this time, (according to the same Author,) one *Eardulf*, an Earl, being taken and brought to *Ripon*, was there Sentenced by the said King to be put to Death, without the Gate of the Monastery; whose Body, when the Monks had carried to the Church, with solemn Dirges, and placed under a Pavilion, was about Midnight found alive. But this Relation is very imperfect, for it neither tells us how he escaped Death; nor how he was conveyed away, though we find him five Years after this made King of *Northumberland*.

This Year (as *Simon* of *Durham* and *Mat. Westminster* relate,) *Charles* King of *France* sent certain Synodal Decrees into *England*; in which alas! (for with great Grief, our Author speaks it) were found many inconvenient things, and altogether contrary to the true Faith: For it had been decreed in a Council at *Constantinople*, by more than Three Hundred Bishops,

shops, that Images ought to be adored, which the Church of God does (say they) wholly abominate.

Then *Alcuin*, (that is our *Alcuin*), wrote an Epistle, wherein he proved it by the Authority of the Holy Scriptures to be utterly Unlawful; and this he offered, together with the Book it self, to the King of *France*, on the behalf of all our Bishops and Great Men; and this Letter of *Alcuin* is thought to have wrought such an effect on the Synod of *Francfort*, assembled about two Years after, that the Worship of Images was therein solemnly condemned.

From which it is evident, that Image-Worship, as now practised in the Greek and Roman Churches, was not then received in *England*.

And this Year also, according to the same Author, *Ofred*, late King of *Northumberland*, being deceived by the Oaths of some great Men, returned privately from the *Isle of Man*; when, his Souldiers deserting him, and being taken Prisoner by King *Ethelred*, he was by his Command put to Death, at a Place called *Aynsburg*; but his Body was buried at the famous Monastery at the mouth of *Tine*; and the same Year King *Ethelred* betrothed *Elfrida* the Daughter of King *Offa*.

In whom also there was found as little Faith as Mercy; for this Year, according to our Annals, *Will.* of *Malmesbury*, and *Mat. Westminster*; *Ethelbert*, the Son of *Ethelred*, King of the *East-Angles*, notwithstanding the dissuasions of his Mother, going to the Court of King *Offa*, in order to Wooe his Daughter, was there slain, by the wicked Instigations of Queen *Quendrih*; so that out of an Ambition to seize his Kingdom, *Offa* was persuaded to make him away; but by what means it is not agreed: The Annals relate him to have been beheaded.

But the same Annals, and *Florence* of *Worcester* agree, That his Body was buried (in the Monastery) at *Tinmouth*. But the Chronicle ascribed to Abbot *Bromton*, as also *Mat. Westminster*, have given us long and Legendary Accounts of the Death of this Prince; and the latter of these, as well as other Monks, who were favourers of this King *Offa*, would have this Murther to be committed without this King's knowledge; and *Mat. Westminster* has a long Story about it, but not at all probable, especially since the King was so well pleased with the Fact when it was done, that he presently seized the Kingdom of this poor Murthered Prince, and added it to his own Dominions.

This Year, (as *Mat. Paris*, and his Namesake of *Westminster* relate,) King *Offa* was warned by an Angel to remove the Reliques of *St. Alban* into a more noble Shrine; and so either for this cause, or else (which is more likely) to expiate the several Murthers he had committed, began to build a new Church and Monastery in honour of *St. Alban*; and thither removing his Bones, into a Silver Shrine all gilt and adorned with precious Stones, he placed them in the new Church that he had built without the Town: where (as the Monks pretended) they wrought great Miracles.

This King having made a journey on purpose to *Rome*, obtained of Pope *Adrian* to have him Canonized: King *Offa* also conferred upon this Monastery very great Privileges, and vast Possessions, all which he confirmed by his Charter, which you may find in the first Volume of *Monast. Anglic.* as that also, *Anno Dom.* 1154. One *Nicholas* having been first a Servant in this Abbey, and afterwards was Bishop of *Alba*, Elected Pope by the Name of *Adrian IV*: he by his Bull ordained, that, as *St. Alban* was

Anno Dom.
D CCXCI.Vid. Sir H.
Spelman's
Annals, 1. vol.
p. 307.Anno Dom.
DCCXCII.Anno Dom.
DCCXCIII.

P. 175.

Anno Dom. was the first Martyr of England, so this Abbot should be the first in DCCXCIII Dignity of all the Abbots in England; and Pope Honorius did by a Bull in the Year 1118, not only ratify all the Privileges made and confirmed by former Popes; but also granted to the Abbot and his Successors Episcopal Rights, together with the Habit; and that he and his Monks should be exempt from all Jurisdiction to the Bishop of Lincoln, with other Exemptions too long here to be set down.

Also this Year there appeared strange Prodigies in the Country of Northumberland, which mightily terrified the People of that Province; (viz.) immoderate Lightnings; there were also seen Meteors like fiery Dragons, flying in the Air; after which signs followed a cruel Famine; and a little after, the same Year (6^o Idus Jan.) certain Heathens (i. e. Danes) miserably destroyed the Church of God in Lindisfarne, committing great Spoils and Murthers. *Simon of Durham* says, These Danes not only pillaged that Monastery, but killing divers of the Friars, carried away the rest Captive, sparing neither Priests nor Laymen. This Year also *Siega* died; he who killed the good King *Alfwold*, who now (as *Roger Hoveden* relates) slew himself.

And the same Year, (according to *Florence of Worcester*), *Ethelard* was ordained Arch-Bishop of York; and (as *Simon of Durham* relates) the same Year died *Abrie*, Third Son to *Withred*, King of Kent, after a long Reign of Thirty Four Years; in whom ended the Race of *Hengist*: Thenceforth, (as *Will. of Malmesbury* observes,) whomsoever Wealth or Faction advanced, took on him the Title of King of that Province.

Anno Dom. DCCXCIV. This Year both Pope *Adrian*, and *Offa*, King of the Mercians, departed this Life; the latter after he had Reigned Forty Years.

Yet notwithstanding the Printed Copies of the Saxon Annals, have placed this King's Death under this Year: Yet the rest of the Copies do not agree with this Account; for the *Laudan* Manuscript Copy, in the Bodleian Library places this King's Death in *Anno Dom.* 896; and that with greater Truth; for first Pope *Adrian* above-mentioned died not till Two Years after the time here specified. And, it appears farther in a Letter written by the Emperour *Charles the Great*, to this King *Offa*; and which is recited at large by *William of Malmesbury*, in his Life of this King, that Pope *Adrian* was dead sometime before the date of that Letter: viz. *Anno Dom.* 796; Tho it is certain, King *Offa* did not survive long after.

I thought to give the Reader notice of this, because it puts the Death of this King, and the Succession of all his Successors, just Two Years later than the common Printed Accounts: But whenever this King here died, he is said by *William of Malmesbury* to have been buried in a Chapel at *Bædforz*, near the River *Onse*; whose frequent Inundations had in his time, carried away both the Chapel, and the Tomb into the River: So that it could not be seen, unless sometimes by those who walked themselves in that River.

This Prince is also described by the same Author, to have had so great a Mixture of Vertues and Vices, that he does not know well what Character to give him: The Reason that so confounded him, was, That tho he was a Cruel and Perfidious Prince, yet he built the Monastery of St. *Alban* (as you have heard,) but for all that he cannot give him many good words, because he took away abundance of good Farms from his Abbey. This seems to have been the first of our English Saxon Kings, who maintained any great correspondence with Foreign Princes: for tho he

had

had first great Enmity with *Charles the Great*, which proceeded so far, as *Anno Dom.* DCCXCIV to the interdicting of all Commerce, yet at last it was changed into as much Amity; so that a firm League was made between them, as appears by a Letter of the said *Charles* to *Offa*, extant in *William of Malmesbury*; in which also is mentioned, that he sent him many Noble Presents. Also he granted (saith *Henry Huntingdon*) a perpetual Tribute to the Pope out of every House in his Kingdom; and this, perhaps, for his consenting to translate the Primacy from *Canterbury* to *Litchfield* in his own Dominions. He also drew a Trench of a wondrous length between *Mercia* and the British or Welsh Territories, thereby to hinder the IncurSIONS of the Welsh-men, called to this day in the Welsh Tongue *Clandh Offa*, (i. e.) *Offa's Dike*.

But from the Grant of the above-mention'd Pension, some Men of different Persuasions have drawn as different Consequences. *Pol. Virgil*, and divers of the Romish Writers, have from thence concluded, That King *Offa*, by this Act, made his Kingdom Tributary to the Pope; whereas indeed it was no such Thing, for it had been also granted by King *Ina* long before, (as hath been already observed,) for the Kingdom of the West Saxons; whose Example King *Offa* seemed now to follow, and indeed was no more than a Voluntary Annual Alms, or Benevolence, as it is expressly called in our Saxon Annals, as shall be shewn further hereafter.

This is also urged by some high Promoters of the Royal Prerogative, to prove this King's unlimited Power in Ecclesiastical, as well as Civil Matters; since He (as they suppose) could, without the Consent of the Great Council of the Kingdom, charge all the Houses in his Dominions to pay, each of them, one Penny to the Pope: But this, if it be closely looked into, will prove a Mistake; for tho it be true, that upon King *Offa's* going to Rome, he is said to have granted this Alms, called *Rome's Scot*, or *Peter-pence*, to the Pope, yet *Anno* 794, immediately upon his Return, you will find in Sir *H. Spelman's* Councils, he called a Great Council at *Verulam*, (now St. *Alban's*.) where this Tribute might be confirmed by the Consent of the Estates of his Kingdom: Nor is the Silence of our Histories, or of the Acts of this Council it self, any material Argument to the contrary, since that Law might be lost, or omitted, by which it was confirmed, as well as several other Councils of that Age; there being no more mention made of this King's Confirmation of the Lands given to this Monastery in the great Council at *Verulam*, than what is cited in Sir *H. Spelman's* Councils out of a Manuscript History of St. *Alban's*, all the Acts of that Council being now lost. But to return to our Annals.

The same Year *Ethelred*, (who had been twice King of Northumberland,) was slain by his own People 13^o Kal. Maii, and that deservedly, (as *R. Hoveden* relates,) as having been the Death of King *Osred*, his Predecessour. After *Ethelred*, one *Osbald*, a Nobleman, was made King; but held the Throne but a small time, being deserted by his Subjects, and at last forced to flee the Kingdom, going by Sea from *Lindisfarne*, and then taking Refuge with the King of the *Picts*, there died an Abbot. Who was most in fault, in all these frequent Rebellions, and Changes of Kings among the Northumbrians, is hard to decide; since all the Annals, as well as Historians, are very short in their Relations of these Transactions; but it is certain, that the People, as well as Princes, must have suffered

much

Anno Dom. much by such frequent Revolutions. And it is also very well observed DCCXCIV. by *H. Huntington*, that these frequent Rebellions, and Expulsion of their Kings, proceeded in great part from the proud and turbulent Temper of the *Northumbrian Angles*.

The same Year, (according to our Annals,) Bishop *Ceolwulf*, and Bishop *Eadbald*, departed from the *Northumbrians*, and *Egfrith* (Son to *Offa*) began his Reign over the *Mercians*, and within a few Months after deceased, having scarce reigned half a Year. It is also further to be noted, That this Prince, being of great Hopes and Worth, had been crowned King 9 Years before, in his Father's Life-time, and after his Death restored to the Church whatever he had violently seized on; but before he died, he left the Crown to *Kenwulf*, the next of the Royal Line.

But the Monks do ascribe the short Reign of this good Prince, to his Father's Sins; but of these Things, it belongs not to us to determine.

Also this Year *Eadbert*, or *Ethelbert*, (Surnamed *Præn*.) began to Reign in *Kent*, and also *Ethelred* the *Ealcerman* deceased.

This Man had been a famous Commander in his time, but was then a Monk in the City of *Tork*; and now also, (according to the Annals,) the Heathen *Danes* destroyed *Northumberland*, and robbed the Monastery built by *Egbert*, which is at the Mouth of the River *Weri*; but there one of the *Danish* Captains was slain, and divers of their Ships destroyed by a Tempest, and many of their Men drowned; but some of them reaching the Shore, were presently slain at the Mouth of the same River.

But *Simon* of *Durham* imputes this to a Judgment inflicted on them by *St. Cuthbert*, for thus spoiling his Monastery.

Anno Dom. DCCXCV. The Moon was Eclipsed, 5° *Kal. Aprilis*, from the Cock crowing, till the Morning. *Eardwulf* also began to reign over *Northumberland* 1° *Idus Maii*, and was afterwards Consecrated, and placed on the Throne 7° *Kal. Junii*, at *Tork*, by *Eanbald* the Arch-Bishop, and by the Bishops *Ethelbert*, *Higba'd*, and *Baderulf*.

This *Eardwulf*, as *Florence* of *Worcester* informs us, was he, who 5 Years before had so strangely escaped Death at *Ripon*, after he had been carried out to be buried; but the Chronicle of *Mailtots* does here give great Light to the *Saxon Annals*; for it tells us, that now the *Northumbrians* murdered their King *Ethelred*, the Son of *Moll*; *Simeon* places it a Year after, but says, The Murder was committed on the 14th of the *Kalends* of *May*, at a Place called *Cobene*; but they both agree, that immediately after his Death, one *Osbald*, a Nobleman of that Country, was made King, but reigned only 27 Days; and that then being forsaken by the Chief Men of his Kingdom, he was driven into the Isle of *Lindisfarne* with a few Followers, from whence he fled by Sea to the King of the *Picts*, where he became a Monk: And thus *Eardwulf* reigned in his stead.

William of *Malmesbury* further adds, that *Alcuin*, writing to King *Offa*, tells him, That King *Charles*, so soon as he heard of this Murder of King *Ethelred* above-mentioned, and of the Perfidiousness of the *Northumbrian* Nation, not only stoppt the Gifts he was then sending, but falling into a Passion against them, called them a *perverse and perfidious Nation*, and worse than *Pagans*; so that if *Alcuin* had not interceded for them, he would have done them all the Mischief he could.

About

About this time also the *Welsh* Chronicles relate, there was a great Battle fought at *Ruthlan*, between the *Saxons* and the *Britains*; where *Caradoc ap Gwin*, King of *North Wales*, was slain. *Anno Dom.* DCCXCV.

But as *Dr. Pomet* observed, in his Notes upon *Caradoc's* Chronicle, in those Times there was no settled Government in *Wales*; therefore such as were Chief Lords of any Country there, are, in this History called *Kings*.

This Year died *Eanbald*, Arch-bishop of *Tork*, the 4th of the *Ides* of *August*, whose Body was there buried; also the same Year Bishop *Ceolwulf* died, and another *Eanbald* was Consecrated in his stead. This Year likewise *Cenwulf*, King of the *Mercians*, destroyed *Kent* to the Borders of *Mercia*, and took *Eadbert*, (or *Ethelbert*, Surnamed *Præn*.) and carried him Prisoner into *Mercia*, and there caused his Eyes to be put out, and his Hands to be cut off. Also *Ethelheard*, Arch-bishop of *Canterbury*, called a Synod; which, by the Command of Pope *Leo*, established and confirmed all those things relating to God's Church, which had been before constituted in the Reign of King *Withgar*; and then the Arch-bishop said thus. *I Ethelheard, Arch-bishop of Canterbury, with the Unanimous Consent of the whole Synod, and of the whole Body of all the Monasteries, to whom Exemption hath been granted of Old Times by Believers; in the Name of GOD, and by his fearful Judgments, (and, as I have received Command from Pope Leo,) do Decree, That for the future none shall presume to Elect themselves Governours amongst Lay-men over GOD's Heritage, but as it is contained in the Charter, (or Bulls,) which the Pope hath granted, or Holy Men, (to wit,) our Kings and Ancestors have ordained, concerning the Holy Monasteries, so let them remain inviolate, without any gain-saying; and if there be any one who shall refuse to obey this Command from GOD, the Pope, and Us, but shall despise it, and count it as nothing; let him know, that he shall give an Account of it before the Tribunal of GOD. And I Ethelheard the Arch-bishop, with Twelve Bishops, and Three and Twenty Abbots, do hereby establish and confirm this Decree with the Sign of the Cross.*

This Council, tho the Annals do not expressly mention it under that Title, is that great Council of *Becanceld*, placed in *Sir H. Spelman's* Collection, under *Anno* 798, being held under *Cenwulf*, King of the *Mercians*; *Ethelheard*, Arch-bishop of *Canterbury*, with 17 Bishops more, who all subscribed to this Decree, tho the Annals mention no more than 12 Bishops, to have been there.

This Year the *Romans* took Pope *Leo*, and cut out his Tongue, and put out his Eyes, and deposed him; but presently after (if it may be believed,) he could both see, and speak, by the help of GOD, as well as he could before; and was also restored to the Papacy (by the Emperor *Charles*.) Also *Eanbald*, the Arch-bishop of *Tork*, received the Pall, and *Ethelbert* Bishop of *Hagulfstad* deceased 3° *Kal. Nov.* *Anno Dom.* DCCXCVII.

This Year was a bloody Battle in the Province of *Northumberland*, in *Lent*-time, at *Wealage*, (now called *Whalie*) in *Lancashire*, where was slain *Alric*, the Son of *Hardbert*, and many others with him. *Anno Dom.* DCCXCVIII.

The occasion of which Civil War, *Simeon* of *Durham* hath thus given us, viz, That besides *Alric*, there were divers others in *Northumberland*, who had formerly conspired against King *Ethelred*, and now raising a Rebellion against *Eardwulf*, under *Wada* their Captain, after much slaughter on both sides at *Billangahoth*, near *Whalie* in *Lancashire*; the Conspirators being at last put to flight, King *Eardwulf* returned home

11

Victo-

Anno Dom. Victorious. The same Year *London* (according to the same Author,) *DCCXCIII.* with a great multitude of its Inhabitants, by a sudden Fire was Consumed.

And now (according both to *Simon of Durham*, and *Roger Hoveden*,) was held the Second Council of *Pinchinbale* in the Kingdom of *Northumberland*, under *Eanbald* Arch-bishop of *Tork*, and divers other Principal and Ecclesiastical Men, where many things were ordained for the Profit of GOD's Church, and of the *Northumbrian* Nation; as concerning the keeping *Easter*, and other Matters not particularly mentioned.

Tom. 1. p. 187.

The same Year also (according to *Monasticon Anglicanum*,) *Kenwulf*, King of the *Mercians*, founded a stately Abbey at *Winchelcomb* in *Glocestershire* for 300 Benedictine Monks, and when it was Dedicated in the Presence of *Wilfrid* Arch-bishop of *Canterbury*, and 13 other Bishops, he then set free before the High Altar, *Eadbert*, King of *Kent*, who was then his Prisoner of War.

But having before most cruelly put out his Eyes, and cut off his Hands, and disposed of his Kingdom to another, I doubt that Liberty proved but a small Satisfaction to this poor injured Prince. But such was the Superstitious Zeal of that Age, the Foundation of a Monastery was counted a sufficient Atonement to GOD, for whatsoever Cruelties or Injustice Princes hath then committed.

Anno Dom.

DCCXCIX.

'This Year *Ethelheard* the Arch-bishop, and *Cynebriht*, Bishop of the *West Saxons*, went to *Rome*, the latter to take the Habit of a Monk,) and Bishop *Alfwine* deceased at *Southburg*, (now *Suthury*,) in *Suffolk*, and was buried at *Domuc* (now *Dunwich*,) in the same County, (being then the Seat of that Bishoprick;) and *Tidfrith* was chosen in his Room. Also this Year, the Body of *St. Withurb* was found at *Lurham*, entire and uncorrupt, after she had been dead 55 Years.

And the same Year (according to *Roger Hoveden*,) *Oswald*, who had been before King of *Northumberland*, died an Abbot, and was buried in *Tork* Minster; and *Alred*, the Ealderman, who slew King *Ethelred*, was also killed by one *Thormond*, in Revenge of the Death of his Lord.

Anno Dom.

DCCC.

'Also the Moon was Eclipsed in the second Hour of the Night, 17th Kal. Feb. Also this Year *Beorhric*, (or *Brihtric*,) King of the *West Saxons*, deceased: As also *Worre* an Ealderman: Then also *Ecgberht* began to Reign over the *West Saxons*; and the same Day, (or Year, as *Florence* of *Worcester* hath it,) *Ethelmond*, Ealderman of *Wicon*, (that is *Worcestershire*,) pass'd the River *Severne* at *Cysepuresford*, (suppose to be *Hemsford* in *Glocestershire*,) and there met him *Wroxtan* the Ealdormen, with the *Wiltshire* Men who gained the Victory.

I cannot find in any Author the occasion of this Quarrel; only, that it was fought between these Earls, one of the *West Saxons*, and the other of the *Mercians*; but such Bickerings we often meet with in these Writers, and so related, are of no more use to Human Life, than to Chronicle the Skirmishes of Crows or Jack daws flocking together, and Fighting in Air.

The same Year is very remarkable, because (as our Annals relate,) 'Charles the Great was first made Emperour, and saluted *Augustus* by the Romans; he then condemned those to Death who had before outraged Pope *Leo*; but by the Pope's Intercession they were pardoned as to Life, and only banished; but Pope *Leo* himself anointed him Emperour.

* Dr. Powel's History.

Also this Year, according to the *Welsh* Chronicles, Publish'd by *Arthen*

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ap *Sisilt*, King of *Cardigan*; and *Run*, King of *Divet*; and *Cadel*, King of *Pomis*, all three died. *Anno Dom. DCCC.*

Now also (according to *Florence*, and *Simon*,) *Alchmuid*, Son to *Ethelred*, late King of *Northumberland*, being taken by the Guards of *K. Eardulf*, was by his Command slain; but without telling us any Reason why.

Also about this time, according to *Sir H. Spelman's* First Volume of Councils, was held the Third Council of *Cloveshoe*, under *Kenwulf*, King of the *Mercians*, and *Ethelherd*, or *Ethelhard*, Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*, with all the Bishops, Ealdermen, Abbots, and other Dignified Persons of that Province; in which few Things were transacted concerning the Faith, only the Lands of a certain Monastery, called *Cotham*, which had been given by *Ethelbald*, King of the *Mercians*, to the Monastery of *St. Saviour's* in *Canterbury*, and had been upon the Embezzeling the Deeds, unjustly taken away by King *Kenwulf*, but he now repenting of it, desired they should be restored; whereupon *Cynedriht*, his Daughter, then Abbess of that Monastery, gave the said Arch-Bishop other Lands in *Kent* there mentioned, in exchange for the same.

But since I am come to the Conclusion of this Period, I cannot omit giving you a fuller Account of the Character, and Death of *Brithric* King of the *West Saxons*, and of the Succession of *Egbert*, who afterwards became the Chief or Supreme King of this Kingdom, and to whom all those Kings that remained were forced to become Tributary.

As for King *Brithric*, he is noted by *Will. of Malmesbury* to have been more desirous of Peace, than War; and to that end, courted the Friendship of Foreign Princes, to have been easie to his Subjects in such Things as did not weaken his Government; yet being jealous of Prince *Egbert*, who afterwards succeeded him, he forced him to flee to King *Offa* for Refuge; but upon the coming of certain Ambassadors to Treat of a Marriage between King *Brithric*, and the Daughter of King *Offa*, he retired into *France*, till that King was made away by the means of his Wife *Eadburga*, the Daughter of King *Offa*; who having prepared a Cup of poisoned Wine for one of his Favourites whom she hated, the King, coming in by chance, tasted of it, and so pined away. After whose Death, *Asser*, in his Annals, relates, That when this Queen could live no longer among the *English*, (being so hated by them for her violent and wicked Actions,) she went into *France*, where she was kindly Entertained by *Charles* the Great, and there making that Emperour many great Presents, for which he bidding her chuse whom she would have for a Husband, himself, or his Son, she foolishly chose his Son; whereupon the Emperour laughing, said, *If thou hadst chosen me, thou shouldst have had my Son, but now thou shalt have neither*: (A just Return for her desiring to marry one so much younger than her self.) So the Emperour put her into a Monastery, where she lived for some Years as an Abbess; but being Expelled thence for her Incontinency, she wandred about with only one Servant, and begged her Bread in *Pavia* in *Italy*, till she died.

But as for *Egbert* above mentioned, when he had been for about three Years banished into *France*, where (as *William of Malmesbury* tells us) he polished the Roughness of his own Country Manners, the *French* Nation being at that time the most Civilized of any of those *Gothic* and *German* Nations, who had some Ages before (as hath been already related) settled themselves in this side of *Europe*: But upon the Death

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Anno Dom. of King *Brihtic*, without any Issue, (as the same Author relates,) he was recalled by the Nobility of the *West Saxon* Kingdom; and being there ordained King, reigned with great Glory and Honour, exceeding all the *English Saxon* Kings that went before him, as shall be declared in the ensuing Book.

But before I conclude this, I cannot forbear mentioning a Learned *English-man*, who flourished about this time, called *Alcuinus*, or *Albinus*; who, going into *France*, was in great Favour with *Charles* the Great, whom he taught the Liberal Arts, and by his means erected the University of *Paris*, where he read *Logic*, *Rhetoric*, and *Astronomy*; being the most Learned Man of all the *English-men* (if not of all others) in his Time. He died Abbot of *St. Martins* at *Tours*, which that King bestowed upon him. He wrote elegantly in Verse, as well as Prose, considering the Age he lived in; as appears by his Poem *De Pontificibus & Sanctis Ecclesie Eboracensis*, lately Published by the Reverend and Learned *Dr. Gale*, in his last Volume of *English* Historians.

So having arrived to the end of this Period, I shall in the next Book shew, how King *Egbert* obtained not only the Crown of the *West Saxon* Kingdom, but also the Supreme Dominion of the *English* Nation.

The End of the Fourth Book.

THIS CHART WILL BE THE
SECOND CHART APPEARING
AT THE END OF THIS FILM

THE
General History
OF
BRITAIN,
NOW CALLED
ENGLAND:

As well Ecclesiastical, as Civil.

BOOK V.

*From the beginning of the Reign of King EGBERT,
to that of King EDGAR; Being the space of
One Hundred Fifty Six Years and an Half.*

THE English Saxons having after their Conquest of so great a part of Britain, and the expulsion of the Natives into Wales and Cornwall, erected Seven (and if we reckon Deira and Bernicia as distinct, Eight) different Kingdoms in this part of our Island; that naturally followed, which always attends a Warlike People, can'ton'd out into many small independant principalities, viz. constant disputes about the borders of their respective Territories, or else a strife for the Mastery who should be Chief, and Domineer most over the rest: from whence (besides divers other accidental occasions of Quarrels) sprang Civil Wars, incident to neighbouring Nations, no ways divided but by Rivers or other less certain boundaries, which never ceased until what had been begun by King Egbert's Predecessours, was finish'd by himself, and his Successours, who at length united all those Kingdoms into one, to the lasting quiet and happiness of the English Nation; which to set forth shall be the subject of this present Period. For though there had been before Egbert many chief or Principal Kings (several of whom Bede, as also the Saxon Annals have mentioned) who by the sole power of their Arms succeeded each other in that Title, yet did it never so properly

properly belong to any one as to King *Egbert*, (with whose Reign we shall begin this Book;) since he was not satisfied as others had been before him, with the bare acknowledgments and submissions of the other remaining Kings; but having subdued most of them, he laid their Kingdoms to his own, leaving only those of the *Mercians*, *Northumbrians* and *East-Angles* to be held by their respective Princes as Tributaries to his Crown; in which state they continued, till the Invasion and Conquest of the *Danes* wholly swallowed up all those Principalities, and that after their expulsion by King *Alfred*, and his Son *Edward* the Elder, these Kingdoms became again united to the rest of their Dominions under the General name of *England*.

But since the Invasion of the *Danes*, also happened in the beginning of this Period, 'tis fit we say something of it, both as to its Causes, and Instruments by which it was performed; in the doing of which I shall make use of *H. Huntington's* words, in the Prologue to his Fifth Book, wherein he tells us, 'That the Invasion of the *Danes* was much the fiercest, and most cruel that ever was felt in this Island; for the *Romans* altho' they subdued *Britain* to their Empire, yet used their Victory with moderation, and made those they conquered partakers of the *Roman* Laws and Civility; and as for the Invasion of the *Picts* and *Scots* which followed the decay of the *Roman* Empire in *Britain*, though it fell severely upon the Northern Parts, yet was it not of any long continuance, or of any general extent, being soon stop'd by the more predominant Power and Valour of the *English-Saxons*; who (as you have already heard) conquering this Kingdom by degrees, though they drove out the ancient Inhabitants who refused to submit to them; yet we do not find, but that they spared the lives of all those that became their Vassals, and having Conquered the Country, they not only repaired the ancient Towns and Cities, but likewise built many new ones, and governed the Kingdom by their own Laws and Constitutions. Lastly, the *Normans*, who succeeded the *Danes* in subduing this Nation, yet granted not only Life and Liberty to the vanquished, but also permitted them the use of their ancient Laws and Customs; whereas the *Danes* wasted and spoiled this whole Island, for a long time together by frequent IncurSIONS, exempting no places Sacred or Prophane from Spoil or Ruin; so that sparing neither Age nor Sex, they seemed for a long time not so much to design the Conquest, as Destruction of the *English* Nation;] till at last King *Knut* obtaining the Crown of *England*, after the Death of King *Edmund* (Sir-named *Ironside*;) by restoring us ancient Laws and Liberties, made some amends for the continual spoils and depredations of himself and his Predecessors.

If therefore you do but consider the frequent Invasions of that Barbarous People, how they often landed in several places at once, thereby not only dividing the Forces of the *English-Saxons*, but also so distracting their Commanders, that they could not tell which way to March against them; you may hence observe (that next to the Providence, and Mercy of God,) nothing but the extraordinary Valour and Conduct of those Kings, whose Great and Noble Actions we shall here relate, could have preserved this Nation from being torally subdued long before; nor could they ever bring it under their Power, till they met with a Prince, who fell very short of his Ancestors, as well in Prudence and Valour, as (in the chiefest thing of all) the love of his Subjects.

But

But as for the causes, which provoked the wrath of God to bring this dreadful Judgment upon the *English* Nation, the same Author gives us this probable Account, viz. That in the Primitive Church of *England*, Religion shined with so great a Lustre, that divers Kings and Queens, together with many of the great Men and Bishops undertook Monastick Vows; (as you have already heard;) but in process of time all Virtue and Piety so far declined, that the *English-Saxons* suffered no Nation to exceed them in deceit, and all manner of wickedness; which chiefly appears in the precedent, as well as following History of the *Northumbrian* Kings; in which you will find, that all Orders and Degrees of Men were guilty of so great Treachery and Rebellion, that nothing was a greater disgrace than Piety and Innocence, which was looked upon as a just occasion to be made away; wherefore it was no wonder, if God thought fit to send upon them whole swarms of cruel Nations, which destroyed all before them, (to wit) the *Danes* or *Norwegians*, together with the *Swerdes* and *Vandals*.

These from the latter end of the Reign of King *Egbert*, to the beginning of the Reign of *William* the First, being above Two Hundred and Thirty Years, never gave this Island any long respite from their Invasions. So that it seems it was not the Nation of the *Danes* alone, (properly so called,) who were the cause of this Destruction, but a mixture of divers of these Northern Nations, who joining together, proposed at first to themselves no other design but Plunder and Spoil: But of this we shall speak more in due time; and shall now proceed in our History, where we left off in our last Book.

Egbert, the only surviving Prince of the Blood-Royal of the *West-Saxon* Kings, as great Nephew to *Ina*, by his Brother *Ine*, being arrived in *England*, was now ordained King; as *Ethelwerd* expressly terms his Election.

But since *Asher* in his *Annals*, places this King's coming to the Crown under Anno 802: as does *Simon* of *Durham*; and also, *Roger Howden*, from an Ancient piece of *Saxon* Chronologie, inserted at the beginning of the first Book of his first part; and this account being also proved by that great Master in Chronology, the now Lord Bishop of *Litchfield*, to be truer than that of the *Saxon* Annals, or *Ethelwerd*, by three Proofs, too long to be here inserted: I have made bold to put this King's coming to the Crown, two Years backward, than it is in the last Book, tho' I confess the former Account in the *Saxon* Annals, would have made a more exact Epoch.

Also about this time, as appears from the ancient Register of *St. Leonard's* Abbey in *Tork*; cited in *Monast. Anglican*, viz. That Anno Dom. 800, *Egbert* King of all *Britain*, in a Parliament at *Winchester*, by the consent of his People, changed the Name of this Kingdom, and commanded it to be called *England*.

Now, tho' by the word Parliament here used, it is certain that this Register was writ long after the Conquest; yet it might be transcribed from some more ancient Monument, since *Will.* of *Malmesbury* tells us of this King, (tho' without setting down the time,) that by the greatness of his Mind, he reduced all the Varieties of the *English* *Saxon* Kingdoms to one uniform Empire, or Dominion, which he called *England*; though others perhaps more truly refer it towards the latter end of his Reign, as you will find when we come to it.

This

This Year *Eardulf*, King of the *Northumbers* led his Army against *Kenulf*, King of *Mercia*, for harbouring his Enemies, who also gathering together a great Army, they approached to each other; when by the Advice of the Bishops and Noblemen of *England*, as also by the Intercession of the chief King of the *English*, (by whom is meant King *Egbert*; who then passed under that Title.) They agreed upon a lasting Peace, which was also confirmed by Oath, on both sides. This we find in *Simeon of Durham's History* of that Church, and in no other Authour.

Vid. Monast.
Angl. Tom.
4 p. 191.

About this time also, *St. Alburhe*, Sister to King *Egbert*, founded a Benedictine Nunnery at *Wilton*, which was long after rebuilt by King *Alfred*, and augmented by King *Edgar*, for Twenty Six Nuns, and an Abbeſs.

The same Year, the Moon was Eclipsed on the 13 *Kal. Jan.* and *Beormod*, was Consecrated Bishop of *Rocheſter*.

Anno Dom.
DCCCIII.

About this time, in Obedience to a Letter from Pope *Leo III.* (who at the desire of *Kenulf* King of the *Mercians*, had Two Years since restored the See of *Canterbury* to its ancient Primacy,) was held the Third Synod at *Cloveſhoe*, by Arch-bishop *Ethelward*, and 12 Bishops of his Province, whereby the See of *Canterbury* was not only restored to all its ancient Rights and Priviledges; but it was also forbid for all times to come, upon Pain of Damnation, (if not repented of,) for any Man to violate the Rights of that ancient See, and thereby to destroy the Unity of *Chriſt's* Holy Church; then follow the Subſcriptions of the Arch-bishop of *Canterbury*, and of 12 other Bishops of his Province, together with those of many Abbots and Presbyters, who never Subſcribed before, but without the Subſcriptions of the King, or any of the Lay Nobility: Which plainly shews it to have been a meer Ecclesiastical Synod, and no great Council of the Kingdom, as you may see at large in *Sir H. Spelman's 1 Vol. of Councils*, the Decree of which Synod also shews, that the Church of *England* did not then conceive the Authority of the People alone, sufficient to diſanul what had been solemnly Decreed in a great Council of the Kingdom, as was the Removal of the Primacy from *Canterbury* to *Litchfield*. The next Year,

Anno Dom.
DCCCIII.

According to our Annals, *Ethelbeard*, Arch-bishop of *Canterbury*, deceased, and *Wulfred* was consecrated Arch-bishop in his stead, and *Forther* the Abbot died. The same Year also,

Anno Dsm.
DCCCIV.

Deceased *Higbald* Bishop of *Lindisfarne*, 8° *Kal. Julii.* and *Egbert* was Consecrated to that See, 3° *Ides. Junii.* This Year, *Wulfred* the Arch bishop received his Pall.

Anno Dom.
DCCCIV.

Cuthred King of *Kent* deceased, as did also *Ceolbuh* the Abbeſs, and *Heabyrnt* the Ealdorman.

Anno Dom.
DCCCIV.

This *Cuthred* here mentioned, was (as *Will. of Malmesbury* informs us) he whom *Kenulph* King of the *Mercians* hath made King of *Kent*, instead of *Ethelbert*, called *Pren*.

Anno Dom.
DCCCVI.

This Year the Moon was Eclipsed on the *Kal. of September*, and *Eardulf*, King of the *Northumbers*, was driven from his Kingdom; and *Eanbryth* Bishop of *Hagulfſta* Deceased. Also this Year (2° *Non Junii.*) the sign of the Croſs was ſeen in the Moon upon *Wednesday* in the Morning; and the same Year, on the Third *Kal. Septemb.* a wonderful Circle was ſeen round the Sun.

This

This *Eardulf* above-mentioned is related by *Simeon of Durham* to have been the Son of *Eardulf*, the first of that Name, King of *Northumberland*, and after Ten Years Reign, to have been driven out by one *Ælfwold*, who Reigned Two Years in his stead. Anno Dom.
DCCCIV.

During these Confusions in the *Northumbrian* Kingdom, Arch-Bishop *Usher* with great probability supposes (in his *Antiquitat. Britan. Ecclef.*) that the *Picts* and *Scots* Conquered the Countries of *Galloway* and *Lothian*, as also those Countries called the *Lowlands* of *Scotland*, as far as the *Friſhs* of *Dunbritain* and *Edenburgh*. And that this City was also in the possession of the *English Saxons*, about an Hundred Years after this, I shall shew in due order of time; and that our Kings did long after maintain their claim to *Lothian* shall be further shewn, when I come to it: But that all the *Lowlands* of *Scotland*, as far as the *English Saxon* Tongue was spoken, were anciently part of the *Bernician* Kingdom, the *English* Language, as well as the Names of places, which are all *English Saxon* (and neither *Scottish* nor *Pictish*) do sufficiently make out.

The Sun was Eclipsed on the 7th *Kal. of August*, about the Fifth Hour of the Day. Anno Dom.
DCCCIV.

This Year (as *Sigebert* in his Chronicle relates) King *Eardulf* (above-mentioned) being expelled his Kingdom, and coming for Refuge to the Emperour *Charles* the Great, was by his Assistance restored thereunto; but since neither the *Saxon Annals*, nor *Florence*, nor yet any of our *English* Historians do mention it, I much doubt the Truth of this Relation; tho' it must be also acknowledged, that it is inserted in the ancient *French Annals* of that time, and recited that this King's Restitution was procured by the Intercession of the Pope's and Emperour's Legates, who were sent into *England* for that purpose. Anno Dom.
DCCCVIII.

This Year (according to *Mat. Westminster*) *Egbert*, King of the *West Saxons*, marching in an Hostile manner into *Cornwal*, absolutely subdued it, and added it to his own Kingdom, many being there slain on both sides.

The same Year also (according to *Caradoc's Chronicle*) *Run*, King of *Dyvet*, and *Cadhel*, King of *Powis*, deceased.

Charles the Emperour made Peace with *Nicephorus* Emperour of *Constantinople*. Anno Dom.
DCCCIX.

This Year also (according to the same *Caradoc*) *Elbode*, Arch-Bishop of *North Wales*. (i. e. of *St. Asaph*.) deceased, before whose Death was a great Eclipse of the Sun: But as the Reverend Lord Bishop of *Bangor*, in his Catalogue of the *Welsh* Kings, which he has been pleased to communicate to me, well observes, That Eclipse falling out Anno 810, the Bishops Death must do so likewise, and therefore in this the Chronicles must needs be mistaken.

Also (according to *Mat. Westminster*) *Ælfwold*, King of *Northumberland*, dying, *Earnred* succeeded him, and held it for 32 Years; which is also confirmed by *Simeon of Durham*, tho' this can by no means agree with the Chronicle of *Maitross*, which says, That *Eardulf* being expelled his Kingdom, it continued without any King for many Years; but *William* of *Malmesbury* makes this Anarchy to have begun from the murder of King *Ethered*, Anno 794, (as hath been already observed in the last Book,) and that this Confusion lasted for about 33 Years, during which time that Province became a Scorn to its Neighbours: But it seems they still had Kings, tho' very obscure, and but of small Account. H. B. Dur. Ec-
cles. col. 13.

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BUE

Anno Dom. But of greater certainty is that which *Mat. Westminster* relates under this Year, viz. That King *Egbert* subdued the Northern *Welsh-men*, and made them Tributary to him.

M. But it is wholly incredible what *Buchanan*, in his *Scottish History*, relates in the Year following, to wit, That *Achaius*, King of *Scots*, having reigned 32 Years, and had formerly aided (but in what Year of his Reign he tells us not) *Hungus*, King of the *Picts*, with 10000 *Scots* against one *Athelstan*, then waiting the *Pictish* Borders; and that *Hungus*, by the Aid of those *Scots*, and the Help of *St. Andrew* their Patron, in a Vision by Night, and the Appearance of a Cross by Day, routed the astonished *English*, and slew this *Athelstan* in Fight. But who this *Athelstan* was, I believe no Man knows; *Buchanan* supposes him to have been some *Danish* Commander, on whom King *Alured*, or *Alfred*, had bestowed *Northumberland*: Yet of this, I find no Foot-steps in our ancient Writers; and if any such Thing were done in the time of *Alfred*, it must be above 60 Years after, for King *Alfred* began not to Reign till *Anno 871*. And *John Fordun*, in his *Scottish History*, is also as much mistaken, making this *Athelstan* to be the Son of King *Ethelwulf*, who then governed the Northern Provinces under his Father, which also fails almost as much in point of time; this Prince *Athelstan* here mentioned being (as appears by the *Saxon Annals*) alive, and engaged in a Sea-Fight against the *Danes* above 40 Years after, as you will find in its due place set down. This *Athelstan* therefore, and this great Overthrow, seems rather to have been a meer Fancy of some idle Monk.

Anno Dom. And this Year, (according to *Mat. Westminster*,) as King *Egbert* had *DC.CXI.* the Year before subdued the *Welsh-men*, so (it seems upon some fresh Rebellion of theirs) he again entered their Borders, and laid them waste from North to South with Fire and Sword, and then returned home Victorious.

But notwithstanding the Wars the *Welsh* had from abroad, it seems they had also time enough for Civil Wars at home; for now (according to *Caradoc's Chronicle*) *Conan*, Prince of *Wales*, and his Brother *Howel*, could not agree, inasmuch that they tried the Matter by Battle, where *Howel* had the Victory; to which *Dr. Povel* hath here added this Observation.

That this *Howel*, the Brother of *Conan*, King or Prince of *North Wales*, did claim the Isle of *Mon*, or *Anglesey*, for part of his Father's Inheritance, which *Conan* refusing to give him, thereupon they fell at Variance, and consequently made War the one against the other.

And here (says he) I think fit to say somewhat of the old Custom and Tenure of *Wales*, from whence this Mischief grew, that is, the Division of the Father's Inheritance amongst all the Sons commonly called *Gavel kind*. *Gavel* is a *British* Term, signifying a *Hold*, because every one of the Sons did hold some portion of his Father's Lands, as his lawful Son and Successour. This was the Cause, not only of the Overthrow of all the ancient Nobility of *Wales*, (for by that means the Inheritance being continually divided and subdivided amongst the Children, and Children's Children, it was at length brought to nothing,) but also of much Bloodshed, unnatural Strife, and Contention amongst Brethren; as we have here an Example, and many others in this History. This kind of Partition is very good to plant and settle a Nation in a large Country, not inhabited, but in a populous Country already furnished with Inhabitants;

bitants; it is the utter Decay of great Families, and (as I said before) the cause of constant Strife and Debate. But some Years after, *Howel* gave his Brother *Conan* another Defeat, and slew a great many of his People.

Whereupon *Conan* levied an Army in the Year 817, and chased his Brother *Howel* out of the Isle of *Anglesey*, compelling him to flee into that of *Man*; and a little after died *Conan*, chief King of the *Britains*, or *Welsh-men*, leaving behind him a Daughter named *Eysyth*, who was married to a Nobleman, called *Mervyn Wrych*, the Son of *Gwriad*, who was afterwards King in her Right.

This Year also, as the Manuscript Annals of the Abbey of *Winchelcomb* relate, the Charter of this Monastery was granted by King *Kenulph*, as appears by a Copy there inserted; which shews, what Orders of Men were summoned by that King to be present at the Council, in which this Charter was confirmed, viz. *Merciorum optimates, Episcopos, Principes, Comites, Procuratores* &c. (i. e. *Regis*) *Propinquos*; which Terms having already been explained in the Introduction to this Book, I need not here repeat. There were also present *Cuthred* King of *Kent*, his tributary, and *Suthred* King of the *East-Saxons*, with all others, who should be present at those Synodal Councils: Then follow the Subscriptions of *K. Kenulph*, as also of both the said Kings, and of *Wilfred* Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*, with the rest of the Bishops and Ealdermen there styled *Duces*.

This Year, according to our Annals, the Emperour *Charles the Great* departed this Life, (when he had Reigned Forty Five Years;) also *Wilfred* the Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*, and *Wigbright* the Bishop of the *West-Saxons* went to *Rome*:] But here our Annals are mistaken, for this Emperour dyed not till the Year 814. *Mat. Westminster* also adds, that these Bishops above-mentioned went to *Rome* about the Affairs of the *English Church*.

Arch-Bishop *Wilfred* having received the Benediction of Pope *Leo*, returned again to his Bishoprick, and the same Year King *Egbert* waited the *Welsh* from the South to the *West*.] This seems but to have been the same Invasion mentioned by *Mat. Westminster* under *An. 811*.

This Year *Leo*, that worthy and Holy Pope, deceased; and *Stephanus* succeeded in the Popedom; but *Florence of Worcester* more rightly places the Death of this Pope Two Years later.

Pope *Stephanus* deceased, and *Pascalis* was consecrated Pope in his stead; and the same Year the School or College of the *English Nation* (at *Rome*) was burnt.

But *Mat. Westminster* does more rightly place the Death of Pope *Stephanus* the Year following.

At this time was held the Synod at *Calcuth*, under *Wilfred* Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*, and *Kenulph* King of the *Mercians*, who was there present; but the Decrees being wholly Ecclesiastical, I pass them by, and refer the curious to *Sir H. Spelman's* 1. Volume of Councils: only shall here take notice of this one passage, that now Bishops, Abbots, and Abbesses were first forbid by the Seventh Canon of this Synod, to alien their Lands committed to their trust, in Fee, or for longer time than one Life; and that with the consent of the House.

Kenulph King of the *Mercians* deceased, and *Coenulph* began to Reign in his stead, also *Eadhyrht* the Ealderman dyed.

But the *Saxon Annals* do here omit, that which is very remarkable that not *Coenulph*, but *Kenelm*, Son to King *Kenulph* being a Child of Seven

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Years

Anno Dom. DCCCXI.*Bib. Cotton.* Tib. E. 4.*Anno Dom.* DCCCXII.*Anno Dom.* DCCCXIII.*Anno Dom.* DCCCXIV.*Anno Dom.* DCCCXV.*Anno Dom.* DCCCXIX.

Anno Dom.
DCCCXIX. Years Old, succeeded his Father under the tutelage of his Sister *Quendrida*, who being tempted by a wicked Ambition of Reigning, was by her made away, and thereby he obtained the Name of a Martyr: The manner of which (tho' it is certainly but a Legend) I shall, to divert the Reader, relate out of *Will. of Malmesbury*, and *Mat. Westminster*.

This young Prince was committed by his Sister to an Attendant, on purpose to be made away; who carrying him into a Wood under pretence of Hunting; cut off his Head, and threw his Body into a Thicket of Bushes; his Sister presently seizing the Kingdom, straitly forbid all inquiry to be made after her lost Brother: But sure it was Miraculous, That a thing done so privately in *England*, should be first known at *Rome*: but so it came to pass by Divine Revelation; for upon the Altar of *St. Peter*, a White Dove let fall a certain Paper, which discovered both the Death of King *Kenelm*, and also the place of his Burial; which being Written in Golden Letters was thus:

In Clent Cow-barch, Kenelme King Bearne, lieth under a Thorne, beaded bereaved.

Which being in *Saxon*, may be thus Translated into *English Rhime*.

In Clent-cow-pasture under a Thorne,
Of Head bereft, lies Kenelme King Born.

But it seems the Characters were so hard to be read, that all the *Roman* Clerks there present, attempted in vain at the Pope's Command to read this writing; but an *English* Man by chance standing by, (whom, to make the Miracle the greater, *Mat. Westminster* (reading *Angelus* instead of *Anglus*) calls an *Angel*, and Translating this writing into *Latin*, caused the Pope by an Epistle sent by him on purpose to give notice to the *English* Kings of their Martyr'd Country-man; whose Body being thus Miraculously discovered, was in a great Assembly of Clerks and Nobles, taken out of the hole where it was laid, and carried to *Winchcombe*, in *Gloucestershire*; and there buried in the Church of that Abbey, which his Father had founded; which after some time brought no small profit to that Monastery, by frequent Pilgrimages made to the Tomb of this little Saint.

But now my hand is in, pray take all the rest of the Story.

When the Body of this Young Prince was brought home, the Murtheress his Sister, being vexed with the Singing of those Clerks and Laicks that attended the Corps, and looking out of her Chamber Window in pure Spite, repeated the Psalm backward which they then Sung, thereby to disturb the Harmony of the Chorus; but (as the same Author adds,) whilst she was thus singing, both her Eyes fell out of her Head upon the Psalter she held in her Hands, and the Psalter it self set in Silver, and beinched with the Blood of her Eyes, (being then to be seen) gave a pregnant Testimony of her Crime, as well as punishment; yet it seems *Will. of Malmesbury* knew nothing of this Legend of the finding the Body, but only says, it was discovered by Miraculous Rays of a vast Light, which shined all Night over the place where it lay, was the occasion of its being found out; but no matter for the manner, both of them being alike credible. This is enough, (if not too much) of this Boy, King and Martyr: And this is certain, that his unnatural Sister did not enjoy the Fruits of her wicked Ambition long; for *Ceolwulf* Brother to King *Kenelm*, succeeded in the Kingdom; tho' he likewise Reigned but little more than one Year:

For

For the next Year he was deprived of his Kingdom (as *Ingulphus* relates) by one *Bernulph*, an Ambitious Man, of great Riches and Power, tho' no way related to the Blood Royal.

This Year Two Ealdermen were slain, *Barkelm*, and *Muca*, (but who these were our Annals do not acquaint us:) There was also this Year held a Synod at *Cloveshoe* under King *Beornwulf*, and Arch-Bishop *Wilfred*; whose Constitutions relating wholly to Ecclesiastical Affairs, you may find in *Sir H. Spelman's* 1. Vol. The only Civil Business, was that of the Abbeys *Cendrythe's* being forced to make satisfaction to Archbishop *Wilfred*, by rendering 100 Manes or Farnes, for the wrongs which King *Cenwulf* her Father had done to the Church of *Canterbury*.

This *Cendrythe* is the same with *Quendrythe*; or *Quendrida* (as she was called by our *Latin* Authors,) who made away her Brother *K. Kenelme*, (as you have already heard;) and who, to Expiate for the Death of her Brother, (since she could not be a Queen) had professed her self a Nun, and was now an Abbess.

There was a Fight between the Britains and Devonshire Men at *Ga-fulford*, now *Camelford*, in *Cornwall*; and *Florence of Worcester* tells us,

That the Britains were slain by those of *Devonshire*.

The same Year also, (according to our Annals,) *Ecbriht* King of the *West-Saxons*, and *Beornwulf*, King of the *Mercians*, fought at *Ellendune*, (supposed to be *Wilton* near *Salisbury*;) where *Ecbriht* obtained the Victory, a great slaughter being there made; after which King *Ecbriht* sent *Ethelwulf* his Son, and *Ealstan* his Bishop, and *Wulfheard* his Ealderman, with a great Army into *Kent*, where they forced King *Baldred* to fly over *Thames* into the Northern parts; then the *Kentishmen*, and those of *Surry*, together with the *South-Saxons*, and *East-Saxons*, submitted themselves to King *Egbert*; which last Nation had been unjustly wrested from his Family, and had (as *Florence* relates) for the space of several Years been subject to Kings that were strangers; the same Year also the King of the *East-Angles*, together with the whole Nation beseeched King *Ecbriht* to grant them Peace, and be their Protector, for fear of the *Mercians*.] And the same Year the *East-Angles* slew *Beornwulf* King of the *Mercians*, because (as *Mat. Westminster* relates) he challenged their Kingdom as his own, ever since the time that King *Offa* took it, but now the *Mercians* tried to recover it by Force.

The same Year was also held another Synodal Council at *Cloveshoe*, for the Kingdom of *Mercia*, under *K. Beornwulf* and *Wilfred* Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*, with all the Bishops and Chief Men of that Kingdom, wherein some disputes about Lands between *Heabert*, Bishop of *Worcester*, and a certain Monastery called *Westburgh*, were determined.

This Year *Ludican* King of the *Mercians* and five of his Ealdermen were slain; and *Wiglaf* began to Reign in his stead.] *Ingulph* and *Will. of Malmesbury* tell us, That this *Ludican* was Kinsman to the last mentioned King *Beornwulf*, and leading an Army against the *East-Angles* to revenge his Death, was there overcome and Slain, and that both these Tyrants were justly removed, who had not only made Kings without any Right, but had also by their imprudence been the occasion of the destruction of the Military Forces of that Kingdom, which had till then proved Victorious; and that thereupon one *Withlaf* being before Ealderman of *Mercia*, was by the consent of all the People created King; whose Son *Wimond* had Married *Affeda* the Daughter of *Ceolwulf*, the late King.

This

Anno Dom. DCCCXXVII. This King *Withlaf* Reigned thirteen Years, as Tributary to King *Egbert*, as shall be further related anon.

The Moon was Eclipsed on *Christmase* day at Night, and the same Year King *Egbryht* subdued the Kingdom of *Mercia*, and all the Country that lay South of *Humber*: He was the Eighth King, who Ruled over all *Britain*; but the First, who had so great a Command, was *Ælla* King of the *South Saxons*; the Second was *Ceanlin*, King of the *West-Saxons*; the Third was *Æthelbryht* King of *Kent*; the Fourth was *Redwald* King of the *East Angles*; the Fifth was *Edwin* King of *Northumberland*; the Sixth was *Osvald*, who succeeded him; the Seventh was *Osfi* the Brother of *Osvald*; and the Eighth was *Egbryht*, King of the *West-Saxons*; who not long after led an Army against the *Northumbers*, as far as *Dore*; which place is supposed to have been in *Tork-shire* beyond the River *Humber*; but the *Northumbers* offering him Peace, and due Subjection, they parted Friends.

From which passage in the *Saxon Annals* it is apparent, that this Supreme Dominion of one *English* King over all the rest was no new thing, *Bede* having taken notice of it long before; yet did they not therefore take upon them the Title of Monarchs, any more than *Egbert*, who now succeeded them in that Power, tho' most of our Historians, who have written the *Saxon History* in *English*, have (but without any just reason) given them that Title, which could not properly belong to Kings, who had divers others under them, with the like Regal Jurisdiction within their own Territories; not but that King *Egbert* was in a more peculiar manner the Supreme King of *England*, because by his Absolute Conquest of the Kingdoms of *Kent*, and of the *South and East Saxons*, he was the greatest King who had hitherto Reigned in *England*; all the rest of the Kings that remained, Reigning by his permission, and paying him Tribute; a power which never had been exercised by any other King before him.

But to return to our History; it seems that King *Egbert* was so highly displeased with the *Mercians* for setting up a King without his consent, that *Ingulph* and *Florence* of *Worcester* tell us, That as soon as ever *Withlaf* was made King, before he could raise an Army, he was expell'd his Kingdom, which *Egbert* added to his own; but *Withlaf* being search'd for by *Egbert's* Commanders through all *Mercia*, he was by the industry of *Seward* Abbot of *Croyland*, concealed in the Cell of the Holy Virgin *Etheldrith*, Daughter of King *Offa*, and once the Spouse of *Ethelbert*, King of the *East Angles*; where King *Withlaf* found a safe retreat for the space of Four Months; until such time as by the Mediation of the said Abbot *Seward*, he was reconciled to King *Egbert*; and upon promise of the payment of an Yearly Tribute, permitted to return to his Kingdom in Peace; which is by him acknowledged in that Charter of his, that *Ingulph* hath given us of his Confirmation of the Lands and privileges of the Abbey of *Croyland*. It was made in the Great Council of the whole Kingdom in the presence of his Lords, *Egbert* King of *West-Saxony*, and his Son *Ethelwulf*, and before the Bishops and Great Men of all *England*, Asssembled at the City of *London*, to take Counsel against the Danish Pyrats, then infesting the *English* Coasts: And in the Year 833, as you shall see when we come to that Year.

This Restoration of King *Withlaf* to his Kingdom is also mentioned in the *Saxon Annals* of the next Year, where it is said

Anno Dom. DCCCXXVIII. That *Withlaf* again obtained the Kingdom of the *Mercians*, and Bishop *Ethelwald* deceased; also the same Year King *Egbryht* led an Army against the

the *Northern Britains*, and reduced them absolutely to his Obedience: Anno Dom. DCCCXXVIII. For it seems they had again rebelled.

Now likewise, as *Mat. Westminster* relates, King *Egbert* vanquished *Swiðred*, King of the *East-Saxons*, and drove him out of his Kingdom; upon whose expulsion, the *West Saxon* Kings ever after possess that Kingdom.

Now (according to the same Authour) King *Egbert* having subdued all the South Parts of *England*, led a great Army into the Kingdom of *Northumberland*, and having grievously wasted that Province, made King *Eandred* his Tributary; which is also confirmed by *Will. of Malmesbury*, who relates that the *Northumbers*, who stood out the last, fearing least this King's anger might break out upon them; now giving Hostages, submitted themselves to his Dominion; but they were still under Kings of their own, as you will further find.

To this Year I think we may also refer that great Transaction, which the *Annals* of the Cathedral Church of *Winchester* (printed in **Monast. Angl.* from an ancient Manuscript in the || *Cottonian Library*) place under the Year following, viz. That King *Egbert* having thus subdued all the Kingdoms above-mentioned, and forced them to submit to his Dominions, called a great Council at *Winchester*, whereto were summoned all the Great Men of the whole Kingdom; and there by the General Consent of the *Clerus & Populus*, (i. e. the *Clergy* and *Laity*), King *Egbert* was crowned King of *Britain*: And at the same time he Enacted, That it should be for ever after called *England*; and that those who before were called *Jutes*, or *Saxons*, should now be called *English men*. And this I could not omit, because tho' *William* of *Malmesbury*, and other Historians, agree of the Matter of Fact; yet I think this the truest and most particular Account of the Time, and manner when it was performed.

Also this Year *Wilfred*, the Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*, deceased; and *Feoligild* the Abbot was Elected Arch-Bishop, (7 *Kal. Maij.*) and was Consecrated (5 *Id. Junij.* being Sunday,) and dyed the 3. *Kal. Sept.* after.

But here is certainly a mistake in this Copy of the *Annals*, for it was not *Feoligild*, but *Ceolnoth*, who was then chosen Arch-Bishop; for in the next Year it is thus corrected, viz.

This Year *Ceolnoth* was Elected, and Consecrated Arch-Bishop; and *Feoligild* the Abbot deceased.

And the Year following *Ceolnoth* the Arch-BP received his Pall from *Rome*.

This Year certain Heathens or Pagans wasted *Seceapige* (now the Isle of *Sheppey* in *Kent*.)

But since this is the first time, that these *Heathens* are mentioned in the *Saxon Annals*, it is fit we should tell you a little more exactly who they were, and from whence they came; for they were indeed no other than that Nation which was before in our *Saxon Annals*, called *Northmanna*, and sometimes *Deansem* (i. e. *Danish*); the Etymology of which Name since I find writers are so divided about, I will not take upon me to determine; nor that all these People came out of that Country, which is at this day called *Denmark*, for it is impossible, that so narrow a Region (tho' you should likewise include whatsoever that Kingdom did then, or does now enjoy upon the Continent of *Swedenland* and *Futland*) could ever send out such vast Shoales of People, as for near Two Thousand Years before the *Norman* Conquest over-ran and destroyed *France*, the *Low Countries*, and also this Island; but you may, from what has been already said, observe, that *H. Huntington*, in the Prologue to his Book abovecited, does besides the

Anno Dom. the *Danes*, add also the *Norwegians*, together with the *Goths*, *Swedes* and *DCCCLXXXII*. *Vandals*, to have been those Nations which for so many Years wasted *England*; and that he did not deliver this without Book, but had sufficient Authority for what he wrote, I shall further make out from the Testimony of those Writers, who lived in that very Age, when these Nations first infested those parts of *Europe*: For *Eginhart*, who was Son-in-Law and Chancellour, to *Charles the Great*, thus writes in his History of that Prince, which I shall here faithfully Translate.

' In like manner the *Danes* and *Sweones*, with those whom we call *Normans*, do possess the Northern Shore of *Scandinavia*, together with all the Islands adjoining to it, whilst the *Slavii* with divers other Nations inhabit the *Southern* Coasts; but the *Norwegians*, or rather *Northern* Men, (for so they are called by the *Swedes*, because they lye more Northerly than the greater part of that Nation,) and indeed all those that inhabit *Scanzia*, are (by those People of *Europe*, that lye more remote,) with very good reason called in the *German* Tongue (*i.e.*) *Northland* Men.

Next to *Eginhart*, *Adam of Bremen*, (who lived about Two Hundred Years after) does not only insert these very words of the aforesaid Authour, but also adds this further, that the *Danes* and *Swedes* with the other Nations, beyond the River *Danubius*, are by the *French* Historians all called *Normans*; so likewise *Albertus*, Abbot of *Stade*, who wrote about the Year 1250, says likewise, that the *Danes* and other Nations, who lived beyond *Denmark*, are all called *Normans*; from which Authorities the learned *Grotius* in his *Prolegomena* to his *Gothic* History, lays it down as an undeniable Truth, that whatever we find among any writers of that Age concerning the *Normans*, does rightly belong to the *Swedes*, who were then one of the greatest and most powerful of those *Northern* Nations, that were all then called by one general Name of *Normans*.

But as for their Religion, I need say no more of it, since I have already told you in the beginning of the Third Book, that all those Nations had the same common Deities, (*viz.*) *Woden*, and *Thor*, &c. whose Names I have there already set down, to which last Deities, as *Ubbø Emmius* relates, they before any great expedition, sacrificed a Captive, by knocking out his Brains; and sinearing their Faces in his Blood, immediately marched against their Enemies; but that they were extremely given to Witchcraft and Incantments, all their own Authours relate, which would be too tedious here to repeat, since you will meet with some Instances of it in the following History. But to return again to our Annals.

Anno Dom. DCCCLXXXIII. ' This Year is very remarkable, for King *Egbert* encountered Thirty Five Ships of *Danish* Pyrates at *Carrum* (now called *Charmouth* in *Dorsetshire*), where there was a great slaughter, but the *Danes* kept the Field, whereby we may guess that they had the advantage; yet it seems before this time, (even in this very Year) the *Danes* had been vanquished, and put to flight at *Dunmouth*, (now called *Tinmouth*, from whence (having now spoiled the Isle of *Sheppey*) they Sail'd to *Charmouth* above-mentioned.

This shews us (as *Will. of Malmesbury* well observes) the Instability of all Worldly grandeur; for now King *Egbert* being arrived at the height of Empire, met with this unlooked for Enemy, who harassed him and his Posterity for divers Generations: And tho' in this Sea Fight last mentioned, he had the better for the greater part of the Day, yet towards Night he lost the Victory, tho' by the help of it he retreated, and so saved the disgrace of an entire defeat; this was the only time that Fortune ceased to favour King *Egbert's* Undertakings.

' This

' This Year also (according to our Annals,) *Herefrith* Bishop of *Winchester*, and *Wigen* (or *Sigehelm*) Bishop of *Scirborne*, and also Two Ealdormen, *Dudda* and *Osmond* deceased.

The same Year was held that General Council of the whole Kingdom Anno Dom. DCCCLXXXIII. at *London*, at the Feast of *St. Augustin* the *English* Apostle, *Egbert* King of *West Saxony*, and *Witlaf* King of the *Mercians*, with both the Arch-Bishops, and all the other Bishops and Chief Men of *England* being present; at which, (besides a Consultation how to restrain the Invasion of the *Danes*,) the Privileges, and Concessions of the said King *Witlaf* to the Monastery of *Croyland*, were also confirmed by the said Council; and were subscribed to by King *Witlaf*, and both the Arch-Bishops, and most of the Bishops of *England*.

Vid. Sir H. Spelman's Council, 1. 201.

' The next Year a great Fleet of *Danes* landed amongst the *Western Welsh*, (*i.e.* *Cornishmen*), who being joyned with them in a League against King *Egbert*; offered him Battle, which he accepting of, straight ways marched against them with his whole Army, and at *Hengestdune*, (now *Hengston* in *Cornwall*), put both the *Britains* and *Danes* to flight; and as *Mat. Westminster* adds, freed his Kingdom at this time from the Invasion of those barbarous Enemies.

' King *Egbert* departed this Life, having Reigned Thirty Seven Years, and Seven Months; but the Annals must needs be mistaken, either in the time of his Reign, or else in the Year of his Death; for if he began to Reign Anno Dom. 800, and Reigned Thirty Seven Years and an half; it is evident he must have dyed Anno Dom. 838; the Printed Copy of *Will. of Malmesbury* places his Death, Anno Dom. 837, and another reading in the Margin, in 838; but *Florence of Worcester* places it according to the Annals in 836.

Anno Dom. DCCCLXXXVI.

This King as the same Authour relates, governed his Subjects with great Clemency, and was as terrible to his Enemies, and for Nine Years Reigned Supream King over all *Britain*: Before his Death he is said (by *Will. of Malmesbury*) to have told his Son *Ethelwulf*, whom he left his Successour, ' That he might be happy if he did not permit the Kingdom, which he had now laid together with great Industry, to be spoiled by sloathfulness, to which this Nation had been too much addicted.

There is little mention of this King's Children, except *Ethelwulf*, only it is said by *John of Tinmouth*, that he had also a Daughter called *Edgitha*, who being first bred up under an *Irish* Abbess, called *Modwina*, was made Abbess of the Nunnery at *Pelestorth*; but this, since we have no better Authority than modern hands for it, I cannot be certain of; but as for the Wife of King *Egbert* who was (according to the late *West-Saxon* Law,) never called Queen, her Name was *Redburge*, and she is mentioned, by *John Beaver* to have procured that Law from her Husband, that no *Welshman* should without leave pass over *Offa's* Ditch upon pain of Death.

But the same Year that King *Egbert* dyed, was held a Common Council of the whole Kingdom at *Kingston upon Thames*, where were present *Egbert*, King of the *West-Saxons*, and *Ethelwulf* his Son, with *Coelnoth* Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*, and other Bishops and Chief Men of *England*, where among other things the manner of *Mallings* in *Sussex* having been bestowed by *Baldred*, King of *Kent*, on *Christ Church Cant.* and being afterwards taken away from it, because the great Men of that Kingdom would not ratifie the Donation, it was now by the consent of the King and all his Chief, and Wise Men again confirmed.

Vid. Sir H. Spelman's Council, 1. vol.

L I

King

King ETHELWULF, with his Son King ATHELSTAN.

Anno Dom.
DCCCXXXVI. No sooner was King Egbert's Body buried at Winchester, but King Ethelwulf succeeded to the Throne, and though none of our Historians mention any former Election or Coronation of this King, yet it is certain he came to the Crown by Vertue of his Father's Testament; Henry Huntington and Roger Howeden telling us expressly, That he left his Two Sons Ethelwulf and Athelstan his Heirs, which though it be in part a mistake, (since this Athelstan was not Son, but Brother to King Ethelwulf) yet that concerning the King's bequeathing the Crown is very probable, it being according to the Custom of that time, but that this alone would not have been sufficient shall be shewn in another place.

This Prince (as Thomas Rudborn in his History of the Church of Winchester relates) had been during the Life of his Elder Brother (whose Name we know not) educated in the Monastery of Winchester, under the Tuition of Helmeftan Bishop, and Swithune, Præpositus, or Dean of that Church, and had there taken the Order of a Subdeacon, with an intent (as is supposed) to have professed himself a Monk, not that he was ever made Bishop of that Church, tho it is so related by H. Huntington and other Writers.

But King Egbert having no other Son living, he was dispenced with to Marry; and returning very early to a Secular Life, helped his Father in his Wars; after whose Death he was advanced to the Throne, yet he always retained a great deal of the Monk, loved his ease, and had very little Ambition; and therefore not caring to trouble himself with the Governing of many Provinces, he rested contented with his Paternal Kingdom of West Saxony, and made over the Kingdoms of Kent, and of the South and East Saxons (being his Father's Conquests) to Athelstan, his Son (as the Saxon Annals and Will. of Malmesbury expressly call him,) and which is more, Ethelwerd in his Chronicle gives us the Names of Five Sons of King Ethelwulf, of which (says he) Athelstan who Reigned together with his Father was the Eldest, that Alfred the Fifth Son Reigned after them all; yet most of the other Historians going directly contrary to those Authorities, will needs have him to be his Brother, I suppose to save this Pious Prince's Reputation; but Mat. Westminister says, That he was his base Son, which is most probable, since he had not any Legitimate Son then old enough to Govern a Kingdom as this Athelstan at that time was, and whom we shall often find mentioned in this History; tho when, or how he dyed, all our Writers are silent.

Anno Dom.
DCCCXXXVII. This Year, according to the Saxon Annals, Wulfheard the Ealdorman fought at Hamtun, (i.e. Southampton,) with a Fleet of Thirty Three Danish Pyrates, and there making a great slaughter of them obtained the Victory.

The same Year this Wulfheard deceased: Also Æthelm, another Ealdorman, fought with the Danish Army at Port, (now called Portland,) where he being assisted by the Dorsetshire Men, soon put them to flight; but how this can consist with what follows I know not, viz. That the Danes notwithstanding kept the Field where the Battle was fought, and slew the Chief Commander being an Ealdorman; unless it relate to the Year following; when

Æthelm the Ealdorman was killed by the Danes, and many others with

with him in Mercwarum, (that is Mercia;) also the same Year in Lindiss, *Anno Dom.*
as also among the East Angles, and in Kent many were Slain by their Forces; for there (according to Mat. Westminister) the above said Earl or Ealdormen was slain; the Danes obtaining the Victory, destroying all places with Fire and Sword: And (the same Year according to Florence of Worcester) Wiglaf King of Mercia dying, Bertulf succeeded him.

There was this Year a great slaughter made by the Danes, about London, Cantwic (i.e. Canterbury, and Hrofecester,) that is Rochester. *Anno Dom.*
DCCCXXXIX.

So that now it seems the Danes had entred farther into the Land, making havock of all where ever they came.

This Year King Ethelwulf fought at Carrum, (i.e. Charmouth) against 35 Danish Ships, who kept the Field where the Battle was fought. *Anno Dom.*
DCCCXL.

So that according to H. Huntington, they here obtained the Victory; for though the number of their Ships were but small, yet they were very large and full of Men.

This Year also the Emperour Lewis (the Pious) dyed.

Nor can I here omit what the Scottish Historians place under the former Year, but ours under this, viz. The total Conquest of the Picts by Kened the first King of Scotland, after many fierce Battles; in the last of which Drusken, King of the Picts, being Slain, that Kingdom was totally destroyed, and as H. Huntington long since observed, not only their Laws, but also their very Language, (except what remains in the Names of places) is now totally lost, and that Nation being long since incorporated with that of the Antient Scots and Saxons, shews us that even whole Kingdoms and Nations have both their Originals, and fatal periods, as well as particular Persons.

But tho the Scottish Historians do justly date the Empire of their Kings over all Scotland, from this Total Conquest of the Picts by King Kened, according to that old Verse:

Primus in Albania fertur regnasse Kenedus,

Yet when those Historians will by this Conquest extend the limits of this King and his Successour's Dominions, so far beyond Edinburgh, Southward, making him to have Reigned from the River Tyne, (and so would take in all the County of Northumberland, lying between Tyne and Tweed,) to the utmost Orcades, this is by no means to be admitted; since as the Lord Primate Usher learnedly observes, That Country had long after not only English, but Danish Kings, as shall in the pursuit of this History be clearly made out; and after those were extinct, we may read in Turgot's Chronicle of the Bishops of Durham, the Earls, appointed by the Kings of England, under them Governed that Country; For as Roger Howeden, in the Year 953, expressly relates after Eric, to whom the Northumbrians had sworn Allegiance, that Province was committed by K. Edred to Earl Osfrald, who afterwards in the Reign of King Edgar, had one Olsac assigned him as a partner in that Government, the former Commanding all that lay on the North side of Tyne, and the latter all York-shire; there also follow all the Successours of these Earls, as low as the Time of Edward the Confessor, under whom Testi Governed it; who loosing his Earldom by reason of his Tyranny, it was by King Edward committed to Earl Morchar, but he being taken up with great Employments, committed the Government of that part of it beyond Tyne to one Osulf, who afterwards by the Gift of K. William, enjoyed the Government of the whole Country: But that Loden and the other Low-Land Countries of Scotland,

land, as far as *Edinburgh*, were long after in the possession of the English, shall be shewn when we come to the Reign of King *Edgar*.

Anno Dom. DCCCXLI. About this Time *Eanred* King of *Northumberland* dying, *Ethelred* his Son succeeded him, as *Simeon* of *Durham* and *Mat.* of *Westminster* relate, tho the latter places this the Year before.

But to give some account of the Affairs of *Wales*, from *Caradoc's* Chronicle.

Anno Dom. DCCCXLIII. About this time was fought the Battle of *Ketell*, betwixt *Burthred* King of *Mercia*, and the *Britains*; wherein (as some do write) *Mervyn Vrych*, King of the *Britains* was Slain, leaving behind him a Son afterwards called *Rodri Mawr*, that is to say, *Rodoric* the Great; yet according to *Nennius*, this King *Mervyn* was alive Anno Dom. 854, which was the Twenty Fourth Year of this Kings Reign, and in which that Authour in his Preface says, He wrote his History; but I believe, there is either an error in *Nennius's* Account, or else in the Transcribers; since all the *Welsh* Chronicles agree, that about this time *Mervyn* dyed, and *Rodri* succeeded him.

This Prince, Commonly called *Rodoric* the Great, began his Reign over *Wales* this Year; it was he who divided all *Wales* into three Territories of *Aberfram*, *Dineuawr*, and *Mathraual*, he had great Wars with *Burthred*, King of *Mercia*, who by the aid of King *Ethelulph* entred *North Wales* with a great Power, and destroyed *Anglesey*, and fought with the *Welshmen* of *Northwales* divers times, and slew *Meyric*, a great Prince among them.

Anno Dom. DCCCXLIV. This Year, (according to *Mat. Westminster*) *Ethelred* King of *Northumberland* was driven from his Kingdom, (I suppose by a Rebellion, the usual method in that unquiet Country,) and one *Redwald* succeeded him, who, as soon as ever he was made King, fought a Battle with the *Danes*, at a place called *Aluethelie*, where the King and Earl *Alfred* were slain, with the greatest part of their Army, and that then K. *Ethelred* was again restored to the Throne; but this Authour does not tell us by what means, nor is the Year expressed; and tho this Action is found in no other Authour, yet is it likely enough to be true, for *Simeon* of *Durham* in his History of that Church; tho he does not mention this Kings Expulsion and Restitution to the Throne, yet he there expressly mentions King *Ethelred* to have about this time succeeded his Father *Eandred*.

Anno Dom. DCCCXLV. This Year, according to our Annals, *Eanwulf* the Ealdorman, with the *Somerfet-shire* Men, and *Ealstan* the Bishop and *Osfic* the Ealdorman, with the *Dorset-shire* Men, fought with the Danish Army at the mouth of *Pedidan* (called by *Hoveden*, *Pendred's Mouth*, and was indeed the River *Parret* in *Somerfet-shire*;) where they made a great slaughter of them, and obtained the Victory over the *Danes*; after which the Kingdom enjoyed Peace for divers Years.

Anno Dom. DCCCXLVIII. But the *Northumbrians* still continued their old custom of driving out, or killing their Kings, for about 3 Years after, as *Florence of Worcester*, and *Simeon* of *Durham* relate, *Ethelred* King of the *Northumbrians* being Slain, *Osbert* Reigned in his stead Eighteen Years; and the same Year there was an Eclipse of the Sun, about the Sixth Hour of the Day, on the Kal. of *October*; this is that King *Osbert*, who was afterwards killed by the *Danes*.

According

According to *Florence*, and *Mat. Westminster* a Son called *Ælfred*, was now Born to King *Ethelwulf* at *Wanating* (now *Wantage* in *Berk-shire*;) his Mother was *Osberge* the Daughter of *Aflat*, or *Oflac*, chief Butler to King *Ethelwulf*, who was related to *Stufte* and *Whitgar*, first Princes of the Isle of *Wight*; she was a Woman as remarkable for her Piety, as her Birth, and deserved to be the Mother of him, who was afterwards to prove so great a Prince.

The same Year also (from the same Authours) *Berthferth* the Son of *Berthulf*, King of *Mercia*, wickedly slew his Cousin *Wulstan*, who was Nephew to both the late Kings of *Mercia*; but his Body was buried at the Famous Monastery of *Rependun* (now *Repton* in *Darby-shire*;) in the Tomb of *Wiglaf* his Grandfather, and, if we may believe our Historians, a Pillar of Light reaching up to Heaven, stood over the place for Thirty Days, which procured him the Title of a Saint.

Anno Dom. DCCCL. This Year the Pagan *Danes* returned hither, and *Ceorl* the Ealdorman, together with the Forces of *Devonshire*, fought with their Army at *Wigeanbeorch* (supposed to be *Wenbury* in *Devon-shire*;) and there obtained the Victory: And the same Year also King *Æthelstan*, and Duke *Ealcher*, fought with them a Sea Fight, and routed a great Fleet of them near *Sandwic*, (now *Sandwich*, in *Kent*;) took 9 Ships and put the rest to Flight; now also the *Danes* Wintered in the Isle of *Thanet*, (or as *After* in his Annals relates in the Isle of *Sheppy*;) and the same Year came 300 of their Ships into the Mouth of *Thames*, and the *Danes* landing took *Canterbury* and *London*; and routed *Beorthwulf* King of the *Mercians*, with his whole Army, who had come out to Fight with them; after which the *Danes* marched Southward beyond *Thames* into *Surry*, and there K. *Æthelwulf*, and his Son *Æthelbald*, with the Forces of the *West-Saxons*, fought against them at *Atlea*, (now called *Oakley* in *Surry*;) where they made a greater slaughter of the Pagan Army, than had been heard of at any time before; so that the greatest part of them were destroyed.

The same Year also (according to Sir *H. Spelman's* 1. Vol. of Councils) was held the Council of *Kingsbury* under *Berthwulf*, King of the *Mercians*, *Ceolnoth*, Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury* with the other Bishops and Wise Men of the Province being present, wherein, besides the publick business of the Kingdom, several grievances of the Monks were redressed, and the Charter of that King to the Abby of *Croyland* is confirmed under the Rule of St. *Benedict*, and is supposed by Sir *H. Spelman* in his Councils to be a great Council of that Kingdom; because it bears date in the Week of *Easter*, when they were Assembled about the publick Affairs of the Kingdom, at which time as also at *Whitsontide* and *Christmas*, the great Men of the Kingdom were wont of course to attend at the King's Court, to consult, and ordain, what should be necessary for the common Good, when also the King used to appear in State with his Crown upon his head; which custom of holding great Councils, was also continued after the *Norman* Conquest, to the middle of the Reign of *Henry* the Second, as Sir *H. Spelman* learnedly observes in his Notes at the end of this Council.

Anno Dom. DCCCLII. This Year (according to the *Peterburgh* Copy of the *Saxon Annals*) *Ceolred* Abbot of *Medeshamstead*, and his Monks leased out to one *Wulfred* the Land of *Sempigaham* (perhaps *Sempingham* in *Lincoln-shire*;) on Condition, That after his Death it should again revert to the Monastery, he paying in the mean time a Yearly Rent of so many Loads of Wood, Coals

Anno Dom. DCCCLII. Coals and Turf, and so many Barrels of Beer and Ale, and other Provisions, with Thirty Shillings in Money, as is there specified; at which Agreement *Burhard* King of the *Mercians*, who had (now succeeded *Beornthulf*) was present, together with *Ceolred* the Arch-Bishop, with divers other Bishops, Abbots and Ealdormen.

I have inserted this, to let you see the form of Leasing out the Abbey Lands in those Days, and which it seems required the Solemnity of the Common Council of that Kingdom to confirm it.

The same Year also, (according to *Florence*) *Berthulph* King of the *Mercians* deceased, and *Burhed* succeeded him,

Anno Dom. DCCCLIII. Who this next Year together with his Wives, (that is the Wife of his Great Council,) desired King *Ethelwulf* that he would assist them to subdue the *Northern Welshmen*, which he performed, and marching with his Army through *Mercia*, made the Men of *North-Wales* Subject to King *Burhed*; but of this, the *Welsh* Chronicles are silent.

* *Florence*, and *Math. Westminster*, and then the *Midland Welch*, or *Britains*; and if their Copies of the *Annals* are true, the Men of *Powisland* are here meant.

This Year also, King *Ethelwulf* sent his Son *Ælfred* to Pope *Leo* to *Rome*, who there anointed him King, and adopted him for his Episcopal Son. It is much disputed among some of our Modern Historians, of what the Pope anointed *Ælfred* King, whether of any present, or else future Dominions; But since, an ancient Manuscript in the *Cottonian Library* (containing an History of the Kings of *England*) says expressly, That he was anointed *In Successorem Paterni Regni*, and that we do not read of any Territories King *Ælfred* enjoyed till after the Death of his Brethren; it is most reasonable to understand it in the plain Literal Sense, as it is here set down, not only in these *Annals*, but in *Asser's* Account of this King's Life and Actions, that the Pope anointed him King as a Prophetic Prefage of his future Royal Dignity.

And the same Year *Ealcher* with the *Kentish-men*, and *Huda* with the *Surrey-men*, fought with the *Danish* Army in the Isle of *Thanet*, and at first had the better of them, but there were many killed and drowned on both sides, and both the Ealdormen or Chief Commanders perished.

Also *Burhed* King of the *Mercians* now married the Daughter of King *Ethelwulf*. *Asser* relates the Marriage to have been kept with great Solemnity at a Town of the King's, called *Cippenham* (now *Chipnam*) in *Wiltshire*.

Anno Dom. DCCCLIV. This Year the *Danes* winter'd in *Scepige*, (or *Sheppie*;) and the same year King *Ethelwulf* discharged the Tenth part of his Land throughout his whole Kingdom of all Tribute or Taxes for the Honour of God and his own Salvation.

This being the famous and solemn Grant of King *Ethelwulf* concerning Tythes, requires a more particular Relation, and therefore I shall here give you the Words of the said Grant at large. — “I *Ethelwulf*, King of the *West Saxons*, with the Council (or Consent) of my Bishops and Chief Men, &c. have consented, That a certain Hereditary Part of the Lands heretofore possess'd by all Orders and Degrees of Persons, whether Men or Women, Servants of GOD, (i. e. Monks or Nuns,) or meer Laicks, shall give their Tenth Mansion, and where it is least, the Tenth Part of all their Goods, free and discharged of all Secular Servitude, and particularly of all Royal Tributes or Taxations, as well the greater as the less, which they call *Wittereden*, (which signifies a certain Fine or Forfeiture;) and that they be free from all other

Things,

Things, as Expedition, building of a Bridge, or fortifying of a Castle, &c. And that they may the more diligently pour out their Prayers to GOD for us without ceasing, we do in some part discharge their other Service. These Things were done in *Winchester*, in the Church of *St. Peter*, in the Year of our LORD's Incarnation 855, the Third Indiction, on the Nones of November, before the great Altar, in Honour of the Glorious Virgin *Mary*, the Mother of GOD, *St. Michael* the Arch-Angel, and *St. Peter* Prince of the Apostles, as also of our blessed Father Pope *Gregory*, all the Arch-Bishops and Bishops of *England* being present, and subscribing to it; as also *Beorbed* King of *Mercia*, together with the Abbots, Abbesses, Earls, and other chief Men of the whole Kingdom, with an infinite multitude of other Believers, who all of them have witnessed, and consented to the Royal Grant, but the Dignitaries have thereunto subscribed their Names.

But, as *Ingulph* relates, King *Ethelwulf*, for the greater firmness thereof, offered this Charter at the Altar of *St. Peter* at *Rome*; but that the Bishops received it in the Faith of God, and transmitted it to be published throughout all the Churches in their several Diocesses.

Tho' this Grant of Tythes is mentioned by the *Annals*, as to be made before the King's going to *Rome*, yet it appears by the Date, as also from *Asser* and *Ingulph*, not to have been done till after his Return from thence; which makes *Sir H. Spelman* conjecture, (and not without good Grounds,) that this Grant was twice made; once before his going to *Rome*, it being there confirmed by the Pope, and was also regranting by a Great Council of the Kingdom after his Return, as appears by the Charter here recited.

I have been the more exact in reciting this Law concerning Tythes, both because it gives us the form of passing an Act in the great Council of the Kingdom at that time, and who were the Parties to it, as also because this was the first general Law that was ever made in a Mycel Synod of the whole Kingdom for the payment of Tythes, tho' I do not deny but there had been before some particular Laws of King *Ina* and King *Offa* to the same effect; yet those could only oblige the *West Saxon* and *Mercian* Kingdoms.

The next Year also (according to *Florence* and *Asser's* Chronicle) *Anno Dom. DCCCLV.* King *Ethelwulf* went to *Rome*, carrying *Ælfred*, his youngest and best beloved Son along with him, but to what intent, having been so lately there before, we know not any more than what the King did there, unless to repair the *English* School or Colledge for Youth, that had been lately burnt; but it is certain, he stayed abroad near a Year, and in his Return home, *Charles*, (surnamed *The Bald*;) King of the *Franks*, gave him his Daughter to Wife, who was called *Leotheta*, (in French *Judith*;) and so, together with her, he returned into *England*.

But as *Asser* relates, there was in the mean time an infamous Conspiracy framed in the Western Parts of *England*, for Prince *Ethelbald*, the King's eldest Son, and *Ea chstan* Bishop of *Scirborne*, and *Æanwulf* Earl of *Somerset*, had plotted together, that King *Ethelwulf*, at his Return Home, should never be received into his Kingdom; most Men laid this to the Charge of this Bishop and Earl only, tho' many do chiefly attribute it to the Perverseness of this young Prince, who was also very obstinate in other Wickedness. So the King his Father returning from *Rome*,

Anno Dom. DCCCLV. Prince *Ethelbald*, together with his Councillors, contrived this great Villany, viz. to expell the King from his own Kingdom, tho' God would not permit it to take effect, neither did all the Noblemen of *England* consent to it; yet lest so great a Mischiefe should happen, that the Father and Son making War on each other, the whole Nation should be engaged in mutual Slaughter, by the wonderful Clemency of the King, and with the Consent of all his Nobility, the Kingdom, which was before united, became now divided between the Father and the Son, the *Eastern* Countries being allotted to the former, and the *Western* to the latter; but where the Father ought indeed by Right to have Reigned, there Ruled this Rebellious and Undutiful Son, for the *Western* part of *England* was always accounted before the *Eastern*. King *Ethelwulf* therefore coming back from *Rome*, the whole Nation (as it ought) highly rejoiced at his return, and would, if he had pleased, have expelled his wicked Son *Ethelbald*, with all his Adherents, out of the Kingdom; but the King would by no means suffer it, using great Clemency and Prudence, lest the Kingdom might thereby be endangered.

All this Disturbance seems to have been raised by his Son and his Faction, because of his marrying this new Wife, whom notwithstanding having now brought over with him, he placed by him on the Royal Throne as long as he lived, without any Dispute or Opposition from his Nobles; tho' (says this Author) the Nation of the *West Saxons* did not permit the Queen to sit by the King, or to be called *Queen*; which Custom our Ancestors relate to have proceeded from a certain wicked Queen, called *Eadburga*, the Wife of King *Bryhtic*, whose Story, *After* in his Annals, as also in his *De Gestis Alfredi*, hath given us at large, where speaking of the Occasion of this severe Law, he tells us, it proceeded from the wicked Carriage of that Queen, (already mentioned at the end of the former Book,) who abusing her Husband's Affections by untrue Accusations, took away many Men's Lives; and being hated by the *English* after that King's Decease, they made that Law now mentioned.

William of *Malmesbury* and *Mat. Westminster* do assure us, That King *Ethelwulf* lived but two Years after his return from *Rome*, during which time he thought not only of the World to come, but also what should happen in this after his Decease; and therefore, lest his Sons should quarrel among themselves after his Death, he commanded his Testament to be written, (*After* calls it an *Hereditary*, or *Commendatory* Epistle,) in which he ordained, his Kingdom should be divided between the two eldest Sons, as also his own proper Inheritance between all his Sons and Daughters, and near Kinsmen; but for his Money, he ordered it to be divided between his Sons and his Nobles, and what was left, to be employed for the good of his Soul; to which end he ordained, That his Successors throughout all his own Hereditary Lands, should maintain out of *every Ten Families one Poor Person, (either Native or Stranger,) with Meat, Drink, and Apparel; always provided, that the Land did not then lie waste, but was cultivated by Men and Cattle: It is also to be noted, That this Grant was wholly different from that of Tythes, tho' *Bromton's* Chronicle hath confounded them together, and made them all one; he also ordered to be sent every Year to *Rome* 300 *Mancuses*, which *William* of *Malmesbury* renders *Marks*, tho' what the Sum was is uncertain; but it was to be equally distributed between the Churches of *St. Peter* and *St.*

* From whence came the Corpories, that still remain in some places.

St. Paul, to provide Lights on *Easter* Eve; and of this 300 *Marks*, the Pope was to have 100 to himself. These Grants are supposed by Sir *Henry Spelman* to have been made in a general Council of the whole Kingdom, but after this time we find no more of them for many Years, by reason of the frequent Invasions of the *Danes*. But not long after King *Ethelwulf* died, and was buried at *Winchester*, having reigned 20 Years and 5 Months; for the *Saxon* Annals, which allow him but 18 Years and an half, are certainly mistaken.

This Year also, (according to *Florence of Worcester*,) *Humbert* the Bishop anointed that Glorious Martyr, *Edmund* King of the *East Angles*, being then but 15 Years old, at a Town called *Buram*, being then the Royal Seat.

But having no Account of King *Edmund's* Pedigree, or of the Place of his Birth from any of our *English* Historians, you must be content with what *Johannes Anglicus* of *Tinmouth* hath told us, or in his Legend of Saints, (called *Sanctilogium*.) of this King and Martyr, viz. That he was the Son of one *Alemond*, a Nobleman of the Blood Royal of the *East Angles*, who having fled for fear of King *Offa* into *Old Saxony*, out of which his Family first came, had there by his Wife called *Cymara* a Son, whom he named *Edmund*, the pretended Miracles of whose Birth I purposely omit. This Prince having been instructed in all Christian and Moral Duties, lived in *Germany* to the 14th Year of his Age, and upon his return into *England* was so acceptable to the *East Angles*, that he was by them Elected King, and, till his Death, continued in the quiet Possession of that Kingdom, without any opposition of King *Ethelwulf*, or any of his Sons, then Kings of the *West Saxons*, to whose Dominions that Kingdom of the *East Angles* had lately been made subject; and hence it may be reasonably inferred, that it was by King *Ethelwulf's* Consent, that *Edmund* being returned out of *Germany*, took Possession of that Kingdom.

Being thus made King, and, by reason of his tender Age, not esteeming himself capable of managing the Affairs of the Nation, he willingly submitted them and himself to the Direction of the said Bishop of the *East Angles*, by whom he was Crowned, and by whose Council and Direction he behaved himself as became a Prince, endowed with all Kingly Virtues; so that during his Reign, his principal Care was to repair the Ruines which the *Mercian* Arms and Tyranny had brought upon the Churches of the *East Angles*, reduced by War to extream Poverty, and consequently to a Neglect of Piety and Ecclesiastical Discipline. And thus he Reigned 14 Years in Peace, with the Affection of all his Subjects, till GOD was pleased, by sending the Pagan *Danes* as a Scourge to his Country, to render this Prince a high Example of Christian Fortitude and Constancy.

King *ETHELBALD*, and King *ETHELRED*.

After the Death of *Ethelwulf* King of the *West Saxons*, his two eldest Sons divided their Father's Kingdom according to his Will: *Ethelbald*, his eldest Son, succeeded him in *West Saxony*, whilst his younger Brother *Ethelred* Reigned in *Kent*, as also over the *East* and *South Saxons*. And now (according to our Annals) the Pope hearing of the Death of King *Ethelwulf*, anointed *Alfred* to be King, and also delivered him to a

Anno Dom. DCCCLVII.

Anno Dom. Bishop to be Confirmed: If this was so, the King his Father must have left him behind at Rome; for *Affer* says expressly, That he went thither with him; but over what Kingdom the Pope should Anoint him, I know not, unless foretold by way of Prophecy, he would be King after his Brothers.

But as for King *Ethelbald*, above-mentioned, both *Ingulph* and *Will.* of *Malmesbury* give him a very bad Character, That he married *Judeth*, his Father's Widow, and was also besides both Lazy, and Perfidious; but * *Ed. in 1. Vol.* * *Thomas Redborne*, in his larger History of *Winchester*, says, That by the Admonition of *Swithun*, Bishop of that Church, he repented of his Incest, and put away *Judeth* his Mother-in-Law, and observed all Things that the Bishop enjoined him. This Author farther relates from one *Gerard*, of *Cornwall's* History of the *West Saxon* Kings, not now extant that I know of, That he died in a few Years after, without doing or suffering any thing that deserves to be mentioned; for we do not find that the *Danes* troubled this Kingdom all his Reign, concerning the Length of which there is very different Relations amongst our Historians; the *Saxon Annals*, and *William of Malmesbury*, making him to have reigned 5 Years, whereas *Affer* and *Ingulph* allow him but Two and an half, which seems to be the truer Account, for if King *Ethelwulf* returned from Rome in the Year 855, and lived above Two Years after, it is plain King *Ethelbald* could not Reign above Two Years and an half; for the *Saxon Annals* tell us, that in the next Year but one, viz.

Anno Dom. * King *Ethelbald* deceased, and that his Body was buried at *Scire-*
DCCCLX. * *borne*.

King *ETHELBERT* alone.

* Then *Ethelbryht*, his Brother took the Kingdom, and held it in great Concord and Quiet.

I suppose our Author means, from Domestic Commotions; for he immediately tells us, That in this King's time there came an Army (of *Danes*) from the Sea, and took *Winchester*; with whom (in their return to their Ships) *Osric* and *Ethelwulf* the Ealdormen, with the *Hampshire* and *Berkshire-men*, fought, and put the *Danes* to flight, and kept the Field of Battle, but the Annals do not tell us in what Year of his Reign this Invasion happened.

Anno Dom. * This Year deceased St. *Swithun* Bishop of *Winchester*.
DCCCLXI.

Now concerning this holy Bishop, as also *Alstan* Bishop of *Shirborne*, * *William of Malmesbury* gives us this Character, which omitting all the Bedroll of Miracles that follow, I shall here set down.

King *Ethelwulf* bearing a great Reverence to St. *Swithun*, whom he calls his Teacher and Master, desisted not till he had honoured him with the Government of the said Bishoprick, so that he was Consecrated with the Unanimous Consent and Joy of all the whole Clergy of that Diocese, by *Coelnoth* Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*; hereby Bishop *Swithun's* Authority encreasing, his Councils, for the Good of the Kingdom, proved of greater weight; so that by his Admonitions, both the Church and State received great Benefit: And indeed he was a rich Treasure of all Virtues; but those in which he took most Delight, were Humility and Clemency: and in the discharge of his Episcopal Function, he omitted nothing belonging to a True Pastor.

By his Assistance principally, together with that of the Prudent and *Anno Dom.* Courageous Prelate *Alstan*, Bishop of *Shirborne*, King *Ethelwulf* was enabled to support the Calamities his Kingdom suffered by the frequent Irruptions of the *Danes*; for these two were his principal Counsellours in all Affairs. Bishop *Swithun*, who contemned Worldly Things, informed his Lord in all Matters which concerned his Soul, whilst *Alstan* judging that Temporal Advantages were not to be neglected, encouraged him to oppose the *Danes*, and provided Money for his Exchequer, and also ordered his Armies; so that tho' this King was of a slow, unactive Nature, yet by the Admonitions of these two worthy Counsellours, he Governed his Kingdom prudently and happily: Many noble Designs for the good of the Church and State being well begun, were prosperously executed in his Reign.

* This Year the *Danish* Army landed in *Thanet*, and wintering there, made a League with the *Kentish-men*, who promised them Money, provided they would keep the Peace; under pretence of which, and of the Money promised, the *Danes* stole out of their Camp, and wasted all the East part of *Kent*.] For, as *Affer* well observes, they knew they could get more by Plunder, than by Peace.

* Now, according to the same Annals, King *Ethelbryht* died, to the great Grief of his Subjects, having governed the Kingdom 5 Years with *Anno Dom.* a general Satisfaction, and was buried at *Scyreburne*, near to his Brother. *DCCCLXVI.* This Prince is supposed to have had a Son call'd *Ethelwald*, whom you will find in this History to have raised a Rebellion against King *Edward* the elder many Years after.

King *ETHELRED*.

* Then (according to the Annals) *Ethelred*, Brother to the late King, began his Reign; and the same Year a great Army of *Danes* landed in *England*, and took up their Winter Quarters among the *East Angles*, and there turned Horsemen, and that Nation was forced to make Peace with them.

* Then the *Pagan* Army sailed from the *East Angles*, and went up the River *Anno Dom.* *Humber* to the City of *Tork*, where was at that time great Discord between the People of that Nation.] I shall here give you *Affer's* Account of this Transaction, being to the same effect (tho' more particular than that) in the Annals themselves. For (says he) the *Northumbers* had now expelled *Osbert*, their lawful King, and had set up a Tyrant or Usurper, one *Ella*, who was not descended of the Royal Line; but now when the *Pagans* invaded them by the Intercession of the great Men, and for the Common Safety, the two Kings joyned their Forces, and so marched to *Tork*; at whose coming the *Danes* presently fled, and endeavoured to defend themselves within the City; which the Christians perceiving, resolved to follow them to the very Walls, and breaking in, and entering the Town with them; (for it seems, that City had not in those Times such strong Walls, as they had when *Affer* wrote his History;) therefore when the Christians had made a Breach in the Wall as they designed, and that a great part of them had entered the City, the *Pagans* being compelled by Necessity and Despair, broke out upon them, and killed, routed, and put to flight the whole Army, as well within as without the Town; so that both the Kings were slain, together with many Noblemen, and a vast number of Common Souldiers; and a great many were

Anno Dom. taken Prisoners, and those that remained alive were forced to make Peace with the *Danes*, who (according to the Chronicle of *Mailros*;) made one *Egbert* King over the *Northumbrians* that were left, tho under the *Danish* Dominion; but it seems, it was only over those that lay on the North side of the River *Tine*, as *Simeon* of *Durham*, in his History of that Church, relates.

The same Year also died *Ealhstan* the Bishop, after he had held his See of *Scireborne* 50 Years, whose Body was buried in that Town.

Vid. X Script.
Cap. 802.

But since the Chronicle that goes under the Name of Abbot * *Bromton* undertakes to give some probable Account how the *Danes* came to invade the Kingdom of *Northumberland*, tho it looks somewhat like a Romance, yet I shall here give it you, since it is found in no other Author that I know of, being thus. *Osbriht*, King of *Northumberland*, going one day a hunting, as he returned home went privately to the House of one of his Noblemen, called *Bruern Brocard*, to refresh himself; *Bruern* knowing nothing of the King's coming, was gone to the Sea side, according to his Custom, to secure the Shoar against Pirars; but his Wife, a Woman of great Beauty, entertained the King at Dinner very splendidly. The King having dined, took her by the Hand and led her to her Chamber, telling her, He must speak with her in private; and there removing all out of the way, but such as were privy to his Secrets, he by Force and Violence lay with her. Having thus had his Will, he speedily returned to *Tork*, whilst she so lamented, and wept, that her Face was extremely altered; which caused her Husband at his return to ask the cause of so sudden a Change, and such an unusual Sadness: Whereupon she told him the whole Matter, how the King had forced her; which having heard, he comforted her, bidding her not to afflict her self, since she was not able to resist a Man so potent; assuring her, because she had told him the Truth, he would not love her less than he had done before; and if GOD gave him leave, he would Revenge both himself, and her, upon him that had committed the Crime. Then did *Bruern*, being a Man both Noble and Powerful, call his Kindred together, to whom he revealed the Affront put upon him, and his Intention speedily to Revenge it; To which they all consenting, and approving his Purpose, he with them took Horse and rode to *Tork*. The King, upon sight of him, called him to him very civilly, but he having all his Relations at his Back, defied him, renouncing his Allegiance, giving up his Land, and whatsoever else he held of him. This said, without any more Words he withdrew, making no stay at all at Court.

So his Friends consenting, he went straitways over to *Denmark*, where he made a great Complaint to the King of the Affront offered to him and his Wife by *K. Osbriht*, desiring his speedy Relief and Supplies to put him into a Capacity to revenge himself. At this News, *Godrin* and his *Danes* conceived very great Joy, having now some Reason to induce them to invade the *English*, and revenge the Injury offered to *Bruern*, who was descended of his Blood; whereupon he speedily prepared a great Army, over which he made Captains, two Brothers, called *Inguar*, and *Hubba*, most valiant Souldiers; and to them he gave a Navy, furnished with all Necessaries, to transport an innumerable Company of Men. These Adventurers landing in the Northern Parts, and taking their way through *Holderness*, destroyed all the Towns, with their Inhabitants; and coming to *Tork*, provoked *Osbriht* to come out and fight them, where

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he and his Brother-King were both slain, as you have already heard.

This Year the *Danish* Army marched into *Mercia* as far as *Snotingham-hum*, (now *Nottingham*;) and there took up their Quarters; but *Burh-red*, King of the *Mercians*, with his Great or Wife Men, entreated *Ethel-red*, King of the *West Saxons*, and *Ælfred* his Brother, to help them to fight against the *Pagans*; whereupon they likewise marched to the same place, where finding the *Danish* Army strongly fortified, they only besieged *Nottingham*.] But (as *Affer* and *Ingulph* relate) the Christians not being able to take either the Town or Castle, there was very little fighting, so that the *Mercians* were forced to make Peace with the *Pagans*; whereupon the *Danes* marched back again into the Kingdom of *Northumberland*.

The same Year *Affer* (in his Life of *K. Alfred*) tells us, That the King married the Daughter of *Æthelred* the Ealdorman of the *Gaint*, i. e. of the Country about *Gainsborough* in *Torkshire*.

But the next Year, the *Danish* Army returned again to *Tork*, and there stayed Twelve Months; and now there was also a great Mortality both of Men, and Beasts.

But we cannot here omit the Relation of *Mat. Westminster* under this Year, concerning what the *Danes* did before they left the North of *England*, where he says, they slew both Old and Young, not sparing the Lives or Chastities so much as of the Nuns, where he gives us a strange Example of an Heroick (if not too Great a) Love of Chastity; for *Ebba*, (afterwards Sainted,) then Abbess of *Coldingham* Nunnery in *Torkshire*, being more afraid of the loss of her Virginity, than her Life, calling her Nuns into the Chapter-house, there made a Speech to them, setting forth the Lust and Cruelty of the *Danes*, and also exhorting them to follow her Example in avoiding it; which they all promising to observe, she then took a Razour and cut off her own Nose and upper Lip, in which she was immediately followed by all the Sisters; which being done, those cruel Tyrants, *Hinguar* and *Hubba*, coming thither the next day, together with their Forces, and seeing so horrible a Spectacle, they not only ran out of the Monastery and left them, but also gave order to their Followers, that they should set the House on fire, which they forthwith did; so it was burnt to Ashes, together with the Abbess, and all her Nuns, who thought themselves happy in thus suffering Martyrdom for the preservation of that which was dearer to them than their Lives. Nor did they discharge their Fury upon this Nunnery alone, but upon all the rest of the Monasteries of the *Northumbrian* Kingdom, having not long before destroyed the Monasteries and Church of *Lindisfarne*, with those of *Girmy* and *Weremuth*, besides the famous Nunneries of *Streanshal* and *Tinmuth*; most of which were never rebuilt, and those that were, not till several Ages after. But to proceed with our Annals. In the *Peterborough* Copy, it follows thus:

Then the *Danes* quitting the North, and mounting themselves on Horseback, marched through *Mercia* into *East England*, and took up their Winter Quarters at *Theodford*; the same Winter King *Eadmund* fought with them, but the *Danes* gained the Victory, and slew that holy King, and destroying all the Monasteries that lay in their way, they wholly conquered that Kingdom. The Names of the Princes who slew him were *Higra* and *Ueba*, (whom other Writers call *Hinguar* and

Anno Dom. 1066. and Hubba.) At the same time also they came to *Medeshamstead*, which
 1066. CLXX. Monastery they burnt and destroyed, killing the Abbots and Monks,
 with all the Men they found there, carrying away all the rich Spoil of
 that place.

But since the *Saxon Annals* are very short in this Relation, I shall give you from *Ingulph* a more particular Account of what they did this Year in their march into *East England*, who further adds; That Winter being ended, the *Danes* took Shipping and went into *Lindisse* in *Lincolnshire*, and landing at *Humberstan*, spoiled all that Country, at which time that famous and ancient Monastery of *Bardney* was destroyed, the Monks and all others being slain in the Church without Mercy; and when they had there stayed, wasting the Country for the whole Summer: About *Michaelmas* they did the like to the Country of *Kesteven*, in the same Province, where they committed the same Murders and Desolations.

The same Year, in the Month of *September*, Count *Algar* drew together all the Youth of *Hoyland* (now called *Holland*) in *Lincolnshire*, with two Knights his Senescals, *Wibert*, and *Leofric*, who marched in the Head of them, together with a brave Body of 200 Men belonging to *Croyland Abbey*, who being all stout Fellows, were led by one *Toly*, then a Monk, but formerly a famous Souldier among the *Mercians*; these taking with them about 300 stout and warlike Men more from *Deping*, *Lanioft*, and *Boston*, to whom also joyned *Morchar*, Lord of *Brunne*, with his strong and numerous Family, and being met by the Sheriff of *Lincoln*, a valiant and ancient Souldier, with the *Lincolnshire* Forces, all which mustering together in *Kesteven* on *St. Maurice's Day*, they joyned Battle with the *Pagans*, where G O D gave them the Victory, three Kings being slain, with a very great multitude of Souldiers; the Christians pursued the Pagans to their very Camp, where finding a stout Resistance, Night at last parted them, and the Earl drew back his Army.

But it seems there returned that Night to the *Danish* Camp all the rest of the Princes of that Nation, who dividing the Country among them, had marched out to plunder; their names are Barbarous, and too long to be repeated, but their chief Kings were *Godrum* and *Basseg*, and their Earls or Leaders, *Hingar* and *Hubba*, with others, who then returned with great Forces, and a multitude of Captives, and a great deal of Spoil; and their coming being known, the greatest part of the Christians struck with terrour fled away; whilst those that were left, early in the Morning, after hearing Divine Service, and receiving the Sacrament, being resolved to dye for Christ, and in Defence of their Country, marched into the field against their Enemies; but the Earl perceiving his Forces to be too much weaken'd appointed Fryer *Toly* with his Five Hundred Men to Fight in the Right Wing, because they were the strongest; and Earl *Morchar* with those who followed him, as also the Sheriff of *Lincoln* making other Five Hundred in the Left Wing; whilst he with his Senescals kept the main Body, as ready to help either Wing if there were occasion; but the *Danes* being now enraged at the slaughter of their Men, having buried their Three Kings at a place, which is thence called *Treckingham*; afterwards 2 Kings and 3 Counts marched out, whilst the rest guarded the Camp, and Captives; but the Christians, because of their smaller Number, drawing themselves up in one Body, made with their Shields a strong *Tessudo* against the force of their Enemies

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Arrows, and kept off the Horse with their Pikes; and thus being well ordered by their Commanders, they kept their Ground the whole day: But tho' they remained unbroken till night, and had still withstood the force of their Enemies Arrows, but their Horses being then tired, began to flag: the Pagans feigning a Flight, on purpose seemed to quit the Field, which the Christians perceiving, altho' their Commanders forbade and opposed it, yet nevertheless breaking their Ranks, were all dispersed through the Plain without any Order or Command; but the Pagans returning like Lions upon a Flock of Sheep, made a great Slaughter amongst them; whilst the stout Count *Algar*, and Frier *Toly*, with some Souldiers, getting upon a rising Ground, and being drawn up into a round Body, did for a long time endure the Pagans Insults; and when the said Earl and other Captains saw the stoutest Men of their small Army slain, they got upon the thickest heaps of the Christian dead Bodies, and there being resolved to sell their Lives as dear as they could, they fell down dead, having received many Wounds; only a few young Men of *Sutton* and *Gedeney* flinging away their Arms, fled into a Neighbouring Wood, and so escaping, came the Night following to the Monastery of *Croyland*, and there related the slaughter of the Christians, and the loss of their whole Company: which when they had told at the Church door with great lamentations, the Abbot and Monks, being extremely confounded at this ill news, resolved to keep only with them the Elder Monks, and some few Children, to provoke compassion, and so sent away all the Younger Men, together with the Reliques, Jewels, and Charters of their Monasteries, by Boat to the Wood of *Anearig*, adjoining to their Island; where they staid with one *Foret* an Anchorite Four days, being Thirty in number, whereof Ten were Priests: But the Abbot having hid the rest of the Plate; with the rich Table of the Altar, and put on his Sacred Vestments, and had with his Brethren said Mass, and communicated; they had scarce finished all this when the Pagans breaking into the Church, slew Abbot *Theodore* at the Altar, who perished by the hands of their King *Oketule*, all the rest as well Old Men as Children, being also slain, except one handsome Boy of about Ten Years Old, who (being intended for a Monk) was saved by Count *Sidroc* the Younger, and stripping him of his Habit, put on him a *Danish* Coat, ordering him to follow him where ever he went, and so the Boy sticking close to him, his Life was saved, and he alone escaping, gave a relation of what he had seen; but the *Danes*, when they had broke open the Tombs of *St. Guthlak*, and the Princes there buried, and finding no more Plunder, set the Church on Fire, and burnt the dead bodies that were in it together.

So likewise of the destruction of the Monastery of *Medeshamstead*, this Author hath given us a larger account than what we find in this Copy of the *Annals*, viz. That four days after the destruction of *Croyland*, the *Danes* march'd towards that Monastery, where finding the Gates lock'd, they began to make an assault upon it; but receiving a Repulse, at the second assault, *Tuba* the Brother of Count *Hubba* being knocked down with a Stone, was carried off for Dead, whereat *Hubba* was so enraged, that breaking into the Monastery he slew all the Monks that came in his way, whilst the rest of them destroyed the others, till at last all perished, so that in short, the Monastery was wholly destroyed, and the Church, together

Anno Dom. together with a noble Library of Books, and all its Charters were reduced to Athes.

But the fourth day after this the Pagan Army having got together all the spoil they could, marched toward *Huntington*; but in their way thither, as the two Counts *Sidroc* brought up the Rear of the Army, which had now passed the River *Nene*, two Waggon loads of rich moveables happened to be sunk in the Ford, as also the Bcasts that drew them, in getting out of which, whilst *Sidroc* and his Men were busied, the Boy *Turgar* slipped away into the next Wood, and walking all Night about break of Day he got to *Croyland*, where he found the Monks returned again, and busie in quenching the Fire, as well as they could; to whom he related all that had happened, and discovering where the body of the Abbot and most of the Monks lay, they removed the rubbish, and buried them, and then having chosen *Godric*, one of the Monks that escaped, for their Abbot, they were resolved to go and do the like Pious Office for the late Prior and Monks of *Medelhamstead*, where arriving, they buried the Bodies of above fourscore Monks in one Grave in the Church-yard, placing over them a Pyramidal Stone of about a Yard high, whereon were carved the Images of the Abbot and Monks about him, which was then to be seen in *Ingulph's* time.

In the mean time the *Britains* spoiling the Country as far as *Grant-bridge* (now *Cambridge*;) they then fell upon, and burnt the famous Nunnery of *Ely*, killing all that were therein both Men and Women, and carrying away a great deal of Riches, which had been brought thither from all parts for their better security; from whence they passed over into the Country of the *East-Angles*, where they slew Earl *Wulfetule* coming against them, and making a stout resistance with his small Forces, from whence they marched against King *Edmund* himself, of whose Life and Martyrdom, I shall out of *Asher's Annals*, give you a particular account; and tho I will not pass my word for the truth of all his Relation, being written after the manner of the Legends of those times, yet the substance of it is no doubt true, and the rest may serve, if not to instruct, yet at least to divert the Readers.

But before I proceed to the Story of the Martyrdom of this King, it may not be amiss to relate the occasion, why the *Danes* invaded the Kingdom of the *East-Angles*, and put King *Edmund* so cruelly to Death, which story tho it be not very probable; yet since it is found in *Mat. Westminsters Flores Historiarum*, I will from thence repeat it in as few words as I can, being to this effect; That in the Kingdom of *Denmark* there was one *Lothbrook*, who being descended from the Royal Family, had by his Wife two Sons, *Ingvar* and *Hubba*: *Lothbrook* going to Sea by himself, in a Boat, with only a Hawke on his Fitt, to seek for Game in a Neighbouring Island, being taken by a sudden and violent Storm, was tossed up and down for several Days, till at last he was by the Wind and Tide driven upon the Coast of that Country, we now call *Northfolk*; where being found alone with his Hawk, he is presented to *Edmund* the King, and being kindly received for the comeliness of his Person, continued in his Court, and told the King the Tale of his strange Fortune, and often went out in the Field for his Recreation, with *Beorn* the King's Huntsman, being extraordinarily dexterous both in Hunting and Fowling; for this Reason, this Huntsman greatly envied him,

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and as they two were hunting together alone, he secretly murdered him, and hid his Body in a Wood. Now *Lothbrook* kept a Greyhound, which was exceedingly fond of him, and the Huntsman being gone away with the rest of the Dogs, he stayed there alone by his Master's Body; next day, when the King asked for *Lothbrook*, *Beorn* answered, *That the day before he stayed in the Wood, and since that he had not seen him.* But behold, the Greyhound comes to Court, and fawning upon the King, as well as others, as soon as he had filled his Belly, again departed; till doing this often, he was followed to the place by some of the King's Servants, who there found out the Body, and brought the Relation of it to the King: The Matter being examined, and found out, the Huntsman is sentenced to be put into the same Boat in which *Lothbrook* arrived, without any Oars or Tackling; in which, after a few days, (surely the Boat knew its way,) he was cast upon the Coast of *Denmark*, where being brought to *Lothbrook's* Sons, and by them examined what was become of their Father, whose Boat they sufficiently knew, he affirmed, That he was killed by *Edmund*, King of the *East Angles*; Whereupon they prepare a Navy, and passing into *England*, landed first in the Northern Parts, and, as was said before, they grievously hara's'd the Country of the *Northumbers*, and having brought it under Subjection, *Hingvar* quits his Company, and with a great Fleet sailed to *East England*, where King *Edmund* Reigned.

But *Saxo Grammaticus* gives us quite another Account of the Death of these Prince's Father, whom he calls *Regner*, viz. That he was taken Prisoner in *Ireland*, and there killed in Prison by Snakes, where none, you must know, ever were, a Story altogether as probable as the former; so I have here given you, from several Authors, two different Accounts of the Reason of the *Danes* invading *England*, and shall leave it to the Reader to believe one, or neither, since as they cannot both be true, so neither of them seem very probable.

This King *Edmund* had now Reigned five Years with great Affection of his Subjects, for, being a Prince of great Hopes, he was by the *Unanimous Favour*, and Consent of the People of that Province, not only Elected; but rather forced to Rule over them. He had a Majestick Mien that became a King, and in his Countenance appeared a certain Air of Piety mixed with Meekness and Devotion. It was indeed but a short time he Reigned; but in that time he did by his Charity to the Poor, and his Care over Widows and Orphans, perform all the Duties of a Pious Man, as well as of a Good King.

But to come to the Story it self: The *Danes*, having now spoiled the Country, and routed the King's Army, as you have heard, came on a sudden upon a certain City, and taking it by Surprise, they killed the Inhabitants, and ravished the Women, sparing neither Age nor Sex; but when they had pretty well satiated their Fury, *Hingvar* their Captain examined some of the ordinary People that were left alive, where their King used to reside; but here our Author supposes the King to have never yet resisted them, and therefore that they would first seize on him, to prevent him from raising any Forces against them; which is not at all likely, especially since the *Saxon Annals* tell us expressly, that King *Edmund* had already fought against him, and been put to flight: But this seems more probable, that the King being then fled to one of his Houses in the Country, called *Hegledune*, was by the *Danes* discovered: Whereupon *Hingvar* sent one of his Servants on a Message to him, the Sub-

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Anno Dom. DCCCLXX. stance of which was, 'That Earl *Hinguar*, his Lord, commanded him to deliver up all his Treasures, and that he should submit himself and his Kingdom to his Power, which if he refused to do, he should then be deprived both of his Kingdom and Life. To which the King answered; *That he would never renounce the Vow he had made in Baptism, and being made King by the General Consent of the whole People, he was resolved never to do any thing to the Prejudice of the Common-weal of the English Nation, nor ever to submit his Neck to any Yoke but that of Christ, whose Example he now intended to imitate, and by his Grace would Suffer for his Name:* And so he bid the Messenger return, and tell this to his Master. It seems the King had no sooner finished what he had to say, but as the Messenger was going back with this Answer, *Hinguar* himself met him, to whom having told what the King had said, he immediately commanded his Men to enter the Palace, and to lay hold of none but the King, and He, being there soon found, was immediately tied, and brought before the Captain, who commanded him first to be cruelly beaten, and then bound to a Neighbouring Tree, to be inhumanly whipped; all which he manfully endured, still calling on the Name of Christ: Whereat his Enemies being enraged, in a most barbarous manner shot his Body so full of Arrows, that it seemed capable of receiving no more; yet none of the Wounds killing him outright, *Hinguar* at last commanded one of his Souldiers to cut off his Head; which our Author describes with a great deal of Monkish Eloquence: This being done, and leaving his Body there, they carried away the Head along with them, that so it might not be buried with it; but at last they flung it into a Wood, (which *John of Tinmouth*, in his *Historia Aurea*, calls *Hegledun*;) but the People, after they were gotten out of their Hiding-places, began to look for it, and having long searched up and down the Wood, they at length heard the Head when they cried out to one another, *Where are you?* Answer (in English,) *Here, here:* Nor ceased repeating those words, till they came where it lay. As for this part of the Story, it sounds so like a Legend, that I shall leave it to be swallowed by those who are apt to be taken with such Things. I have no more to add, but that King *Edmund* Suffered on the 12th of the Kal. of December, in the Year above-mentioned: But enough in Conscience, if not too much, of this King's Martyrdom, who had afterwards a Church and Monastery erected to his Memory, as you will find when you come to it; for it is certain, the *English Saxons* attributed as great Sanctity to this, as to any of their ancient Saints, and had as great a Belief of his Miracles, his Body being preserved uncorrupt (whether by Art or Miracle I shall not determine) for many Ages after.

I have no more to Remark under this Year, 'but that now *Ceolnoth* the Arch-Bishop deceased, and *Ethelred* Bishop of *Wiltun-scire* was Elected Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury* in his stead.

Also that the Town of *Dunmoe*, being now destroyed by the *Danes*, *Helmham* in *Norfolk* continued to be the sole Bishop's See for the Kingdom of the *East Angles*, till it was long after removed to *Norwich*.

Anno Dom. DCCCLXXI. This Year (as both *Asser* and the *Saxon Annals* relate) the Army of the *Danes* leaving the *East Angles*, marched into the *West Saxon* Kingdom, and came to a Town of the King's called *Reading*, lying on the South side of *Thames*, in that County which was then called *Beaurockshire*, (now *Berkshire*;) and the third Day after their coming, divers of their

their Commanders rid out with great part of their Forces to Plunder, whilst the rest remained behind to cast up a Trench between the two Rivers, *Thames* and *Kinton*, on the right side of the Town, whom Earl *Ethelwulf* with his Forces met at *Englefeld* in that County, where it was stoutly fought on both sides; but after a long Battle, one of the Counts *Sydrock* being slain, and a great part of his Army routed, the rest escaping by flight, the Christians got the Victory, and kept the Field. And four Days after, King *Ethelred* and *Ælfred* his Brother joyning their Forces together, marched to *Reading*, and when they came to the Castle, they killed and destroyed all the *Danes* whom they found without the Gates; but they within did not make a less obstinate Resistance, for falling out, the Fight became very sharp on both sides, in so much that the Christians were at last forced to turn their Backs, and the Pagans gained the Victory, and there Earl *Ethelwulf* above-mentioned was slain amongst the rest; with which the Christians being much provoked, 4 days after they fought with them again at a place called *Æsceldune* (now *Asdon*) in *Berkshire*, when the Pagans divided themselves into two equal Bodies, for they had then two Kings, besides many Earls; so they allotted one part of the Army to the two Kings, and the other to the Earls; which the Christians perceiving, they likewise did the same with their Army: But *Ælfred* came sooner into the Field with his Men, than did the King his Brother; for (as *Asser* tells us) he had heard from those that were there, that the King was then in his Tent hearing Mass, and positively affirming, that he would not depart thence till it was finished, which he made good; and this Piety of the King's was thought to prevail much with God, for the Christians had resolved that King *Ethelred* with his Forces should maintain the Fight against the two Pagan Kings, whilst *Ælfred* his Brother, with his Detachment, should oppose the Earls. And now both Armies being drawn up in Battle Array, whilst the King stayed somewhat long at his Prayers, Prince *Ælfred*, then his Brother's Lieutenant, was not strong enough alone to sustain all the Pagan Forces, for tho' he saw he must either Retreat, or else Engage the Enemy before his Brother's coming up, which still the King delayed, yet the Prince (trusting on the Divine Assistance, and) having put his Men in good Order, presently marched against the Enemy, who had much the Advantage of him, by reason of the higher Ground they had got. There was also in the same Field a single Thorn Tree, (which *Asser* says he himself had seen,) about which the Enemies Troops were all drawn up; but when they had both bloudily fought for a long time, the Pagans being no longer able to withstand the Christians Arms, a great part of their Troops was slain, and the rest saved themselves by flight, leaving behind them dead upon the place one of their Kings called *Bachseg*, and several other great Men, with many Thousands of common Souldiers, needless here to be particularly mentioned; but this King here called *Bachseg*, the *Danish* History names *Ivar*, the Son of *Reynere*; so the rest of their Army fled that night to the Castle of *Reading* above-mentioned, whither the Christians following killed them as long as day-light would permit.

But tho' *Asser*, the Writer of King *Alfred's* Life and Actions, hath for his Honour attributed the whole Success of this Battle to that Prince; yet it is more probable what the Manuscript, called *Scala Chronica*, (cited by Mr. *Speed*,) relates, That when Prince *Ælfred's* Men, being now spent,

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Anno Dom. were ready to Retreat, King *Ethered* came into the Battle from his Prayers; *DCCCLXXI.* and so well seconded his Brother with fresh Forces, that renewing the Fight, the Victory (the greatest they had ever yet obtained) was chiefly owing to their Valour.

But Fifteen Days after this, King *Ethered*, with his Brother *Ælfred*, marched again towards *Basing* to fight the Enemy, where another Battle happened, and the Pagans, making there an obstinate Resistance, obtain'd the Victory, and kept the Field; after which Fight, a fresh Army of Pagans coming from beyond Sea, joyned themselves to the former.

But here the *Saxon Annals* further add, 'That about two Months after this, King *Ethered*, and *Ælfred* his Brother, fought again with the Pagans at *Meretune* (now *Merton*) in *Surrey*, where the Army being divided into two Parts, at first put the Enemy to the Rout, and had the better for a great part of the day; yet at last, after a mighty slaughter, the *Danes* kept the Field, and there was slain Bishop *Heamund*, with abundance of brave Men.

After this Battle, during the whole Summer following, the *Danes* remained in quiet at *Reading*; but the same Year King *Ethered*, having now for five Years stoutly and nobly Govern'd his Kingdom, tho' with many Troubles, deceased, and was buried in the Monastery of *Winburne* in *Dorsetshire*. But, tho' the Chronicle that goes under the Name of Abbot *Bromton*, (from I know not what Authority,) relates this King to have died of the Wounds which he had received in a Fight against one *Somerled*, a *Danish* King, who had newly destroyed the Town of *Reading*; and the Inscription on this King's Tomb at *Winborne*, (cited by * Mr. *Camden* in his *Britannia*,) relates him to be slain by the *Danes*; yet since neither *Ælfred*, *Ingulph*, the *Saxon Annals*, nor *William* of *Malmesbury*, mention any such thing, and that the Inscription it self is but Modern, I rather suppose him to have died a natural Death of the Plague, which then reigned.

This King is said, by the *Annals of Ireland*, to have had a Daughter named *Thyra*, married to *Gormun*, King of the *Danes*, who on her begat *Sweyn*, the Father of King *Cnut*. This *Ethered* had also several Sons, as *Alfred*, supposed to be Grandfather to *Ethelward*, called *Questor* the Historian; as also *Osvald*, who his Father mentions in his Charter to the Abbey of *Abingdon*.

King *ÆLFRED*, otherwise called *ALFRED*.

Immediately after King *Ethered*'s Death, (as *Ælfred* relates,) Prince *Alfred*, (who, during the Lives of his three Brothers, had been only their Deputy, or Lieutenant,) now by the General Consent of the whole Kingdom, took the Government upon him, which he might have had if he pleased during their Life-time, since he exceeded them all both in Wisdom and Courage; so that indeed he Reigned almost whether he would or no. But before the first Month of his Reign was at an end, he, trusting on the Divine Assistance, marched his Army (tho' but few in comparison of the Pagans) to *Wilton*, lying on the South side of the River *Willie*, (from which both the Town and Country take their Names,) where it was valiantly fought on both sides for great part of the day, till the Pagans not being able any longer to endure the Force and Valour of the *English*, began to turn their Backs, but then finding the Number of the Pursuers to be small, they rallied, and obtaining the Victory, kept the Field.

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Nor let this seem strange to any, that will but consider how small the *Anno Dom.* Number of the Christians were, in comparison of the Pagans; for the *DCCCLXXI.* *English* had in the space of one Year fought 8 or 9 Battles against them, besides innumerable Skirmishes which King *Alfred*, or his Commanders, had with them, wherein tho' they lost one King and nine Earls, or Principal Commanders; yet receiving such frequent Recruits from beyond Sea, whilst the *Saxons* every day grew weaker, it is no Wonder if they prevailed; yet notwithstanding *Ælfred*, and the *Saxon Annals*, tell us, That this Year there was a Peace made with the *Danes*, upon condition that they would depart the Kingdom; which they for the present observed, but to little purpose.

For the next Year, (as the same Author tells us,) the *Danes* having *Anno Dom.* landed again, marched from *Reading* to *London*, and there took up their *DCCCLXXII.* Winter-Quarters; and the *Mercians* were forced to make Peace with them.

Also this Year, (according to the Chronicle of *Mailross*, and *Simeon* of *Durham*,) the *Northumbers* expelled *Egbert* their King, and *Wulfher* Arch-Bishop of *Tork*, who both (as *Mat. Westminster* relates) flying to *Bertulph* King of the *Mercians*, were by him honourably received.

About the same time (according to *Caradoc's* Chronicle) also died *Gngan*, King or Prince of *Cardigan*, who, as some *British* Chronicles relate, was drowned by misfortune; and at the same time the *Danes* destroyed the Town of *Alcluid* in *Scotland*.

This Year the *Danish* Army leaving the Countries about *London*, *Anno Dom.* 'marched into the Kingdom of the *Northumbers*, and there Wintered in a *DCCCLXXIII.* place called *Tursige* (now *Torwick*) in *Lindsey*, (which was then part of the *Northumbrian* Kingdom;) so that the Neighbouring Nations were again forced to renew their League with them.

And now also (according to *Simeon* of *Durham*) *Egbert*, King of *Northumberland*, dying, one *Ricsige* succeeded him, and Arch-Bishop *Wulfher* was now restored to his Bishoprick.

The next Year the Pagan Army leaving *Lindisse*, marched into *Mer-* *Anno Dom.* *cire*, and wintered in a place called *Hreoptun* (now *Repton*) in *Derby-* *DCCCLXXIV.* *shire*, where they forced *Burhred*, King of the *Mercians*, to desert his Kingdom, and pass the Seas to go to *Rome*, where arriving, he lived not long, but there dying in the 22d Year of his Reign, he was honourably buried at the *English* School or College in the Church of *St. Mary* thereunto belonging. The *Danes*, after his Expulsion, brought the whole Kingdom of *Mercia* under their Dominion, and then delivered it to one *Ceolwulf*, an inconsiderable Fellow, and Servant of the late King. upon this miserable Condition, That he should deliver it up to them again whenever they required it; and for this he gave Hostages, swearing to obey them in all Things.

Now the *Danish* Army leaving *Hreoptun*, became divided into two; and *Anno Dom.* *Halfden* their Commander marched with one part of it into the King- *DCCCLXXV.* dom of *Northumberland*, and there took up his Winter-Quarters near the River *Tine*, where they conquered the whole Country, and also spoiled the Country between the *Picts* and the *Straced Welsh-men*, (who then inhabited part of *Galloway* in *Scotland*,) whilst another part of them, under the Command of *Godrun*, *Oskytel*, and *Amwynd*, (three of their Kings,) marched to *Grantbridge*, and there Wintered: And the same Summer King *Ælfred* fought at Sea against seven of their Ships, and took one of them, the rest escaping.

This

Anno Dom. DCCCLXXVII. This Year (as *Affer* and the *Saxon Annals* relate,) *Rollo*, the *Dane* or *Norman*, wasted *Neuftria*, (afterwards called *Normandy*;) and, in some time after, made an entire Conquest of it: *Affer* also says, that this *Rollo* having had a Dream of a Swarm of Bees flying towards the South, he chose to leave *England*, and go over into *France*; though, as other Authours affirm, it was because he was so warmly received by King *Alfred*, that he did not like to stay here, but rather chose to pass into another Country of easier Conquest, as *Normandy* indeed proved, for he reigned there fifty Years.

The same Year (according to the Chronicle of *Mailtrosse*, and *Simeon* of *Durham*;) *Ricig*, King of *Northumberland*, dying, another *Egbert* succeeded him; but we have no account of his Actions, more than that he reigned beyond *Tyne* as a Tributary to the *Danes*, who possessed all the rest of the Country, as you will find by the *Saxon Annals*.

The same Year, (accordingly) the *Danes* stealing away by Night from *Grantbridge*, (where they had long encamped,) marched to *Werham*, (now *Warham* in *Dorsetshire*;) being then a strong Castle of the *West-Saxons*; this place they took, and destroyed, together with the Nunnery there; then passing higher, as into a secure Harbour, they drew up all their Ships, so that now King *Alfred* was reduced to such great straits, that he was forced to make Peace with him; and they gave the King for Pledges some of the Noblest Persons in their Army, and took an Oath upon a sacred Bracelet they had, (which Oath they would never take to any Nation before,) that they would presently depart the Kingdom; but in the mean while, that part of the Army, which had Horles, stole away to *Exanceaster*, (now *Exeter*;) whereupon the King put all their Hostages to Death.

The same Year in the Month of *August*, *Healfden* the *Danish* King divided the Kingdom of the *Northumbers* among his People, who now settling there, ploughed and sowed; from whence the *Danes* date their Reign over that Kingdom. But the Year following,

Anno Dom. DCCCLXXVII. The *Danes* having left *Werham*, and come to *Exeter*, (as you have already heard,) their Fleet in the mean time fetching a compass, sailing towards the *West*, (I suppose to *Exmouth*;) there arose so violent a Storm, as that 120 of their Ships were cast away near *Swanawic*, (now *Swanwick* in *Hampshire*;) then King *Alfred* followed that part of the Army as far as *Exeter*, tho' he could not overtake them, till they had got into the Castle, which proved so strong, that no body could come at them; but he straightning them there, they gave him what Hostages he required, and took fresh Oaths, and for a small time observed the league they had made; yet nevertheless in the Month of *August* following, the same *Danish* Army marched into the Province of the *Mercians*, where, dividing part of it between themselves, they left the rest to *Ceolwulf* above mentioned.

About this time also, according to *Caradoc's* Chronicle, the *English*, having entred *Wales* the Year before, fought a Bloody Battel with the *Welshmen*, though this Authour neither tells who were the Commanders, nor who had the Victory; and the Year following there was another Battel between them, wherein *Rodorick*, surnamed *The Great*, King or Prince of *Wales*, and *Guyriad* his Brother, or (as some say,) his Son, were slain.

This *Rodorick* had, by his Wife *Engharand*, the Daughter of Prince *Meuric* several Sons, as *Anarawd* his Eldest, to whom he gave *Aberffraw*, with

Anno Dom. DCCCLXXVII. with *North Wales*: *Cadelh* the second, to whom he left *Dynevowr*, with *South-Wales*; who also took by force *Marthaval* and *Powysland*, after the Death of *Mervyn* the third Son; to whom their Father *Rodorick* had given the same; To which Dr. *Powel* likewise adds, That this *Rodorick* is esteemed by all Writers, to be sole King of all *Wales*; *North-Wales* descending to him from his Mother *Esfylt* the Daughter and sole Heir of *Conan Tindaethry*; but *South-Wales* he had in Right of his Wife, the Daughter and Heir of *Meyric ap Dyfnwal*, King of *Cardigan*; *Powis* he had by *Nest*, the Sister and Heir of *Congen ap Cadhel*, King of *Powis*, his Father's Mother: These three Dominions he appointed under their Meeres and Bounds, with a Princely House in each of them. These he had named *Tair Talaeth*, and left them unto three of his Sons, *Anarawd*, *Cadhel*, and *Mervyn*, who were called *Tirri Tmysoc Talaethioc*, that is, the three Crown'd Princes, because each of them did wear upon his Bonnet, or Helmet, a Coronet of Gold, being a broad Lace or Head-band indented upwards, set and wrought with precious Stones; which, in the *British* or *Welsh* Speech, is called *Talaeth*; and to which Mr. *Vaughan*, in his Additional Notes to *Caradoc's* History hath added, out of an ancient *Welsh* Manuscript, That this *Rodorick* is said to have corrected some of the old *British* Laws, and to have appointed new ones: He also ordained, that his Eldest Son should have the Crown, or Coronet of *Aberffraw*, with the Fifteen Cantreds thereunto belonging. This *Aberffraw* is now a small Village in the Isle of *Anglesey*; and was anciently the chief Seat of the Princes of *Gwyneth*, or *North-Wales*: He left to his second the Crown or Coronet of *Dynevowr* or *Cardigan*, with its fifteen Cantreds, extending from the Mouth of the River *Devi* to the Mouth of *Severne*; and also that his Son should have the Crown, or Coronet of *Marthaval*, with the Fifteen Cantreds of *Powis*, from the mouth of the River *Dee*, to the bridge over *Severne* at *Gloucester*.

He ordained also, That his Eldest Son, and his successours should continue the payment of the ancient tribute to the King of *London*, (i. e. King of *England*) and that the other two, their Heirs and Successours, should acknowledge his Sovereignty, and pay the like tribute to him and his Successours; and that upon the Invasions of Strangers, they should all send him aid, and be also ready to protect them, when there should be need.

Moreover he ordained, That when any difference should arise between the Princes of *Aberffraw*, and *Cardigan*, the Three Princes should meet at *Bwlchy Pawl*, and after hearing of Council on both sides, the Prince of *Powis* should be Umpire between them.

And if the difference were between the Kings of *Aberffraw*, and *Powis*, that they should likewise all Three meet at *Dolbrianedd*, (perchance *Morvarhianedd*, on the Bank of the River *Dee*) where the King of *Cardigan* was to end the Controversie.

And if there should be any difference between the Kings of *Powis*, and *Cardigan*, the meeting should be at *Llyswen*, upon the River *Wye*, and the King of *Aberffraw* to decide it.

This, tho' it seems to have been as wise a course as could be taken to maintain amity in a divided Kingdom, yet did prove of no effect; for it seems the Princes of these Countries did not long observe this Constitution of their Ancestour King *Rodoric*, but perpetually weakened each other with Civil Wars; so that the *English* taking advantage of their mutual divisions, by assisting the weaker Prince against the stronger; they

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they at last by degrees reduced them all under the *English* Dominion, as shall be further shewn in its proper place.

About this time *Anarawd*, the Eldest Son of *Rodorick* above mentioned, began his Reign over *North-Wales*.

This Year (according to *Affer*) the *Danes* stealing away privately after the Feast of *Epiphany* to *Cyphenham*, and having now got Horses, marched through all the Country of the *West-Saxons*, and there began to fix their Quarters; forcing many of the Inhabitants beyond Sea, and subjecting the rest of their Dominion, in so much that King *Alfred* was forced with a few of his Nobles, and with some Souldiers and Vassals, to lurk among the Woody and Boggy parts of *Somersetshire*, where he led a very uneasy Life, in great Trouble and Scarcity, having no Provisions but what he could take away by frequent incursions from the Enemies, or else those Christians who had submitted themselves to their Dominion; and it is found in the Life of *St. Neot*, as he lay hid with a certain Cow-herd, it happened one day, that as his Wife was making of Cakes, the King sat by the Fire, sitting up his Bow and Arrows, and other Weapons; but when the Woman saw the Cakes which lay before the fire begin to burn, she presently ran and removed them, and chiding the King, (whom she did not know,) said thus, "Doe'st thou, Fellow think much to turn these Cakes, which thou can't eat fast enough when they are baked? At which the King laughing, took all in good part; but be the Story true or false, this much is certain, that the King lay at this time so private, that neither his Friends nor Enemies could tell where he was; in so much that all this while the Royal Patrimony became a prey, as well to the revolting *English*, as to the *Danes* themselves.

But the Monkish writers of these times, (according to their usual Custom of interpreting all misfortunes to be God's Judgments) will needs have this to be a judgment upon this King, because that in the beginning of his Reign, being taken up with the desire of Learning, or else diverted by Hunting and other Juvenile Pleasures; he had too much neglected the publick affairs; and that being admonished by *St. Neot*, and refusing to amend, the Holy Man foretold, there would be a time, when he should be driven from his Kingdom, and from his own House.

But be this as it will, whilst King *Alfred* was thus over-powered by the great multitude of *Danes* that daily entred the Kingdom, he was forced to retreat; yet even then, being followed by a small band of Stout and Loyal Souldiers, he often set upon the Enemies by surprize, and with so good success, that he let them see, though he was overcome by numbers, yet he was not vanquished, since he remained formidable even in his flight; but to this Retreat, the then Woody and Boggy parts of *Somersetshire*, between the Rivers *Thone* and *Parret* chiefly contributed, which were then almost an Island, and not to be enter'd without a Boat, unless by one narrow way, (as *Leland* in his *Itinerary* hath rightly observed) but *Will. of Malmesbury* tells us, That it is to no purpose to relate all the little Skirmishes and Adventures of this King, during his Retreat; only one passage will not be unpleasant, whether it be true or false, it happen'd one Day that whilst King *Alfred* lay private in a little Castle, or Fort, in the Wood *Athelney*, it being Winter time, and the Waters frozen up, he sent out his followers to seek for some Fish or Fowle, where-by they might sustain Nature, so that none were left at home, but him-
self

self and his Mother, (for it seems the Queen his Wife was either dead, or else lay concealed some where else;) but the King having to pass away the time taken up a Book, and began to read, (as his custom was, when he had nothing else to do) a certain poor Man knocked at the door, and begged an Alms; whereupon the King calling to his Mother, desired her to see if there was any thing for him to eat; but she told him, that there was no more than one Loaf left, and this would not be enough for the whole Company when they returned home; the King hearing this, said no more, but let God be blessed for all his gifts, then praying his Mother, to bestow half of it upon this poor Christian, further added, that he who had fed 5000 Men with Five Loaves and Two small Fishes, could also, if he pleased, make half a Loaf suffice their necessities; whereupon his Mother complying with his desire, and the poor Man having got more than he looked for, went his way, but the King having read till he was tired, happened to fall asleep, and dreamt that he saw *St. Cuthbert* (formerly Bishop of *Lindisfarne*) coming to him, and telling him, that he was sent from God to let him know, that he was now resolved to put an end to the long and grievous punishments which the *English* had hitherto suffered for their Sins; and that the Alms which he had just now bestowed, was so acceptable in his sight, that he would restore him to his Kingdom, and said, as a sign of this, his Servants, who were then gone out a Fishing, tho' with very small hopes of catching any thing, should return home so loaded, that he should look upon it with wonder; but that which is more strange, his Mother fell also a sleep, and dreamed the like Dream at the same time, as she told the King her Son when he awaked her; but whilst they with great astonishment discoursed of this Miracle, his followers returned home, bringing Fish enough with them to have served a little Army, if there had been occasion.

But be this Story true or false, it is certain that not long after, the King received news, that *Hinguar* and *Hubba*, returning out of *Wales*, (where having made a great slaughter of the *Britains*, they had past the Winter) and being lately landed in *Devonshire* with Twenty three Ships, there met with some of the King's party, by whom their Captain with, 1200 Souldiers were slain; near the Castle of *Kenwith*, the manner of which was thus; *Odun*, Earl of *Devonshire*, with many others of the King's Subjects, upon the arrival of *Hubba*, had fled hither for refuge; but when the *Danes* knew the Castle was but weakly fortified, and they within were not provided of things necessary for a Siege; they then resolved to sit down before it, supposing that the *English* would quickly surrender for want of Provisions; which they being also sensible of, were endeavouring to prevent, and resolving either to obtain the Victory or dye; they sallied out early one Morning upon the Enemy, who lay Encamp'd without any good Guards, so falling upon them at unawares slew *Hubba* their Leader, with his whole Army, except a few who were forced to flee to their Ships.

And this *Hubba* being here buried under a heap of Stones, gave name to the place, being called *Hubblestones* to this day; but the *English* having stripped the dead bodies, they there found among the spoils, that famous Banner, called *Reafin*, (that is the *Raven*) being the Picture of a Raven embroidered by the Three Sisters of *Hinguar*, and *Hubba*, in one forenoon on purpose for this Expedition, and which being Enchanted by their Magic Arts, they put so great a confidence in it, that they believed
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Devonshire

Anno Dom. 885. if they were to meet with good success, this figure would clap its Wings, as if it were alive, but if otherwise, would let them fall; but be this Story true or false, it seems they now lost their Oracle before they had time to consult it, and the loss of it was certainly a great discouragement to them.

King *Alfred* being now much encouraged with the news of this good success of the *Devonshire-men*, began to consider how he might perform some worthy action against the Enemy; therefore this Year, (as the *Saxon Annals* relate,) 'having first fortified with his slender Forces a small Castle or Fort at *Ætheling-gaige* (now called *Athelney* in *Somersetshire*) where he had resided hitherto; he marched from thence the Seventh Week after, and with his Subjects and Vassals there, to fight against the *Pagans*; and it is also about this time, that we may place that memorable action of this King which is thus related by *Inglulf*, and *Will. of Malmesbury*, which if true, shews not only his great Courage, but Conduct too; for knowing the Enemy to exceed him in numbers, as well as other advantages, and that if he should set upon them with open Force he would be able to do them little, or no prejudice, nor could he hope for any better success, unless he knew in what condition the Enemy's Army was, and not having any one whose Sagacity or Fidelity he could well trust, he was resolved to go himself to spy out the Enemy's Camp: so taking upon him the Habit of a Country Minstrel (or Fidler) he went with only one Companion into the *Danish* Camp, where he became so acceptable, as well for his Singing, as Playing, that at last he was introduced to the King's Tent, and when he had there, as well as in the rest of the *Danish* Camp, learnt as much as he had a mind to know, he again returned to his Castle at *Athelne*; where having called together all his chief followers, he related to them the careless condition of the Enemies Camp, and with what ease they might be destroyed: whereat they being extraordinarily surprised, he then resolved to muster up what Forces he could.

So the Seventh Week after *Easter*, he march'd to *Eggbyrth-stan* (now supposed to be *Brixstan* in *Somersetshire*,) lying on the East side of *Selwood* Forest, where met him all the *Wiltshire*, *Somersetshire* and *Hampshire* Men; who were mightily pleased to behold their King after so many hazards; but staying there only one night, he marched away to *Iglay*, (where the place was is not very well known,) and there encamped another night, in which (as *Affer* relates) *St. Neot*, who had been formerly his Kinsman, and Friend, appeared to him in a Dream, and bid him not be afraid of the great Army of the *Pagans*, because God would now have mercy upon him and his People; and that what had happen'd to him, was for his too great Arrogance in his Youth, and that God would Fight for him and his People: The King you may be sure was much rejoiced at this Dream, and failed not to encourage his Men with it; so the next Morning removing his Camp from thence, he came in one Day more to *Ethandune*, (but where it is we cannot tell) where the *Danes* lay encamped, and marching against them in very close order, he fought their whole Army, and though they did for a long time stoutly resist the frequent charges the King's Men made upon them, yet at last they gave ground, and beginning to flee he obtained a notable Victory, making a great slaughter of the *Pagans*, as they retreated to a certain Castle not far off, and at which they lay encamped, where the King besieged them for Fourteen Days; till being overcome by hunger, they were reduced to that

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that necessity, as to desire Peace on these Conditions, That the King should receive from them what Hostages He should name, but He not to return any to them; so they made such a Peace with him, as they had never done with any King before; for they swore that they would depart his Kingdom, and that *Gythram* (or *Gutrum*) their King should become a Christian, all which was performed, for about Three Weeks after the said King with about Thirty more of his Chief Noblemen came to the King, being then at *Alrey* (the place is now unknown) only that it lay near *Athelney* above-mentioned, where King *Alfred* receiving him from the Font at his Baptism, became his Godfather, and took him for his adopted Son: But he did not receive the Chrism till Eight Days after, at a Town of the Kings called *Wedmore*, where he staid with him for the space of Twelve Days, who presented him, and all those that accompanied him, not only with Money, but Houses and Lands, being now resolved to fix here.

So this next Year the *Danes* (according to their promise) removed from *Cippenham* (i.e. *Chippinham* in *Wiltshire*) to *Cirencester*, and there staid one Year.

But now another Army of *Pagans*, arriving from beyond the Sea, sailed up the River *Thames*, to whom (notwithstanding their former Oaths) the Army that was here before also join'd, and took up their Winter Quarters at *Fullanham* (now *Fulham*, not far from *London*,) 'and the same Year (according to the *Annals*) the Sun was Eclipsed for one whole hour; also now part of the *Pagans* who had quartered at *Cirencester*, (as say the *Annals* and *Affer*) marched from thence under the Conduct of King *Gythrum*, into the Kingdom of the *East-Angles*; and dividing the Country among them, began to inhabit it; which, having been in their possession ever since the Death of King *Edmund*, King *Alfred* now yielded up to their King *Gythram*; 'but those *Danes* who had before staid at *Fulham*, now sailed into *Frankland*, and quartered at *Ghent* for one whole Year; from whence you may observe, that what we now call *Flanders* was then accounted part of *France*, or *Frankland*.

And to this time we may also refer, that League or Agreement made between King *Alfred* and King *Guthram*, which sets out the Territories of each of these Princes.

'The First Article is, That it is agreed that the Limits of K. *Alfred's* Land are first upon the *Thames*, then proceed they to the River *Lee*, as far as his Fountain; then straight to *Bedford*, and then along the River *Ouse*, as far as *Watling-street*; which I suppose, is thus to be understood; that K. *Alfred* did hereby grant him *East-England* and *Essex*; so that the bounds of these Kings Dominions were first the *Thames*, then the River *Lee*, as far as *Harford*, whereabouts it arises: Then from *Harford* to *Bedford*, all along *Watling-street*, and then from *Bedford* all along the *Ouse* to the Sea.

'The Second Article appoints the value of a Man slain, whether *Engl*ish or *Dane*, to be four Marks of pure Gold, and the Redemption of each Four hundred Shillings.

'But if the King's Servant or *Thane* was accused of Man-slaughter; the Third Article proceeds, That he then should be tried by Twelve

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other of the King's Servants; or in case he was not the King's Servant, but belonged to some inferior Lord, he should be tried by eleven of his Equals, and by one of the King's Servants. The same Order was taken in all Suits, which exceeded four Marks; but in case he refused to undergo this Trial, his Fine was to be encreased three-fold.

The Fourth appoints Vouchers for the Sale of Men, Horses, or Oxen.

The Fifth and Last Ordains, That none from either Army should pass to the other without Leave; and in case it be by way of Traffick, such shall find Sureties for their good Behaviour, that the Peace may not be broken.

This was the League it self, with some other Articles needful to be here recited; the Preface to which declares, That it was made betwixt the two Kings, *Elfred* and *Gythrum*, (so the *Saxon* Original,) by Consent of all the Wise Men of the *English*, and of all those that inhabited *East England*, and that not only in behalf of themselves, but of their Posterity.

This sufficiently shews, that the *Eastern* Parts of *England* then belonged to the *Danes*; yet *Polydore Virgil* calling this King by the Name of *Gormon*, vehemently contends, that he had not that Country bestowed upon him. *Krantzius* also denies, that this *Gormon* was converted to the Faith; yet confesses, that about this time one *Froto* was converted: But whatever they write, this League sufficiently evinceth the Distinction of their Territories, and the Testimony of *Affer* is uncontrollable as to his Baptism, who lived himself at this very time, not to mention that the *Saxon* Annals also affirm the same thing.

After which follow the Ecclesiastical Laws, said in their Title to be made between King *Alfred* and King *Gythrum*, as they are to be found in *Abbot Brompton's Chronicle*.

The First of which is, That the *Danes* and *English* should Love and Serve the true GOD alone, and Renounce *Paganism*.

And in the next place, That if any should Renounce his *Christianity*, and Relapse to *Paganism*, then he should pay his *Weare*, *Wite*, and *Lashlite*, according to what he had done.

The Third Law is, That if any in Holy Orders shall either Fight, Perjure himself, or commit Fornication, let him likewise make Amends by the like Penalties above-mentioned; and likewise make Satisfaction to GOD according to the Canons of the Church; and also give a Pledge or Security to do so no more.

Note, That the *Weare*, *Wite*, and *Lashlite*, above-mentioned, were all of them Fines, or Mulcts, which the *Danes* and *English* were to pay according to the value of their Heads, as hath been already shewn; but as for the last of these Words, Mr. *Somner*, in his *Glossary*, supposes it to be

be purely *Danish*, and signified no more than the two former Words, but was so called in relation to the *Danes* alone, who were to undergo it; after which follow several Constitutions against the Offences of Clergymen, against committing Incest, and with-holding of Tythes, and *Rome-scot* or *Peter-pence*; in all which Offences a *Dane* was to pay the like *Weare*, and *Wite*, with an *English-man*; as also against Buying, Selling, and Working on the *Lord's Day*; in which Cases, if a Freeman wrought upon Holy-days, he was to lose his Liberty, or pay his *Wite*; but if he were a Servant or *Villain*, he was to satisfy it with his Skin, (i.e. by Whipping,) or pay his *Head-Gild*; but if a Master compelled his Servant to work upon Holy-days, he was to pay his *Lashlite* as the *Dane*, and his *Wite* as the *English* did, that is, according as he was a *Dane*, or an *English-man*; (which sufficiently justifies Mr. *Somner's* Sense of that Word.) The rest of these Laws being against divers other Offences, as against violating the Fasts of the Church, against making *Ordeal*, or taking an Oath on Sundays or Fast-days. Not that this *Ordeal*, or Trial by a hot Iron, or boiling Water, in case the Person was accused of a Crime, was to be used, unless there was no direct Proof against him. The rest of the Laws are against putting any Man to Death upon a Sunday; as also against Witches, Perjured Persons, and Common Whores, all which Persons were to be banished the Country.

But the last Law saving one, is a sort of Cruel Mercy; for thereby if a Man had lost any of his Members for any Crime, and survived the same four Nights, it was afterwards lawful with the License of the Bishop for any one to give him Help and Assistance; which it seems before that time it was not lawful to do.

But the Reader may further from the Title of these Laws observe, the Subjection or Dependence which King *Gythrum* then had upon K. *Alfred* at that time; for King *Gythrum* and his *Danes* gave their Consent to them in a Common-Council of the Kingdom, in the same manner as the Kings of *Mercia*, and of the *East Angles*, were wont to do in the General Council of the *West Saxon* Kingdom, in acknowledgment of its Superiority over them, as may be proved by divers Examples; and if this King *Gythrum* could have made Laws by his own Authority, he might have called a Council of his own to do so, which we do not find he ever did, having received his Kingdom wholly from the Bounty of King *Alfred*.

Also about the Year last mentioned, King *Alfred* new built the Town of *Shaftsbury*, as appears by an old Inscription cited by *Mr. *Camden*, out of an old Manuscript Copy of *William of Malmesbury*, then belonging to the Lord *Burghley*; which Inscription was in that Author's time to be seen in the Chapter-house of that Nunnery, which was built at this place by this King some Years after.

The Pagans entred further into *France*, where the *French* fought with them, and (as it is supposed) were routed, for here the *Danes* found Horses enough to mount the greatest part of their Men.

This Year the *Danes* sailed up the *Maeße* (now the *Mense*) into *Frankland*, and there stayed another Year. The same Year also King *Alfred* sailing out with his Fleet, fought against four *Danish* Pirat Ships, and took

took two of their Men, and the other two (the Men being very much wounded and tired in the Fight) surrendered themselves.

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DCCCLXXXIII

'The Danes sailed up the Skeld to Cundoth, (which was then a Monastery, and is now supposed to be Conde upon the River Escant) where they stayed a whole Year. Now also *Marinus*, that Religious Pope, sent some of the Wood of our LORD's Cross to *Alfred*, and in Return the King sent to Rome the Alms he had vowed by the Hands of *Sigheilm* and *Eibelftan*: Also he sent other Alms into *India*, to *St. Thomas*, and *St. Bartholomew*, (who being there martyr'd, are accounted the *Indian* Apostles.) And about that time the *English* Army lay encamped against the *Danes*, who held *London*, where yet (thanks be to GOD) all Things succeeded prosperously.

Also this Year, (according to the Chronicle of *Mailtross*, and *Simeon* of *Durham*;) King *Alfred* having slain the two Danish Captains, *Ingwar* and *Halsdene*, caused the wasted Parts of *Northumberland* to be again inhabited; then *Edred* the Abbot, being so commanded by *Cuthbert* in a Vision, redeemed a certain Youth who had been sold to a Widow at *Withingham*, and made him King of *Northumberland* by the joynt Consent both of the *English* and *Danes*, King *Alfred* himself confirming the Election. This King *Gutbred*, in Gratitude to *St. Cuthbert*, did also bestow all the Land between the Rivers of *Weol* and *Tyne*, and says upon that Saint, that is, upon the Bishop of *Lindisfarne*, who this Year removed the Bishop's See from thence to a place then called *Concacestre*, now *Chester*; and thither they also removed the Body of *St. Cuthbert*. But as for the Miracle of the Earth's opening and swallowing up a whole Army of *Scots*, who came to fight with King *Gutbred*, I leave it to the Monks to be believed by them, if they please. This is certain, that thus making this poor Youth King, the Church got all that Country now called the *Bishoprick* of *Durham*. And who can tell but all this Vision was a Contrivance of Abbot *Edred's*, for that very Design; yet if it were so, it was but a Pious Fraud, which highly tended to the enriching of that Church.

The same Year (according to *Florence* of *Worcester*) died *Affer*, Bishop of *Shirburne*; who could not be the same with that *Affer*, who writ the Life and Actions of King *Alfred*, since that Author writ to Anno 993, being the 45th Year of King *Alfred's* Age, as appears by that Work. Arch Bishop *Usher* supposes this *Affer* the Historian to have been he, who was afterwards the Bishop of *St. David's*, and was the second of that Name who sat in that See; but without any good Authority.

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DCCCLXXXIV

'This Year the Danes sailed up the River *Somme*, (i. e. *Some*;) as far as *Embenum* (now *Amiens*, in *Picardy*, where they remained one whole Year. And now also deceased the worthy Bishop *Athelwold*.

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The Danes being thus employed abroad, did nothing this Year in *England*; but the next we find in *Affer*, that the Pagan Army divided it self into two Bodies, the one whereof sailed to the East Parts of *France*, whilst the other making up the Rivers of *Thames* and *Medway*, besieged the City of *Rochester*, and having built a strong Fort before the Gates, from thence assaulted the City, yet could by no means take it, because the Citizens valiantly defended themselves, until such times as King *Alfred* came to their Assistance with a powerful Army; which when the Pagans saw, quitting their Forts, and all the Horfes which they had brought with them out of *France*, together with a great many Prisoners, to the *English*,

English, they in great hast fled away to their Ships, and being compelled by necessity passed again that Summer in *France*; King *Alfred* having now reinforced his Fleet, was resolved to fall upon the Danish Pyrates, who then sheltered among their Country Men of *East England*; upon which he sent his Fleet that he had got ready in *Kent*, (being very well Mann'd) into the mouth of the River *Stoure*, (not that in *Kent*, but another that runs by *Harwich*, where they were met by Sixteen Danish Pyrates, who lay there watching for a Prey; and immediately setting upon them, after a sharp resistance the King's Men boarding them, they were all taken, together with great Spoils, and most of the Men killed.

'But as the King's Fleet were returning home, they fell among another Fleet of *Danes*, much stronger, with whom fighting again, the *Danes* obtained the Victory; tho' with what Loss to the *English*, the Annals do not say.

But the rest of the *Danes* of *East England*, were so much incensed at this Victory; as also with the slaughter of their Country Men, that setting out a great Fleet very well Mann'd, they sail'd to the mouth of *Thames*; where setting upon divers of the King's Ships, by surprize in the Night, when all the Men were asleep, they had much the better of them; but what damage the King's Ships received, and how many Men were lost, our Authour does not tell us.

'The same Year, somewhat before *Christmas*, *Charles*, King of the *Western Franks*, was killed by a wild Boar, which he was then hunting; but his Brother *Lewis* dyed the Year before: They were both Sons to that King *Lewis*, who deceased the Year of the last Eclipse, and he was the Son of that *Charles*, whose Daughter, *Ethelwulf* King of the *West Saxons* had married.

'The same Year happened a great Sea Fight among the ancient *Saxons* of *Germany*, but the Annals do not acquaint us with whom they fought, However, it is supposed to have been with the *Danes*; and they further add, That they fought twice this Year, where the *Saxons* being assisted by the *Frisians*, obtained the Victory.

Here also *Affer*, as well as our Annals, proceed to give us a further account of the *French* and *German* affairs, with a brief descent of their Kings, from *Charles* the Great; as that this Year *Charles* King of the *Almans* received all the Kingdoms of the *Western Franks*, which lye between the *Mediterranean* Sea, and that Bay, which was between the Ancient *Saxons* and the *Gauls*, by the voluntary consent of all the People; the Kingdom of *Armorica*, (that is, of lesser *Britain*;) only excepted: This *Charles* was the Son of *Lewis*, Brother of that *Charles* last mention'd; and both the Kings were the Sons of *Lewis*, the Younger Son of *Charles* the Great, who was the Son of King *Pipin*.

'The same Year also the good Pope *Marinus* deceased, who freed the *English* School at *Rome*, at the entreaty of King *Alfred*, from all Tax and Tribute.

'Also about the same time the *Danes* of *East England* broke the Peace, which they had lately made with King *Alfred*.

'The Pagans who had before Invaded the *East*, quitting that, now marched towards the *West* parts of *France*; and passing up the River *Seine*, took their Winter Quarters at *Paris*.

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The same Year (according to *Affer*, as well as the Annals,) King *Alfred*, after so many Cities being burnt, and such great destruction of People, not only took the City of *London* from the *Danes*, who had it long in their Possession; but he now repaired it, and made it habitable; and then committed it to the Custody of his Son-in-Law, *Ethered* Earl of the *Mercians*; and now all the *English*, (*viz.*) the *Mercians* and *Kentishmen*, as also the *East* and *West Saxons*, who had been before dispersed, or made Prisoners with the *Danes*, being now returned home, put themselves under King *Alfred's* Protection.

But these *Danish* Storms being pretty well blown over, King *Alfred* began now to make some use of the Learned Men he had sent for from abroad; for as Mr. *Camden* shews us in his * *Britannia*, we have a large account of the University of *Oxon*. Under the Year of our Lord, 886, *viz.* That in the Second Year of St. *Grimbald's* coming over into *England*, the University of *Oxford* was founded; the first Regents there, and Readers in Divinity were St. *Neot*, an Abbot, an Eminent Professor of *Theology*, and St. *Grimbald*, an Eloquent and most Excellent Interpreter of the Holy Scriptures; whilst Grammar and Rhetoric were Taught by *Affer* a Monk, a Man of extraordinary Learning; Logick, Musick and Arithmetick, were Read by *John* a Monk of St. *David's*; Geometry, and Astronomy were professed by *John* another Monk, and Collegue of St. *Grimbald*; one of a sharp Wit, and Immense Knowledge.

These Lectures were often honoured with the presence of the most Illustrious and Invincible Monarch, King *Ælfred*, which is also asserted by *Will. of Malmesbury*, who tells us a constant Tradition of his time, that King *Alfred* by the Advice of *Neot* the Abbot, first founded publick Schools of various Arts at *Oxford*; which is further confirm'd by an Ancient Manuscript Copy of *Randolph Higden's Polychron*, in *Bayliol College Library*, which in the beginning treating of all the Kings of *England*, when he comes to King *Alfred*, says thus, That he first founded the University of *Oxford*. *John Rouse* in his Manuscript Treatise, *de Regibus Anglie*, (Lib. 1.) seems also to have seen this passage in *Winchester Annals*, and adds Three Halls to have been thus built, The one for Grammar, near the *East-Gate*; the Second near the *North-Gate* for Logicians; and the Third in the *High-Street*, for Divines.

But since this only proves that King *Alfred* first founded publick Schools here, and not that there was any such thing here before; I shall recite also what follows, as it is quoted by the said Mr. *Camden*, out of an ancient Copy of *Affer de Gestis Ælfredi*, which, I could wish may clear this point: 'About this time (says he) there arose a sharp and grievous dissention between *Grimbald*, and those learned Men whom he brought hither with him, and the old Scholars whom he found here at his coming; for these absolutely refused to comply with the Statutes, Institutions and Forms of Reading prescribed by *Grimbald*; the difference proceeded to no great height, for the space of Three Years, yet there was always a private Grudge and Enmity between them, which soon after broke out with the utmost violence imaginable; to appease these Tumults, the most Invincible King *Ælfred*, being informed of the Faction, by a Message and Complaint from *Grimbald*, came to *Oxford* to accommodate the matter, and submitted to a great deal of Pains and

* Patience

* Patience, to hear the Cause and Complaint of both Parties: The Controversie depended upon this; The Old Scholars maintain'd, that before the coming of *Grimbald* to *Oxford*, Learning did here flourish, tho' the Students were less in number, than they had formerly been, because very many of them had been Expell'd by the cruel Tyranny of the *Pagans*: They farther declar'd and proved, by the undoubted Testimony of their ancient Annals, that good Orders and constitutions for the Government of that place had been already made by Men of great Piety, and Learning; such as *Gildas*, *Melkin*, *Ninnias*, *Kentigern* and others; who had there prosecuted their Studies, to a good old Age: All things being then managed in happy Peace and quiet; and that St. *German* coming to *Oxford* and residing there half a Year, after he had gone through all *England* to Preach down the *Pelagian* Heresie, did well approve of their Rules and Orders: The King with incredible Humility and great attention heard both parties, exhorting them with Pious and Importunate entreaties, to preserve Love and Amity with one another; upon this he left them, in hopes that they both would follow his Advice, and obey his Instructions: But *Grimbald*, resenting these proceedings, retired immediately to the Monastery of *Winchester*, which King *Ælfred* had lately founded: and soon after he got his Tomb to be removed thither to him, in which he had designed his Bones should be put after his Decease, and laid in a Vault under the Chancel of the Church of S. *Peter's* in *Oxford*; which Church the said *Grimbald* had raised from the ground, of Stones hewn and carved with great Art.

But since it must be confessed that this passage of the quarrel of St. *Grimbald*, and the Old Scholars of *Oxford*, is not to be found in that ancient Copy of *Affer*, which Arch-Bishop *Parker* first published in *Saxon Characters* (like those in which it is written, being still Extant in the *Cottonian Library*) yet though it was published by Mr. *Camden* in that Edition of *Affer*, which was printed at *Frankford*, in 1603. The Original of which the Lord Primare *Usher* in his *Ant. Brit. Eccles.* expressly tells us, Mr. *Camden* never saw; from whence Sir *John Spelman* in his * *History of the Life of King Ælfred*, hath made a very hard inferences, as if that clause was not to be found in any of the ancient Copies of that Authour, but had been foisted in either by the Publisher, or else by Mr. *Camden* himself; tho' this Authour does not say so in express terms,

I shall therefore repeat in short what Mr. *Ant. Woodhath* answered to this Objection, in the * *Antiquities of the University of Oxford*, from a Manuscript Testimonial, under the hand of the learned Mr. *Twyne*; *viz.* That he himself, long after discoursing with Mr. *Camden* on this Subject, and asking him expressly about this passage, whose authority began to be then questioned, 'His Answer was, that he very well knew that he had truly transcribed, that passage from an ancient Manuscript of *Affer*, which he had then by him, and which as the said Mr. *Wood* in his Notes tells us, then belonged to Sir *Henry Savile* of *Banke*, near *Halifax* in *Tork-shire*.

But I shall not now take upon me to Answer the rest of the Objections which the said Sir *John Spelman* does there produce against the validity of the above cited passage; which supposes publick Schools to have been at *Oxford*, before King *Alfred's* time; for they are all reducible to these two heads; First the express words of the Annals, of the Abbey of *Hyde* above-mentioned, as also that of *Polychronicon*, 'That King *Alfred* was

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Oxford in
Latine.

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Anno Dom. 1000. the first King who founded a University there : all which may be answered, by allowing that to be true in respect of a University, endowed with Privileges, and distinct Halls and Colleges built on purpose; and yet there might very well have been before that time a publick School, or *Studium*, (as it was then call'd,) where the Liberal Arts were taught; as for the other Objection of the improbability of the old Scholars falling out with the new Professors, in the very first Year of the Institution of the University, (that is, as soon as ever they came thither,) this may be also answered, by supposing that those Annals were written many Years after the Death of King *Alfred*, from a Common received Tradition, and so this transaction might have been dated there, or Four Years later than it really happened: as *John Rouse* in his Manuscript History of the Kings of *England* also places it.

I confess there is one Objection, which I wish I could Answer; and that is, How *Gildas* and *Nennius* could study at *Oxford*, when the latter was not so much as Born, till about the Conclusion of this, or Beginning of the following Century, and much less the Former; when even by the best Accounts of those Times, the *Pagan Saxons* were then Masters of that part of *England*.

Having said thus much concerning the Antiquity of that Famous University, to which I owe my Education, I shall not trouble my self with enquiry into the Reality of those supposed Ancient Schools, of *Creeklade* and *Leacklade*; (which the Monkish writers suppose to have been anciently called *Greeklade*, and *Latinelade*,) the latter of which Derivations, tho' Mr. *Camden* justly explodes, yet he seems to have more Veneration for the former, since in the place from whence I have transcribed the above-cited Quotations; he also tells us, "That the Muses were transported to *Oxford* from *Creeklade*; (now a small Town in *Wiltshire*.) All the Authority for which (that I know of, beside uncertain Tradition) depends upon the Credit of a Manuscript, lately in the Library of *Trinity Hall* in *Cambridge*, and is cited by Mr. *Wheelock* in his Notes upon *Bede*; where speaking of *Theodorus*, Arch Bishop of *Canterbury*, he says, That he held or maintained Schools in a Village near the Water, which is called *Greekslake*; but Mr. *Samner* in his Learned * *Glossary*, hath given us a much more likely Derivation of this place, (*viz.*) from the Old *Saxon* Word *Creek*, signifying a River, or Torrent, running either into some River, or else into the Sea; and *Gelade*, which signified an emptying, for it was anciently written *Creecca Gelade*, and not *Greeklade*, as some would now write it.

Anno Dom. 1000. This Year the *Pagans* passing under the Bridge of *Paris*, and from thence by the *Seine* up the River *Meterne*, (now called *Marne*,) as far as *Cazii*, (now *Choisy*) and which *Florence* says signified a Royal Village, where, and at *Jona*, (a place we know not,) they staid Two Years; also the same Year Deceased *Charles* (the *Grosle*) King of the *Franks*, but *Earnwulf* his Brother's Son had expell'd him out of his Kingdom six Weeks before his Death; after which it was divided into five Parts, over whom were set five Kings; but this partition was with *Earnwulf's* good leave, for they all promised to Govern under him, because none of them was Heir on the Fathers side, besides himself alone; therefore *Earnwulf* fixed the Seat of his Kingdom in the Countries lying on the East side of the *Rhine*; whilst *Rodulf* took the middle, or inward part of the Kingdom; and *Odo* (or *Otto*) the Western Part; and *Beorngar*, and

and *Witha*, (called in *Latine* *Beringarius*, and *Wido*) held *Lombardy*, and all the Countries on that side the Mountains; all which Kingdoms they held with much Discord, Fighting two great Battles, and wasting those Countries, till such time as each of them had expell'd the other from his Kingdom; also the same Year *Ethelhelm* the Ealdorman carried the *Alms* of King *Alfred*, and the *West Saxons* to *Rome*.

This was the Benevolence, called *Peter Pence*, which is here justly termed an *Alms*, and not a *Tribute*, as Modern Popish Writers have termed it.

But to return to our own Domestick Affairs; After above-mentioned, informs us, that the Kingdom being now pretty well at quiet from the *Danes*, the King began to mind his Civil Government, to repair his Cities and Castles, and also to build others in the most necessary places, altering the whole face of the Country into a much better form; and having walled several Towers and Castles, he made them defensible against the *Pagans*. Nor was he less careful in the Political Affairs of his Kingdom; for divers of his own Subjects, having, under the name of *Danes*, committed great Spoils and Rapines, the King resolving to punish, and restrain from these Excesses, he first of all divided all the Provinces of *England* into Counties, and those again into Hundreds and Tythings; so that every Legal Subject should dwell in some Hundred or Tything, whereby if any were suspected of Robbery, and being thereof Condemned, or absolved by his Hundred or Tything, they should either undergo due punishment, or else if Innocent be acquitted.

But the Governours of Provinces, who were before called *Vice Domini*, and in *English* *Saxon* *Geriffs*, he divided into two Offices, That is, into Judges, whom we now call Justices, and into Sheriffs, who do yet retain that name; and by the Kings care and industry in a short time, there was so great a Tranquility through out the whole Kingdom, that if a Traveller had happen'd to have lost a Bag of Money in the High-way, he might have found it again untouched the next day.

And *Bromton's* Chronicle relates, That tho' there were Gold Bracelets hung up at the parting of several *High-ways*; yet Justice was so strictly executed, that no Man durst presume to touch them.

But in the Distribution of his own Family, he followed the Example of King *Solomon*; for dividing it into Three Companies, or Bands, he set a Chief over each of them; so that every Captain with his Band, performed his Service in the King's Palace for the space of one Month; and, then going with his Company to his own Estate, he looked after his private Affairs for Two Months; and so did each of them in their Order, which Rotation of Officers this King observed all the rest of his Reign.

And to this Year also, Sir *H. Spelman* refers that Great Council wherein King *Alfred* made those Laws that go under his Name in which, after a Preface, wherein he first recites and confirms the Ten Commandments, as also divers other Laws, which are set down in *Exodus* and *Leviticus*, he concludes to this effect, That whatsoever he found worthy of Observation either in the time of *K. Ina*, his Kinsman, or *Offa*, King of the *Mercians*, or of *Ethelbert*, the first Christened King, he had gathered them all together, and committed those to writing which he thought most deserving, omitting others which he judged less convenient; in doing of which he had taken the Advice, and had the Consent of his Wife,

Anno Dom. DCCCLXXXVII. Men, and having revised the Laws of those Princes, he transcribed such of them as he liked into his own; and by the Consent of the said Women he thereof made a Collection, and commanded them to be observed by all *Englishmen*; under which name the *Saxon* and *Jutes* were then included.

The first of his Laws requires (as most necessary to all his Subjects) that each Man keep his Oath or Pledge, (*i. e.* his promise to observe the Laws, and keep the Peace) and if any should be compelled to Swear, or deposite a pledge whereby he may be bound to betray his Lord, or unjustly to assist any Person, he ought to break his promise, rather than perform it: But in case he hath engaged to perform any thing which might justly be done, and doth it not, his Arms and all his personal Estate shall be put into the hands of his Friends; and he himself kept in the King's Prison for Forty Days, till he undergo that Penance which the Bishop shall enjoin him; and also his Friends (*i. e.* Relations) require of him: but if he have not wherewith to sustain himself in the mean while, if his Kindred are not able to provide him Victuals, the King's Officer shall do it; but if he resist and be taken by force, he shall forfeit both his Arms and his personal Estate; and if he be killed, nothing shall be paid as the Value of his Head: and in case he escape before his time, *viz.* of Forty Days be out, and be retaken, he shall be returned back again to Prison for other Forty Days: If he escape, he shall have no benefit of the Laws, but be Excommunicated from all Christs Churches, and if any Man have been security in his behalf, he shall make satisfaction for it according to Right, and do Penance, till he make such satisfaction as his Priest shall appoint.

' The Second bears the Title of the Immunity of the Church, and we shall speak of it among the Ecclesiastical Constitutions.

' The Third is, concerning the breach of the King's Surety-ship, by the payment of a Mulct of Five Pounds of *Mercian*, (*i. e.* larger Money) but the Violation of Surety-ship, (or the Peace) made to an Archbishop by a fine of Three Pounds: and if any one break or forfeit the King's Pledge, (or Recognizance,) he shall make amends according to Right, and the breach of the Surety-ship to a Bishop or Ealdorman, by two Pounds.

' The Fourth Law is, concerning the Death of the King, or any other Lord; If any one, that, either by himself alone, or by any other person, shall attempt against the King's Life, he shall lose his Life and Goods; but if he will purge himself, let him do it according to the valuation of the King's Head; the same is also ordained in all Judgments concerning other Men, whether Noble or Ignoble: whosoever Conspires against his Lord, shall lose both his Life and Estate; or else pay the Valuation of his Lord's Head.

From which Laws we may observe, That according to the custom of those Times, there was a Rate set upon every Man's Life, even upon the King's himself, if he were killed.

The

' The Seventh Law is, against Fighters in the King's Palace; If any Man shall Fight, or shall draw a Weapon in his House, his Life shall lye at the King's Mercy, whether he will Pardon him or not; but if the offender flee, and be taken, he shall redeem his Life, with the price of his head, or be fined according to his Offence. *Anno Dom. DCCCLXXXVII.*

Whereby it appears that the Offender might have redeemed this crime with Money at the first, or else the last Clause had been vain.

' The Ninth Law ordains, What mulct a Man shall pay, that Kills a Woman with Child, which was to be according to the Value of her head; and he was also to pay for the Child in her Womb, half as much as for a living one, according to the quality of its Father.

' The Tenth ordains, What fines or amends every Man shall pay to a Husband, for committing Adultery with his Wife; which was to be encreased according to the Estate, or Quality, of him against whom the Offence was committed.

The rest of the Law, being about the quantiry of the mulcts appointed for several Thefts, I omit.

' The Eleventh appoints, What mulct a Man shall pay, that wantonly handles the Breasts of a Country Man's Wife, or offers her any Violence, as by flinging her down, &c. though he does not lye with her.

This shews how careful the ancient *English Saxons* were of the Persons and Chastity even of the meanest Subjects.

I shall skip over a great many of the other Laws, they only ordaining penalties for several petty trespasses, and small Offences, and shall pass

' To the Twenty Sixth Law, Which appoints what mulcts shall be paid by those who shall Kill in Troops or Companies, and also to whom these Mulcts were to be paid. If the Slain and Innocent Party were an Ordinary Person; (that is, one whose head was valued but at Two Hundred Shillings,) he that slew him must pay the value of his head, and a Fine besides to his Kindred: Also every one that was in the Company, must pay Thirty Shillings; which Penalty was still to be encreased, according to the Value of the Estate of the Party Slain; so that as the Penalty for the Death of a Man valued at Twelve Hundred Shillings, every one that was present shall pay 120 Shillings, and the Man slayer himself the price of his Head, and a Fine besides: But in case the whole Company shall deny that he gave the Mortal Wound, all of them are to be impeached together, and to pay both the Value and the Fine besides.

Now concerning this Troop, or Company, which our *Saxon* Ancestors called *Hlothe*, how many Men made up one of them, the Reader may please to take notice, that by the Laws of King *Ina* they were to be above Thirty.

The

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'The Twenty Seventh appoints, What share of the Mulct, or satisfaction a Man's Kindred by the Mothers side shall receive, in case he have no kindred on his Father's side; and what share those of his Guild, or Fraternity shall pay in case he have committed Man-Slaughter in a quarrel, (*viz.*) The former shall pay a Third part, and the latter one half of the price of the head of the party slain.

But whether by those here mentioned of the same Guild, are meant such as were fellow Contributors to the same Parish Feasts in honour of the Saints, as was the Custom of those Times; or else (which is more likely) such as were bound together in the same Decenary, or Tything, it being very obscure, I shall not take upon me to determine.

'The Twenty Eighth Law was made against publick defamers, or spreaders of false news, (whereby is meant spreaders of false news against the Government,) and Commands that such a one being convicted, shou'd suffer no less punishment, than the cutting out of his Tongue, except he redeem it by payment of the value of his Head, and even then he was afterwards to be esteemed of no Credit.

'The Thirtieth Ordains, That Merchants when they Land shall bring such as come on Shore with them, before the King's Officers in *Folcmote*, and there declare their number, that they may be ready to produce them to answer any thing that shall be demanded of them in the said *Folcmote*; and if it happen that they bring many strangers on shore, that they also certify this to the King's Officer in that said Assembly; that so they may be forth coming.

Now considering the Times wherein King *Alfred* lived, when there was such flocking of Strangers, being Enemies, into *England*; this Law was very justly and seasonably made.

'The Thirty First inflicts upon him that shall put a *Ceorles's* Man (that is an ordinary Country-Man) without any fault into Bonds, *viz.* A Mulct of Ten Shillings; upon him that beats such a one, Twenty Shillings; if he hang him up a-lost, Thirty Shillings; if he cut off his Hair to expose him like a Fool, Ten Shillings; if he shave his Head like a Priest, (yet bind him not) Thirty Shillings; and in case he only cut off his Beard, Twenty Shillings; but if he bind him, and shave his Hair like a Priest, then Sixty Shillings.

Which Law was no doubt made to restrain the Tyranny, and Insolence of the *English* Nobility, who were wont before that Law too much to domineer over poor Country-Men, (here called *Ceorles-men*;) and therefore it seems highly probable, that the Commons of *England* had then Representatives in the Great Council, or else it is not likely the Nobility would ever have lost that Power they then Usurped over them: Wherefore I shall leave it to the Indifferent Reader to Consider, whether the Common People of *England* were then such Slaves, as some late Writers would fain make them; since not only satisfaction was to be made for their

Lives,

Lives, but also for the least injury, or abuse, that might be committed against their Persons.

Anno Dom.
DCCCXXXVII.

'The Thirty Fourth Law imposes upon him that shall strike or fight in open Court, before the King's Ealdorman, both the value of his own head, and such a Fine besides, as shall be thought fit; and also 120 Shillings to be paid to the Ealdorman by him, that by thus drawing his Weapon shall make any disturbance in the *Folcmote*, or County Court; if the Ealdorman were not present, but the fact was done before his Substitute, or the King's Priest, then a *Were* or *Amerciament* of Thirty Shillings.

Here by the King's Priest, is meant either the King's Chaplain or Bishop, I will not determine whether; who as we formerly said in those times presided also in the *Folcmotes*, and there dispatched all business relating to the Church.

'The Thirty Fifth ordains, What satisfaction shall be made for breach of the Peace in any other place; as for Example, he that fights in the home-stall of a Country-man; shall pay the said Country-man Six Shillings; if he drew his Sword, but struck not, half as much; which Penalty also was to be encreased according to the Estate or Quality of him upon whose ground the Assault was made: So that if he fought in the House of one worth 600 Shillings, he was to pay Three times as much; if of one worth 1200 Shillings, then the Amends was to be twice as much as the former.

'The Thirty Sixth Law of *Burhbrice*, or breach of the Peace, in a Town, confirms that part of King *Ina's* Law, concerning that matter, in imposing upon the Offender, for the breach of the Peace in the King's Town or City, by setting the Mulct of an Hundred and Twenty Shillings; but if it be done in the Arch-Bishop's Town, then Ninety Shillings; in that of a Bishop or Ealdorman, Sixty Shillings; in the Town of a Man valued at 1200 Shillings Estate, Thirty Shillings; but half as much if done in a Village of one worth but half that Sum.

From whence we may observe, That in those times not only the King and the Great Men, such as Bishops and Ealdormen, but also Gentlemen of ordinary Estates, had Villages or Townships of their own; and they themselves received the Mulcts or Penalties imposed for the breach of the Peace within their Precincts; which privilege they lost, I suppose, after the coming of King *William*. I.

'The Thirty Seventh is, That Law concerning *Bocland*, by virtue whereof he that holds Lands left him by his Ancestors, was forbid to alienate it from his Kindred to others, in case it could be proved by Writing or Testimony, before the King, or the Bishop, his Kindred being present, that the Man who first granted them, forbid him all Alienation. and laid on him this Condition.

From

Anno Dom. DCCCLXXVII. From the making of this Law Mr. Selden informs us, that we may here find an Estate in Fee-Tail, much more ancient than the thirteenth Year of Edward the First.

The 38th Law is concerning Quarrels, or deadly Feuds, which, since it gives a strange Licence for Men to take Satisfaction on their Enemies, even without the Presence of any Officer, I shall likewise set down:

First, It forbids any Man to attack his Enemy, if he find him in his own House, except he first demand of him Satisfaction: But if he have force enough, he may besiege the House for seven days, yet he shall not assault him, if he will stay within; but if he then surrender himself, and his Arms, into the Defendant's hands, he may keep him thirty Days, without hurt, but then shall leave him so to his Kindred or Friends. In case he flee to a Church, the Honour of the Church is to be preserved: But if the Demandant have not Strength enough to besiege him in his House, he may desire the Assistance of the Alderman, which, if he cannot obtain, he must appeal to the King before he can assault him. If any one by chance light upon his Adversary, not knowing that he keeps himself at home, and he will deliver up his Arms to him, he shall keep him safe thirty Days, and then deliver him to his Friends: But in case he will not deliver up his Arms, then he may fight with him; but if he be willing to deliver up himself, and his Arms, to his Enemy, and any other Man sets upon him, such a Man shall pay the value of his Head, if he kills him; or give Satisfaction for his Wounds if any be given him, according to the Fact; besides which, he shall be fined, and lose all that may fall to him, by reason of Kindred.

From whence you may observe, that the nature of that Rough and Martial Age, did allow Men a greater Liberty of righting themselves against those that had injured them, than was afterwards thought fit to be allowed in more settled and peaceable Times.

The last of King Alfred's Laws is concerning Wounds and Maims, which being very long, I shall only give you an Abstract of it. It is, (in short,) to appoint what Satisfaction in Money any Man shall pay for wounding or maiming another, or for cutting off any Member or part of his Body, even to the Nail of his little Finger: All which was ascertained according to the particular Sums there set down; and I shall leave it to wiser Judgments to consider, whether it would not be better if the Law were so at this day, since it would not only prevent the too great Favour of Juries in some Cases, but also their over-Severity in others, by often giving either very small, or else excessive Damages, according as the Plaintiff or Defendant is more or less known to them, or that they have a greater or less Kindness for them.

There was likewise made in the same Synod divers Ecclesiastical Canons, some of which, taken from amongst the Civil Ones, I shall here likewise set down.

The first is concerning the Immunities of the Churches, by which it is ordained, That if a Man, guilty of any little Crime, flee to a Church, which does not belong to the King, or the Family of a private Person

Person, he shall have three Nights to provide for himself, unless in the mean time he can make his Peace: But if any Man, within that Term, shall inflict upon him either Bonds or Blows, he shall pay the Price of his Head, according to the Custom of the Country; and also to the Ministers or Officers of the Church 120 Shillings, for violating the Peace thereof.

The next Law but one is likewise to the same effect, whereby is granted to every Church, consecrated by the Bishop, the like Peace, and if any Offender shall flee to it, none shall take him thence for seven Days; if any Man shall presume to do so, he shall be culpable of breaking the King's and Church's Peace: If the Officers shall have need of their Church in the mean time, he shall be put into another House, which has no more Doors than the Church; only the Elder, (*i.e.* Presbyter) of that Church shall take Care he have no Meat given him: But if he will surrender himself, and his Arms, to his Enemies, he shall be kept thirty Nights, and then be delivered up to his Kinsmen. Also, whosoever shall flee to a Church for any Crime, which he hath not yet confessed, if he shall there make Confession of it, in God's Name, half the Penalty shall be remitted to him.

From whence you may observe the Antiquity and Design of Sanctuaries in England, which were not then (as they were afterwards,) abused, being at first only intended for Places where Offenders might stay for a time, till they could agree with their Adversaries or Prosecutors, as well as they could; since almost all Crimes whatever were redeemable with pecuniary Mulcts in those days.

The 5th Law is, that if one shall steal any thing out of a Church, he must restore the value, and also forfeit as belongs to an *Angild*; the meaning of which you may see in the next Law.

The 6th Law is, That if any one shall steal on the *Sunday*, or on *Christmas*, or *Easter*, or *Ascension*-days; the Forfeiture should be as belongs to an *Angild*, (*i.e.*) the whole value of his Head; Also the Hand with which he stole was to be cut off: But if he would redeem his Hand, it should be permitted him to compound for it, according as it should appertain to his *Were*, (*i.e.*) the Price of his Head.

Besides which Laws, Alfred, Abbot of Rievaulx, in his *Geneal. Regum Anglie*, mentions another Law of this King's, whereby every Freeman of the Kingdom, having two Hides of Land, was obliged to keep his Sons at School till they were 15 Years of Age, that so they might become Men of Understanding, and live happily; for (said the King in this Law,) a Man Free-born, and unlettered, is to be regarded no otherwise than a Beast, or a Man void of Understanding.

The 12th is concerning the Breach of the Peace by Priests: If a Priest kill any one, he should be taken, and all his Estate confiscated; and also the Bishop should degrade him, and put him out from the Church, unless his Lord would obtain his Pardon by the Price of his Head. The rest, being concerning the Penalties for the Violation of Nuns, I omit.

Anno Dom.
D.C. LXXXVIII.

I have been the more particular in the reciting of these Laws of King *Alfred*, as well Ecclesiastical as Civil, that the Reader may see the Penalties that were inflicted upon Offenders in that Age; and how different they were from ours. But to return to our Annals,

This Year *Beocca* the Ealderman carried the Alms of the *West-Saxons* as well as the King's, to *Rome*; Also Queen *Æthelswith*, who was the Sister of *K. Ælfred*, and Widow of *Burhed* King of *Menia*, died in her Journey thither, whose Body was buried at *Pavia*: And the same Year *Æthered*, Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and *Æthelwald* the Ealderman, deceased in the same Month.

About this time also (according to *Asser*,) King *Alfred* built two Monasteries; the one for Men at *Ethelington*, (now *Ethelney*,) that is, *The Isle of Nobles*, (where he had before lain so concealed;) and the other for Nuns at *Shafisbury*, where he made *Algiwa*, his own Daughter, Abbess; endowing them both with great Revenues.

Anno Dom.
DC. LXXXIX.

This Year none went to *Rome*, unless two ordinary Messengers, whom the King sent with Letters; yet nevertheless *Florence of Worcester* affirms, the King Commanded all the Bishops and Religious Men of *England* to Collect the Alms of the Faithful, in order to send them to *Rome*, and *Jerusalem*: And,

Anno Dom.
DCCCXC.

The next Year, (according to the same Annals) *Beornhelm*, Abbot of the *West Saxons* carried those Alms to *Rome*; and also *Goarun*, (or *Gythrum*) King of the *Normans*, (i.e.) *Danes*, deceased, and being God-Son to King *Alfred*, his Christian Name was *Ethelstan*; this was he who possessed the Country of the *East-Angles*, after the Death of King *Edmund*.

Also the same Year the *Danes* left the River *Seine*, and came to *Sand-Laudan*, which place lyes between the *Bretons* and the *French*; but the *Bretons* fighting with them, obtained the Victory, and drove them into a River, where many of them were drown'd.

This Year also the Annals relate, That *Plegmond* was Elected by God and all his Holy Men to the Arch-Bishoprick of *Canterbury*, tho' *Florence of Worcester* places it, and that more rightly, under the Year before.

Anno Dom.
DCCCXCI.

The *Danes* again Invaded the *Eastern Frackland*; and *Arnulf* the Emperour, being assisted by the *French Saxons*, and *Bavarian* Horse, fought with the *Danish* Foot, and put them to flight.

Also Three Scots came now to King *Alfred* from *Ireland* in one Boat made of Hides, having quitted their Country, because they would live the Life of Pilgrims (i.e. a Wandering Life) for God's sake, not being solicitous about any place, wherefore they had brought only one Week's Provision with them, and after about Seven Days being at Sea, landing in *Cornwall*, they were presently brought to King *Alfred*; their Names were *Dubslane*, *Macbeth*, and *Malinmun*; also *Swifneah*, who was chief Preacher amongst the *Irish* Scots, deceased; The same Year after *Easter* appeared a Comet.

Anno Dom.
DCCCXCIII.

This Year, after Eight Years Intermission, the Kingdom became again infested worse than ever by a fresh Invasion of the *Danes*; for their Army above-mentioned, being driven by the Emperour *Arnulf* out of *France*, marched *Westward* to *Bunnan*, (now *Boloin*) where taking Shipping in Two Hundred and Fifty Vessels, together with their Horses, they arrived in the Mouth of the River *Limene*, which then lay from the *Eastern* Part of *Kent*, as far as the *East* End of that great Wood,

Wood, which is called *Andred*; which Wood or Forest is in length from *East to West* at least an Hundred and Twenty Miles; and in breadth *Thirty*; (containing all that which we call the *Weald* of *Kent* to this Day; as also the Woodland part of *Sussex*, as far as *Hampshire*;) but up this * River *Limene* they drew their Ships, as far as the said Wood or Forest, viz. Four Miles from the furthest part where the Sea flows up, and there they made a Fort in that Fen, which was raised by a few of their Ceorls, or Villains.

And not long after arrived *Hæstien* the Dane, who, entering the Mouth of *Thames* with Eighty Vessels, Built a Fort at *Middletnne* in *Kent*, whilst another part of the Army did the same at *Apuldre* or *Apultre* (now called *Aplemore* in the same County) where as *Ethelward* relates, They took and destroyed an Old Castle being defended only by a few Country People; he also makes *Hæstien* to have Fortified *Middleton* after *Apuldre*, and his Army to have Winter'd in both places.

This Year also, *Wulfhere* Arch-Bishop of the *Northumbers* deceased.] Anno Dom. DCCCXCIV.
But to look a little upon the Affairs of *Wales*: The same Year *Anarawd* Prince of *North-Wales*, came with a great number of *English* Men (whom he had got to join with him) and made War upon his Brother *Cadelh*, Prince of *Southwales*, and spoiled the Countries of *Cardigan*, and *Isradgwy*.

What the *Danes* did immediately after their Landing, our Annals mention not; but we may with great probability hither refer that Action, (touched upon in our Annals, which are very confused and obscure in the Relation of this War) viz. That it is most likely the Kings Army besieged *Hæstien* either at *Middleton*, or *Beamsfoot*; where not long after his Landing, he had built a strong Fort on the opposite Shore, and being reduced by the King to great Extremities, he was forced to surrender himself with his Wife, and his Two Sons to the King's Mercy; upon Condition that they should be Christened; which being done, (the King, and *Æthered*, Ealdorman of *Mercia*, being their Godfather;) *Hæstien* gave the King Hostages, and solemnly swore to depart the Kingdom; but as soon he got loose, he broke all those Agreements, and retiring into *Beamsfoot* there fortified himself a fresh.

And the Spring after *Ethelward* assures us, That passing along the great Forest of *Andred'swood*, they then wasted the adjacent Countries of *Hampshire*, and *Berkshire*; but the *Saxon* Annals affirm, that about a Year after the *Danes* had raised that Fort, (I suppose of *Middleton* above-mentioned), in the East part of the Kingdom, *K. Alfred* the better to secure himself, caused the *Danes* of *Northumberland*, and *East England*, to take an Oath to be true to him; and the King also compell'd the *East Angles* to give him Hostages: yet nevertheless they broke this Peace; for when the *Danes* in *Kent* went out of their Ships in Troops to Plunder, they also went with them, or else the *Danes* carried the Prey into their Territories; wherefore King *Alfred*, gathering together his Army, and marching forward, Encamp'd between Two Parties of these *Danish* Robbers, where by reason of Woods, as also of Water on both sides, he had a very convenient place for that purpose, insomuch that he could set upon either Party whenever they marched into the Country to Plunder; but they Robb'd in Troops, as well on Horse-back as on Foot, in all Parts where the King's Army was not; yet were repulst almost every Day, as well by the King's Forces, as by the Neighbouring Towns: For

Anno Dom. the King had now divided his Forces into two Bodies, so that one half
DCCCXCIV. of them remained always at home, whilst the other marched out, except those whose business it was to defend the Towns; but the *Danes* oftener sallied out of their Camp than the King's Men; For the *Danes* in one Body sallied not out of their Camp, but twice; Once when they first Landed, and another time when they were about to Decamp; and then having taken a great Booty, they endeavoured to carry it over the *Thames*, into *Essex*, toward their Ships; But the King's Forces prevented them, and fought them near *Fernham*, and put them to flight, and rescued the Prey; from whence they fled beyond the *Thames*, and thence by the River *Colne*, into a certain Island (called by Mr. *Speed*, *Brecklescy*;) where the King's Army besieged them, as long as their own Provisions lasted, for they had only Victuals for a small time: Then the King marched thither with the Forces of that Province, whilst the former returned home; but the *Danes* in the mean time remained there, because they could not carry away their King (being then wounded) along with them; but those *Danes* that Inhabited *Northumberland*, and *East England*, got together an Hundred Ships with which they sailed about the South Parts, whilst with Forty others they did the like in the North; with the former they besieged a certain strong place lying on the Northern Coast of *Devonshire*, and then fetching a Compass towards the South, besieged *Exancester* (now *Exeter*;) which when the King heard, he turned all his Forces toward that place; but the *Danes*, (as *Florence* relates) affrighted at the News of his approach got again to their Ships, carrying their Prey to *Cisseancester*, (now *Chichester* in *Sussex*;) where they were repulsed by the Citizens, and great part of their Army killed; but in the mean time while one Party of the King's Army remained behind, the other marched on to *London*, and then proceeded Eastward with the Citizens of that place, and other Auxiliaries that came from the West, as far as *Beamsfleet*, (now *South Beamsfleet*) in *Essex*; whither *Hastin* was come with the Forces which had been before quartered at *Middleton*; to which also were joined those that first arrived at *Apuldre* in the Mouth of the River *Limene*; for *Hastin* had built a strong Fort at *Beamsfleet*, and was from thence marched out to Plunder, whilst great part of his Army remained at home; but when the King's Forces came thither, they soon put his Army to flight, and demolished the Fort, taking all that was within it, together with their Goods, Wives and Children, carrying them to *London*; and as for their Ships, part of them they broke to pieces, but carried the best of them to *Rocheſter* and *London*, and burnt the rest; but the Wife of *Hastin* and his Two Sons being brought to the King, he not long after sent them back to him at his request, because one of the Boys had been the King's, and the other Earl *Ethered's* Godson, (as hath been already said).

H. Huntington places the Siege of *Exeſter* after the taking of *Bemfleet*; whereas the *Annals* suppose it to be done about the same time; but be it as it will, they all agree that whilst the King was detained in the West at that Siege, both Armies of the *Danes* (viz. as well those which had been before routed at *Bemfleet*, as those which were at the Isle of *Brecklescy*) met at *Sceobyrig* (now *South-Shoebury* in *Essex*;) and there built a Castle, and then marching along the *Thames*, a great many of the *Danes* of *East England*, and *Northumberland* joined them; and so they marched from the *Thames* as far as the River *Severne*; then *Ethered*, *Ethelm*, and *Ethelnoth* the Ealdormen, and the King's *Thanes* who were left

left at home in the Garisons, drew all the Men together they could from *Anno Dom.*
DCCCXCIV. every Town on the East-side of *Pebridan* (now *Parret* in *Somersetshire*;) and on the West of *Selwood* (Forest) as also from both sides of the *Thames*, even as far as *North Wales*, who when they were all assembled, followed the *Pagans* to *Butdigintune*, on the side of *Severne*, (now called *Rudington* in *Shropshire*;) and there besieged them on all sides, in a certain Fort they had cast up; but when they had staid there for divers Weeks Encamp'd on both sides the River, (the King being then in *Devonshire* with his Fleet) the *Pagans* pressed with Hunger, Eat their Horses, and many of them perished with Famine; yet at last they broke out upon those who lay on the East side of the River; where (as *Ethelwerd* tells us) was a very sharp Dispute, tho the Christians got the Victory, and kept the Field; but there *Ordhelm* the King's *Thane* was kill'd, as also many others of the same Rank; but that part of the Danish Army which remained alive, escaped by flight. And when they were got into their Garisons and Ships in *East Saxe* just before Winter, they Muster'd a great Army from among the *East Angles* and *Northumbers*; and committing their Wives, Ships and Goods to the keeping of the *East Angles*, marched Day and Night, till they took up their Quarters at a certain City in *Werheal*, called *Legaceſter*, (now *Chester*;) but the Kings Forces could not overtake them before they had got into the Castle, which nevertheless they besieged for about Two Days, and took away all the Cattle that were in those Parts, and kill'd all the Men they could find without the place; and partly burnt the Corn, and partly devoured it with their Horses: This was done about a Twelve Month after the *Danes* arrival here.

Not long after this the *Pagans* went from *Werheal* into *North Wales*, but they could not stay there long because the Cattle and Corn were all drove away and destroyed; so they were forced to march thorough the Country of the *Northumbers* and *East Angles* with such speed, that the King's Forces could not overtake them till they came into the East part of *East Seaxe*, to a certain Island seated near the Sea, called *Mereſige* (now *Mersey*) in *Essex*. *Anno Dom.*
DCCCXCV.

Also the same Year the *Danes*, who were encamp'd in *Mereſige*, drew their Ships up the *Thames*, and thence up the River *Ligan*, (now called *Lec*) which divides *Middleſex* from *Essex*; and there according to *Florence* they began to raise a Fort; this happen'd in the second Year after their arrival.

The *Pagans* having raised the Fortification near *Ligan* above-mentioned, about 20 Miles from *London*; this Summer a great part of the Citizens and others marched thither, and endeavoured to take and destroy it, *Anno Dom.*
DCCCXCVI. but they were there forc'd to fly for it, and Four of the King's *Thanes* were kill'd on the spot.

This Autumn, when the King had pitched his Camp in those Parts about Harvest time, to hinder the *Danes* from carrying away their Corn, it happen'd one day, as the King rode by the River side, that he found a place where the River might be so diverted, that the *Danes* should not be able to carry back their Ships; and tho they had built two Castles, one of each side the River to defend them; yet so soon as the *Danes* saw that (the stream being now diverted into several Channels) they could not carry back their Ships, they quitted them, and marched away on Foot, till they

Anno Dom.
DCCCXCVI. they came to *Quatbridge* (now supposed to be *Cambridge*, not far from the River *Severne*) where they cast up a Fort; but the King's Forces pursued them toward the *West* on Horse-back, whilst the Citizens of *London* seized and broke their Ships, and carried all that was worth any thing to the City, but the *Danes* had left their Wives with the *East Angles* before they departed from that place; so that that Winter they staid at *Quatbridge*, being the Third Year since their last arrival.

Anno Dom.
DCCCXCVII. But the next Year, according to our Annals, The *Danes* marched part of them into *East England*, and part into *Northumberland*, because wanting Money, they could only there procure Ships, which having got they sailed from thence *Southward* to the River *Seine*: Thus by God's Mercy this vast Army of *Pagans* did not wholly ruine the *English Nation*, altho it was very much weaken'd during these Three Years, as well by the Murrain of Cattle, as also by a great Plague upon Men; by which many of the King's noblest *Thanes* that were in the Kingdom dyed, of which number were, *Swithulf* Bishop of *Rochester*, *Beorhthulf* Ealdorman of the *East Saxons*, *Wulfred* Ealdorman of *Hampshire*, and *Ethelheard* Bishop of *Dorchester*, with many others. But I have only noted the most remarkable.

The same Year, those Robbers residing in *East-England*, and *Northumberland*, very much infested *West Saxony*, especially the *Southern Coasts*, by their stolen Booties; chiefly with their Ships which they had got ready long before for that purpose; then King *Alfred* (being it seems at last sensible how much damage the want of a Fleet had done his Country) Commanded divers Gallies to be made which were almost twice as long as others, some whereof had sixty Rowers; they were also swifter, higher, and less apt to rowle than others formerly built, for they were made neither according to the model of the *Frifian* Vessels, nor the *Danish*, but after such a manner, as was thought might prove most useful: And some time after in this Year, there arrived six *Danish* Ships at the Isle of *Wight*, and Sailing along committed great spoil in *Devonshire*, and all up and down that Coast. Then the King commanded that they should set Sail with the Nine Gallies newly built, and shut up the Enemies Ships from going out of the Harbour where they were; upon which the *Pyrats* sailed out with Three Ships against them, the other three being left in the entrance of the Harbour upon the dry ground, and the Sea-men gone out of them; But the King's Fleet took two of the *Danish* Ships that came out of the Harbour, and slew the Men, but the Third escaped, though all, except Five, were kill'd: There came also other Ships thither, which were somewhat more conveniently posted, Three of them being placed in that part of the Sea, where the *Danish* Ships had before taken up their station, but all the rest in another part, so that they could not assist each other, for the Tide had gone back many Furlongs from the King's Ships: And so the *Danes* going out of their Vessels set upon Three *English* Ships which lay on the dry ground, and Fighting with them, there slew *Lucoman* the King's Admiral, and *Wulfherd*, *Ebba*, and *Ethelard*, being all *Frize-landers*, (who it seems then served in the King's Fleet) so that of the *Frifons* and *English* there were slain Sixty Two, of the *Danes* One Hundred and Twenty: But the Tide returning, the *Danish* Ships got away before the *English* could have out theirs at Sea, tho they were so shatter'd, that they could scarce reach the Coast of *Suffex*, for two of them were

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ran on Shore, and the Men being brought to the King at *Winchester*, he Commanded them all to be Hang'd: But those who were in the Third Ship, being very much wounded, with great difficulty reached *East-England*.

The same Year there perished no less than Twenty of their Ships together with the Seamen near the *Southern Coast*; and then also *Wulfred* Master of the King's Horse Deceased, who was a *British* or *Welsh* Gerefe or Governour.

Ethelm Ealdorman of *Wiltshire* deceased Nine days before *Midsummer*, *Anno Dom.*
DCCCXCXVIII. and the same Year also *Ealhstan* Bishop of *London* dyed.]

This Year (according to the *Welsh Chronicle*) *Igmond* the *Dane*, with a great number of Soldiers Landed in the Isle of *Man*, or *Anglesey*, where the *Welshmen* gave him Battle at a place called *Molerain*, or *Milon*, wherein we may suppose the *Danes* got the Victory, for their *Chronicle* says nothing to the contrary, and besides *Merry* Son to *Rodri* King of *Powis* was there slain.

Also now King *Alfred* Deceased six days before the Feast of *All Saints*. He was King over all the *English Nation*, (except what was under the power of the *Danes*.)

But since we are come to the end of this King's Life, I shall here give you * *Florence* of *Worcester's* Character of him: viz. That Famous and Victorious Warriour, King *Alfred*, the Defender of Widows and Orphans, the most skillful of all the *Saxon* Poets, who excelled in Prudence, Justice, Fortitude and Temperance, being as Discreet and Diligent in hearing of Causes, and giving Judgments, as he was devout in the Service of God; was also most Liberal and affable to all Men; so that for these Vertues he was highly beloved by his Subjects, now died of an Infirmary under which he had long laboured, whose Body lies buried in the new Monastery of *Winchester*, in a stately Tomb of *Porphyrie*.

But I shall from * *Affer's* History of this King's Life and Actions, give you a larger account of him from his Infancy.

He was (as you have already heard) born *Anno Dom.* 849, and had been twice at *Rome*, but after his last Return together with his Father, He tells us, He was bred up at Court with the great Care and Affection, both of his Father and Mother, who loved him above the rest of his Brothers, because he was not only more Witty and Handsome, but also of a sweeter Disposition; and it had been well if he could have improved his own excellent Parts by Humane Learning; for to his great regret afterwards, by the extream fondness of his Parents, or by the negligence of those who had the care of his Education, he remained till the Twelfth Year of his Age, without so much as being taught his Letters; only having an excellent Memory, he learned by heart several *Saxon* Poems, being repeated to him by others; for he had a great, and natural Inclination to Poetry, as our Authour himself had often observed; and as an instance of the quickness of his Parts, gives us this Account, That one Day when his Mother shewed him and the rest of his Brothers a certain fine Book in *Saxon* Verse, with which they were very well pleased, he being taken with the beauty of the Capital Letters, at the beginning of it, she promised to give it to him that should soonest understand and get it by heart; which *Alfred* undertaking to do, he carried it to his Master, and not only learned to Read it, but also got it without Book, and so repeating it to his Mother, had the Book given him for his pains: after

Anno Dom. after this he also learned the Daily Office, and then some Psalms and Prayers by heart, which being writ together in a Book, he still carried in his Bosome for his daily use: But alas! *England*, could not then supply him with any fit Tutors in the Liberal Arts, which he often complained was one of the greatest hindrances in his Life, that at the time when he had most leasure to learn, he had no Masters that could teach him; and afterwards when he grew more in Years, he was troubled with incessant Pains both Night and Day, the causes of which were unknown to the Physicians, but when he came to be King, he was then taken up with the cares of the Government, and how to resist the Invasions of the *Danes*, so that he had but little time for Study; yet notwithstanding all these impediments from his very Child-hood, to the day of his Death, he never ceased to have an insatiable desire after knowledge; inso-much that he did not only at leisure times learn himself, but also communicated that learning to others, by translating into the *English Saxon* Tongue *Orosius's* Roman, and *Bede's* Ecclesiastical Histories, the latter of which Versions is Printed, but the former is still in Manuscript, in the Library of *Corpus Christi* Coll. *Oxon.* as also in other places: he had likewise begun to Translate the *Psalms* of *David*, but was prevented by Death, from making an end of it.

But to how low an Ebb Learning was then reduced by the frequent Wars and devastations of the *Danes*, King *Alfred* himself tells us in his Preface to *St. Gregorie's Pastoral*, that learning was so decay'd in the *English* Nation, that very few Priests on this side of *Humber* could understand the Common Service of the Church, and he knew none *South of Thames*, who could turn an ordinary piece of Latine into *English*, though things were now somewhat better, yet that he himself had turn'd this Book into *English* by the help of Arch-Bishop *Plegmond*, with *Grimbald* and *John* his Priests; and had sent one of them to every Bishops See in the Kingdom, with an *Æstel*, (as the *Saxon* Word is, or *Stilus*, as in the Latin Version) upon each Book of fifty *Mancuses* in value, charging them in God's Name, neither to take away that *Æstel* from the Book, nor any of those Books out of the Church, seeing it was uncertain how long there would continue such Learned Bishops, as now (God be Thanked) were in all parts of this Kingdom.

But how this can consist with the supposed Relation out of *Asser*, concerning the flourishing state of Learning at *Oxford*, before that King's Founding the University, I do not understand.

But in the Twentieth Year of his Age, as soon as he was Married, that Distemper took him which held him till about his Fortieth Year, the cause whereof being unknown to his Physicians, it was supposed by some, that he was bewitched, and it was so sharp that he feared the Leprosie or Blindness, or else some worse Distemper, which often makes Men unuseful or despised; but by Praying to God in a certain Church in *Cornwal*, (where *St. Neot* lay buried) and near which the King came by chance to Hunt, he was relieved of that Pain, which tho this Authour does not tell us what it was, yet it seems to have been somewhat proceeding from the stoppage of the Humours in the lower Parts, and which our Authour calls the *Ficus*, or *Emerhoids*.

I shall now in the next place shew you, how this King spent his time, as well in his private as publick Affairs, as the same Authour hath related it; by which the Reader will be better enabled to frame a true Character of this most Pious, Learned, and Magnanimous Prince.

King

King *Alfred* (notwithstanding his frequent hindrances, not only by *Anno Dom.* the *Danish* Wars, but also his bodily Infirmities) was always mindful of *DCCCCL.* the Affairs of State, tho at spare times he used Hunting (for his Recreation) and to oversee and direct his Artificers, Huntmen and Faulknors; He built also his Houses much more Magnificent than those of his Predecessors, and at leisure times was wont to read *English Saxon* Books, and learn Verses in the same Tongue by heart, so that he never failed when he was alone to employ himself well. And for the better performance of his Duty, he vowed to bestow half his time (as far as his occasions and Infirmities would permit) in God's Service. And because it was impossible to know how the Hours of the Day and Night past, when often by reason of the Clouds the Sun could not be seen, (no Clocks being then invented) he began to think how he might distinguish the Hours by Night as well as by Day; and at last, by his own ingenious contrivance, he ordered Six Wax-Tapers to be made of equal length and bigness; so that each Taper being divided into Inches, and every Inch marked out upon the Taper; by this means those Six Tapers being set up on: after another before the Reliques of the Saints, (which he still carried with him) gave a constant and certain Light during the whole Twenty four Hours, both by Night and by Day. But when sometimes by reason of the Wind, which came in at the Windows or Doors of the Chappel, or thorough the Chinks of the Walls, or the Cloth of his Tents; the Tapers were made to burn out sooner than they were used to do at other times; he first found out the Invention of making Lanthorns of Cow's Horns cut into thin Plates, whereby no Wind could waist the Tapers; so that by this Invention none of them burnt out sooner than another.

Afterwards he endeavoured to perform his former Vow in dedicating half his time to God, so that he was wont not only to hear Mass every day, but also to repeat his Prayers, Psalms, and other Nocturnal Offices, having made a Collection out of *David's* Psalms for his own private use; which being with certain Prayers written in a small Book, he always carried about with him in his Bosom; he likewise used to frequent the Church in the Night time, and there alone to say his Prayers: He was also very liberal in his Alms to Strangers, as well as his own People, treating all sorts of Men with great Gentleness and Affability, he would often hear the Scriptures read by his own Servants, and also Prayers read by Strangers, when he came to any place by chance: He loved his Bishops and all the Clergy very well, as also his Earls, Noblemen, and Servants; expressing his affection in Educating their Sons in his own Family, and by causing them to be constantly instructed in Letters and good Manners, with the same care, as if they had been his own Children: Yet for all this, the King was not satisfied, but was sorry that God had not made him more capable of true Wisdom, as well as Liberal Arts; admiring *Solomon* for nothing more, than that despising Riches and Worldly Glory, and desiring of God Wisdom, he thereby obtained not only those outward things, but this Request too over and above.

Thus our King imitated the Bee, which rising early, gathers Honey from all sorts of Flowers; So whatever was rare, that he had not in his own Kingdom, he fetched from abroad: for about this time God favouring his Pious Desires, sent him *Werfriht*, after Bishop of *Worcester*, one very well skilled in the Holy Scriptures, who by this King's Command, Elegantly

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and

Anno Dom. and exactly Translated the Dialogues of Pope Gregory, out of *Latin*, into the *English Saxon* Tongue; and after him *Plegmond* a *Mercian*, who was afterwards Archbishop of *Canterbury*, a Venerable Man, and indued with all true Knowledge; to whom we may also add *Æthelstan*, and *Werwulf*, Priests, and the King's Chaplains.

These learned Men above-mentioned, King *Ælfred* had sent for out of *Mercia*, whose Erudition, as it daily encreased the King's Love to it, so his greedy Thirst after it could never be satisfied; for Night and Day, as often as he had leisure, he Commanded some or other to read to him, for he was never without one of them near him, whereby he obtain'd a general Knowledge of almost all sorts of Books; nor was he contented with those he found at home, but he sent Messengers into *France* to procure new Masters; fetching from thence one *Grimbald* a Priest and Monk, a worthy Man, and an excellent Chanter, and one well skilled in all Secular, as well as Ecclesiastical Learning; as also *John* another Priest and Monk, thoroughly versed in all manner of Literature, by whose assistance, as the King's Mind became much enlarged, so in Requital he Honour'd and Enrich'd them.

And here I may likewise add, what some other Authors have written concerning these two last Learned Persons, by whose assistance he first Founded the University of *Oxford*, as hath been already related; for *John Rouse*, in his History of the Kings of *England*, hath wrote of these two Monks, that *Grimbald* was sent for from his Monastery in *Flanders*, then counted part of *France*, as *John* was from his of *St. Bertin*, at *St. Omers*; this is that *John* commonly call'd *Scotus* and *Erigena*, (tho' from whence he borrowed this last Name, I shall not determine, since the Learned differ so much about it) 'twas he Translated *Dionysius* his *Hierarchia* out of *Greek* into *Latin*, which is now publish'd by the Learned Dr. *Gale*.

About the same time *Asfer* also relates, that he was sent for by the King from the *Western*, or furthest Parts of *Britain*, (that is, from *St. David's* in *Wales*) and being kindly received by him, he earnestly entreated him to leave whatever he had on the other side of *Severne*, and Dedicate himself wholly to his Service; but he could not promise that for above six Months in the Year, standing engaged the other six to reside at his own Monastery; for the Abbot and Monks there hoped that by his Interest with the King, they might better avoid those Troubles and Injuries from King *Hemeid*, who had often spoiled that Monastery and Diocese; by the Expulsion of its Bishops, as he had done the Archbishop *Novis*, our Author's Kinsman; for he also tells us, that both at this time and long before, all the Countries on the South part of *Britain* did then belong to King *Ælfred's* Dominions; *Hemeid* with all the Inhabitants of *South Wales*, and *Rodri* with his six Sons having subjected themselves to his Empire; *Howel* also the Son of *Rice*, King of *Gleguising*, *Brochmail* and *Fermail* Kings of *Guent* being oppressed by the Tyranny of *Eadred* Earl of the *Mercians*, desired of the King, that he would please to take the Dominion over them, and be their Protector against their Enemies: Also *Helised* the Son of *Teudyr* King of *Breconoc* being kept under by the power of the said Sons of *Rodri*, sought the Protection of the King, as did *Anarawd* the Son of *Rodi*, (together with his Brethren) who all at last forsaking the friendship of the *Northumbers*, by which they had received no advantage, but rather damage, came to the King desiring his favour, and were honourably received by him.

And

Prince *Anarawd* being enriched with many great gifts, submitted himself to the King's Dominion, together with all his Subjects, promising to be obedient in all things to his Royal Pleasure; neither did they desire the King's Friendship in vain, for those who loved to encrease their power obtained it, those who desired Money had it, those who only sought his Friendship enjoy'd it; but all of them did partake of his kindness and protection, as far as the King was able to defend them.

Then our Author further adds, That after he had been with the King Eight Months, he gave him a grant of Two Monasteries, called *Ambresbyri* in *Wiltshire*, and *Banumelle*, together with all that was there, adding these words; That he had not now given these small things, but in order to bestow greater on him; for some time after he gave him also *Exancester* (now *Exeter*) with all the Lands that belonged to it in *West Saxony*, and *Cornwal*; besides other daily presents, too long here to recite, which he says, he does not relate out of vain Glory, but to set forth this King's Liberality. Note, That by *Exancester* he means only the Abbey.

Which also, as well as his Piety was very great; for the King had now order'd two Monasteries to be built, the one at *Æthelingey*, the place of his Retreat above-mentioned, putting Monks therein of divers Nations, because he could then find no Gentlemen nor Freemen of his own Country, that would undertake a Monastic Life; the other Monastery he built near the *East-Gate* of *Shaftsbury*, for an Habitation for Nuns, over which he made his own Daughter, *Æthelgova* Abbess, placing many Noble Virgins there, to serve God with her in a Monastic Life.

All which being finished, he then considered how he might further add to what he had already done; and therefore being stirred up by the Divine Grace, he Commanded his Officers to divide all his Yearly Revenues into two equal parts, the first of which he allotted to secular Affairs; distributing it to skillful Artificers and Architects, who came to him from all parts far and near, whom he discreetly rewarded giving every Man according to his Merit; And the other half he dedicated to God, which he Commanded his Officers to divide likewise into four parts, so that one part should be discreetly bestowed upon poor Men of all Nations, that came to him; a second part was to be reserved for the two Monasteries which he had founded; a third for that School which he had made up of many considerable persons of his own Nation, as well as Foreigners. And which is supposed to have been the University of *Oxford*.

And the fourth part was to be sent some Years to the Monasteries in *West Saxony* and *Mercia*, and other Years to the Churches and Monks, serving God in *Brittain*, *France*, *Cornwall* and *Northumberland*, nay as far as into *Ireland*; to each of them by turns according to his present Abilities. Nor did he only thus dedicate one half of his Revenues, but also one half of the Labours of his Body and Mind to God's Service, as hath been already declared.

Nor was he less exact in all things else he undertook; for he was the Great Patron of the Oppressed, whose Cause and Defence he almost alone supported, having very little assistance from others; since almost all the Powerful and Great Men of that Kingdom rather addicted themselves to Secular, then Divine employments, and pursued every one his own private Interest, without any consideration to the Common good: but the King in his Judgments studied the advantage as well of the meaner sort as of the

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Noble

Anno Dom. DCCCCI. Noble or Great, the latter of which, did often times in the publick Assemblies of the Ealdormen and Sheriffs pertinaciously quarrel among themselves, so that none of them would scarce allow any thing that was adjudged by the said Magistrates in their Courts, to be Right; and by reason of these obstinate dissentions, divers of them were compell'd to appeal to the King, which also both sides often desired to do; for they found that he diligently enquired into all the Judiciary Sentences that were given throughout his Kingdom, and if he found any injustice in them, he forthwith sent for the Judges, before whom such false Judgments were given and either by himself, or else by some trusty Commissioners had those Judges examin'd, to know the reason wherefore they had given such unjust Sentences, and then enquired whether they had done this through Ignorance, or else for Love, Hatred, or Fear, or else for lucre's sake; but if the Judges protested, (and it was also found upon Examination) that they had passed such Sentence, because they were able to judge no better in the Cause; then would the King with great moderation reprove their Ignorance and Unskillfulness; telling them, He wondred much at their presumption in taking upon them the Office of a Judge, without having first duly studied the Laws, and therefore enjoyned them either to lay down their Employments, or else immediately to apply themselves to study them with more care: Which when they had heard, they took this reproof for sufficient punishment, and betook themselves to study with all their might; so that most of all the Ealdormen, who were illiterate from their Youth, rather desired to learn the Laws thō with labour, than lay down their Employments; but if any one through Age, or great incapacity could not profit in those studies, he made either his Son or some near Kinsman read to him *English Saxon* Books, when ever he had time, repenting that he had not employed his Youth in those Studies, and esteeming those Young Men Fortunate, who could now be more happily instructed in all Liberal Arts.

So far *Affer* hath given us a particular Account of this King's Life and Conversation, both in publick and private: But if *Andrew Horne*, in his Book call'd, * *The Mirrour of Justices* (a great part of which is supposed to be collected from divers ancient *Saxon* Records that are now lost,) may be credited, this King condemn'd no less than Fourty four inferior Judges, in Hundred and County Courts, to be hanged, in one Year, for their false Judgments, either in condemning or acquitting Men without the Verdict of the Jury; but the particular Cases being many, and long, I refer you to the Authour himself, wherein you will see the Difference between the manner of Judicial Proceedings in those Times, from what they were presently after the *Norman Conquest*.

But some of our Historians, as particularly *Harding* in his *Chronicle*, make this King to have collected a Body of Laws, not only out of the *Old and New Testament*, but also from the *Greek, Roman, British, and Danish* Laws; which, if it were ever done, is not now extant.

Having thus finished the Life of King *Alfred*, I cannot but take Notice of his last Will and Testament, (the only one we have left of all the *English-Saxon* Kings,) wherein, at the very beginning, he styles himself, By the Divine Grace, King of the *West-Saxons*, with the Means and Assistance

Assistance of *Athelred* the Archbishop; as also with the Assent and Consent of the Nobility of all *West-Saxony*, whom he there summons as Witnesses of this his last Will; and to be Trustees and Overseers of his Goods and Estate, for the good of his Soul, as well of the Inheritance which GOD and the chief Men, together with the Ealdormen of the People, had affectionately and bountifully bestowed upon him, as also of the Inheritance which his Father *Aethelwulf* had bequeathed to him and his three Brothers, viz. *Aethelbald, Aethred* and himself; so as that the Survivor of them should enjoy the entire Dominion of the whole Kingdom: And then proceeds to shew the particular force of that Entail, according to his said Father's Will, in these Words; as he gives it us, speaking in the first Person.

That if it should happen, That *Aethelbald*, the eldest Son of our Father, should first decease, then *Aethred*, together with the Nobility of all *West-Saxony*, should be Witnesses for us of our Share in the said Kingdom, on the Day of his Coronation; whom we should with all our Might endeavour to advance to the Throne, after the Death of *Aethelbald* our eldest Brother, according to the Agreement he made with us, viz. That the said King *Aethred* should permit us to enjoy our Distributions, as we had them before our said Brother's Coronation; And also the Engagement he stood in to us concerning the said Hereditary Distribution, was confirmed in like manner, to wit, that the Lands and Territories, which K. *Aethred*, by our Assistance, and the Power of our Men, should acquire to himself; as also the Dominions which should fall to him by Hereditary Right, he should, in Brotherly Love, proportionably divide with us. But yet, if it should so happen, that *Aethred* should succeed to the Kingdom, he himself was to promise the same thing: But he refusing, (as this Testament particularly takes notice,) to observe this Agreement, only promised, That as for the Lands and Territories which he, by *Alfred's* and his People's Assistance should acquire to his Dominions, as also the Inheritance to which he was born, he would, after his decease, confer upon none else but my self: And being thus pacified, I thereupon remitted all further Complaints against my Brother.

Then he proceeds farther, That in case it should happen, that we all should fall by the hands of our *Danish* Enemies; then it was especially provided, that every one of us should so dispose of our Estates to our Sons, that each of them should successively enjoy our Inheritance, and our Lands and Possessions in like manner, as the Inheritance it self, with the Dominions, Lands and Possessions, which had been before conferred upon us. And then he goes on to recite what had been formerly done in a General Council of the *West Saxon* Nobility at *Swinbourne*, wherein he had adjured them all to bear witness of the manner and intent of the former Entail; the sum of which was, That since K. *Aethred* his Elder Brother was deceased, there was then none left but himself, who had any writing or Testimony concerning this Inheritance, nor any other Heir besides himself; and that if any one should offer to claim the said Inheritance, he should lose his Right, unless he forthwith produced witnesses of it; but then he heard that all his Kinsmen were dead, and so the whole Inheritance of King *Aethelwulf* his Father was devolved upon him, by a Charter made thereof at his General Council at *Langdene*; which Charter he had then like-

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Anno Dom.
DCCCCL.

wife commanded to be read before the Witnesses of all *West Saxony*; and after it was read, he ordered all there present to declare, whether they had heard or knew of any Man who could justly claim any Right to his Inheritance; which had never come to his Knowledge before; because it was his intent to disinherit none of his Kinsmen of any thing; and then all the Princes and Ealdormen of his People did firmly and positively declare, that they never heard of any who had a juster Title to it than himself, and then they gave him full power to make his Will, and bequeath his Estate to his Kinsmen and Friends in such manner as best pleased him.

* Vid. The
Reason in the
Introduction.

Next King *Alfred* proceeds in the presence of the said Witnesses, to make his last Will, and to confer upon his Eldest Son *Edward* divers Lands and Territories there particularly mentioned; lying in divers Countries in *England*, (* but without any mention of the Crown;) he also leaves other Lands there recited to his Younger Son; the like he does for each of his Daughters, to whom he gives divers Lands there particularly set down; and then bequeaths to *Aethelm* and *Aethelwald* his Brother's Sons, divers Towns there also particularly recited; then follow his Legacies in Money to his Sons, Daughters and Servants, and to his Kinsmen above mentioned; as also to *Ethelred*, General of his Militia, and to the Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*, *Affer* Bishop of *Shireburne*, and several other Bishops; all which would be too tedious here to be set down,

And to let you see that Entails were then in force,

He farther Wills, That those to whom he had given his Free-Hold-Lands, should not alienate them beyond their own Lives, and if they had no Children they should go to the next of Kin, especially to the Eldest Son as long as any one of them remain'd alive; for so his Father had bequeathed his Inheritance; but if it should any ways happen that his said Lands should come into the hands of Women, then he Wills, That after their Decease those Lands should revert to his next Male Kindred descending from their bodies, &c.

And then concludes with an earnest Exhortation and desire, that none of his Relations should any ways disquiet each other concerning those things which he had already given and bequeathed to them; since the whole Nobility of the *West Saxon* Nation had already agreed with him, that it was but Just and Right that he should leave them as free as the Thought of Man could make them.

This is the substance of King *Alfred's* Will, which I have been the more particular in reciting, because it is one of the most Remarkable Pieces in our *English Saxon* Antiquities, and shews us the manner of Succession, not only to private Estates; but to the Crown it self in those Days. Tho' we could have wished that the Original had been preserved, being in the *English Saxon* Tongue, of which this is only a Translation made by *Affer* at the end of this King's Life.

The *Latine* of which is indeed so barbarous, and obscure, that I would rather advise the curious Reader to peruse the Original it self, then venture to give him an imperfect interpretation of any more of it; having here already set down the most material heads, and which I thought did principally conduce to our present design.

King *Alfred* had born to him by the Queen his Wife above-mention'd, *Aethelfleda* his Eldest Daughter, and after her *Eadward* his Eldest Son then *Ethelgeofen*, or *Ethelgiva*, then *Elfthryth*, and lastly *Ethelweard*, besides those

those who died in their Infancy: *Aethelfleda* when she came to mature Years, was Married to *Eadred*, Earl of the *Mercians*; *Aethelgiva* vowing Chastity, undertook a Monastic Life; *Ethelward* the youngest Child, was by the King's prudent Order, put to School under careful Masters, together with most of the Nobility's Sons of the Kingdom; in which School both *Latin* and *Saxon* Books were constantly read; and here they also learned to write: So that before they were admitted to Hunt, or handle Arms, they were well improved in the Liberal Arts,

As for this Prince *Ethelward*, * *Thomas Rudburne* relates from the Annals of *Winchester*, that he was bred up at *Oxford*, and became learned above that Age; but being more given to Letters than Arms, we find nothing of him in our Annals more than the time of his Death, tho' he lived till he was about Forty Years of Age; but he had two Sons, *Edwin*, and *Ethelwin*, of a more Warlike Temper; who being Slain in a Fight against *Anlaf* King of the *Danes*, were by their Cousin King *Athelstan's* appointment, buried in the Church of the Abbey of *Malmesbury*, as our *William* the Monk of that place recites.

As for the Princess *Aethelfleda*, she will make so great a Figure in her Brother's Reign, that I shall suspend saying any more of her here.

Besides these Children of King *Alfred* mentioned by *Affer*, the Chronicle of *St. Swithune* tells us of another Son born before Prince *Edward*, called *Edmund*, who lived to be Crowned King by his Father's appointment, in his Life-time; but dying before him, he was buried under a Marble-Stone, on the North side of the Altar of the Abbey Church of *Winchester*: So that we may hence perhaps supply that *Chafme* in *Affer's* Life of this Prince; where speaking of those Children of his, who died Young, says, *In quorum numero est* — but no Name being found in any of the Copies extant, it possibly ought to be supplied with *Edmundus*: But since this Prince is not mentioned in any other Historian or Pedigree of our Kings, I leave it to the Reader's discretion to determine as he pleases concerning him.

As for the other Sons, *Edward* and *Elfrith*, they were Educated in the King's Court, with great care of their Governors, and were taught by them to shew great respect toward Strangers, and a tender love to their own People, with a most Dutiful observance of their Father.

Immediately after this Excellent King's Death and Burial, his Eldest Son succeeded him under the Title of

King EDWARD, commonly called the Elder.

His Prince (according to Annals) now began his Reign, being (as *Ann. Dom.* *Affer* and *Bromton* in his Chronicle relate) anointed King at *DCCCCL.* *Kingston*, by *Plegmund* Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*, of whom *Ethelward* in his History expressly tells us, That he succeeded to the Monarchy, and tho' the Eldest Son of King *Alfred*, yet was he Elected by all the Chief Men of the Kingdom, and Crowned on *Whitsunday*. *Will. of Malmesbury* observes, that tho' this Prince was much inferior to his Father in Learning and Knowledge; yet far exceeded him in Power and Grandeur, enjoying the benefit of those Labours which his Father had undergone.

But

Anno Dom. DCCCCI. But so soon as ever he came to the Crown, as the *Saxon Annals* relate, he met with a very great disturbance; for *Ethelwald* his Cousin German, (Son as is supposed to *Ethered* his Father's Elder Brother) pretending he had better right to the Crown than King *Edward*, Rebelled against him, and went over to the *Danes*: So the Prince presently invaded the King's Territories, and possessed himself of the Royal Towns of *Iweoneam*, (now *Iweoxbeam*) and *Winburne*, without the King's privity; whereupon he advanced his Army, and pitched his Camp at a place called *Baddanbyrig*, (a Hill near *Winburne*;) but *Ethelwald*, with those Men who were joined with him, kept themselves within the Town, and having shut up all the Gates, King *Edward* commanded them to Surrender; but he Swore that he would there either Conquer or Die; yet notwithstanding all this blustering, he privately withdrew himself by Night, and marched back to the *Danish* Army in *Northumberland*: Upon this, the King gave Orders to his Men to pursue him; yet tho' they did so, they could not overtake him; so he got safe to the *Danish* Army, where they joyfully received him for their King.

But *Ranulph Higden* in his *Polychron* tells us, That having taken away a Nun along with him out of the Monastery of *Winburne*, he went over to the *Danes*, which if so, (as is most likely) the King could not then Apprehend her; but it seems King *Edward* followed him so close, that he forced him to go over into *France*, (as *Mat. of Westminster* relates) that he might there obtain more Recruits, to give the King fresh disturbance; and therefore it is most probable, what *Mat. Westminster*, and *Bromton's Chronicle* tells us, That the King after *Ethelwald's* departure, seized his Wife, whom (having been a Nun) he had taken against the Command of the Bishop, from the Monastery above-named, whither she was now brought back again.

In the mean time (according to *Mat. Westminster*) the King improved his Dominions, by building new Towns, and repairing some Cities, which had been before destroyed.

Anno Dom. DCCCCII. 'This Year was fought a Battle at *Holme*, between the *Kentish* Men and the *Danes*.] But *Florence of Worcester* with greater probability places this Action two Years after, when *Adelwald* (as he there calls him) was now returned out of *France*.

Anno Dom. DCCCCIII. 'About this time deceased *Athulf* the Ealdorman, Brother of *Q. Ealswitha*, King *Edward's* mother, as also *Virgilius* the *Scottish* Abbot, and *Grimbald* the Priest, (one of King *Alfred's* Instructors) 8 Ides of July. 'This Year also was consecrated the new Monastery of *Winchester*, about the Feast of St. *Judoc*.

Here was also a Colledge of Secular Chanons, first placed by King *Edward*, according to the will of his Father King *Alfred*, and it was called the *New Minster*, to distinguish it from the Old *Minster* or Cathedral.

The nearness of these two Monasteries afterwards occasioned great differences between them, until the Monks of this new Abbey, (who were placed here in the room of the Secular Chanons, by Bishop *Ethelwald*, *Anno Dom. 963.*) were removed without the Walls, to a place called *Hyde*, as you shall hear in due time; and here also the Bones of King *Alfred* were new Buried by King *Edward's* Son, (as *Will. of Malmesbury* relates) because of some foolish Stories made by those of the Old Monastery, concerning the dead King's Ghost walking in some Houses adjacent to the Church.

This

This Year also, according to our Annals, the Moon was Eclipsed.

The next Year Prince *Ethelwald* incited the *Danish* Forces in *East-England* to Arms; so that they over-ran and spoiled all the Country of *Mercia*, as far as *Crekelade*, (now *Crekelade* in *Wiltshire*); and there passing the *Thames*, they took in *Bradene*, (now *Bradon Forest* in *Wiltshire*) whatsoever they could find, and then return'd home. In the mean time King *Edward*, so soon as he could get his Army together, followed them, and destroyed all the Country which lies between the Ditch and the River *Ouse*, as far as the *Northern Fens*.

By the Ditch above-mention'd, *Florence of Worcester* understands that bound, or limit drawn between the Territories of the late King *Edmund*, and the River *Ouse*, which at this day is known by the name of the *Devil's Ditch*, that formerly divided the *Mercian* Kingdom from that of the *East-Angles*.

And *Bromton's Chronicle* under this Year further adds, That *Ethelwald* having thus passed the *Thames* at *Crekelade*, took *Brithenden*, and marched as far as *Brandenstoke*, (now *Brandenstoke* in *Wiltshire*); so that (as Mr. *Camden* well observes in his *Britannia*) our Modern Historians have been much mistaken in supposing that place to be *Basing-Stoke* in *Hampshire*: But to return to our History.

As soon as the King resolved to quit those parts, he order'd it to be proclaimed throughout the whole Army, that they should all march off; but the *Kentishmen* staying behind, contrary to his command, he sent Messengers to them to come away; yet it seems, before they could do it, the *Danes* had so hemmed them in, that they were forced to fight, and there *Eadwald* the King's Thane, and *Cenwulf* the Abbot, with many more of the *English* Nobility were slain; and on the *Danes* part were kill'd *Eoric* their King, and Prince *Ethelwald*, who had stirred them to this Rebellion, and *Byrctsig* the Son of Prince *Beornoth*, and *Ysopa* General of the King's Army, and abundance of others; which it would be too tedious to enumerate: But it was plain that there was a great slaughter made on both sides, yet nevertheless the *Danes* kept the Field of Battel.

Also this Year Queen *Ealswitha*, (the Mother of King *Edward*) deceased; in which also a Comet appeared.

Who this *Eoric*, King of the *Danes*, was, is uncertain; I suppose him to have been the *Danish* King of the *East-Angles*, whose death (according to *Will. of Malmesbury's* Account) falls about this time, for he says thus; That this King was killed by the *English*, whom he treated tyrannically, but for all this, yet they could not recover their Liberty; certain *Danish* Earls still oppressing, or else inciting them against the *West-Saxon* Kings; till the Eighteenth Year of this King's Reign; when they were all by him overcome, and the Country brought under obedience.

To this time we may also refer that great Council, which was held by King *Edward the Elder*, where *Plegmond*, Archbishop of *Canterbury* presided; though the place where is not specified, yet the occasion of it (as we find from *Will. of Malmesbury*, as well as the Register of the Priory of *Christ-Church* in *Canterbury*, cited by * Sir *H. Spelman*) was thus; Pope *Formosus* had sent Letters into *England*, threatening Excommunication, and his Curse to King *Edward* and all his Subjects, because the Province of the *West-Saxons* had been now for Seven Years without any Bishops; whereupon the King summoned a great Council or Synod of Wise men of the *English* Nation, wherein the Archbishop read the Pope's Letters; then the King and the Bishops, with all his Lay-Subjects, upon mature deliberation, found out a safe course to avoid it, by appointing Bishops

S f

over

Anno Dom. DCCCCIV.

Anno Dom. DCCCCV.

Council. 1. Vol. p. 187

Anno Dom.
DCCCCV. over each of the *Western* Counties, dividing what Two Bishops had formerly held, into Five Diocesses.

The Council being ended, the Archbishop went to *Rome*, and reciting the King's Decree with the Advice and Approbation of the Chief Men of his Kingdom; He thereby, and with rich Presents, so pacified the Pope, that *Plegmond* obtain'd his confirmation thereof; and then returning into his own Country, he ordained five Bishops in one day, (to wit) *Fridestan* to the Church of *Winchester*, *Aldestan* to *Cornwall*, *Werstan* to *Shireborne*, *Athelm* to *Wells*, and *Eadwulf* to *Crediton* in *Devonshire*.

But Archbishop *Parker*, in his *Antiq. Britannicæ*. under this very Year thus recites this Transaction out of a very Ancient Manuscript Author, whom he does not particularly name; viz. That *Plegmund* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, together with King *Edward*, called a great Council of the Bishops, Abbots, Chief men, Subjects and People, in the Province of the *Ceniffes*, where these two Bishopricks were divided into five.

So that you see here was no less than five new Diocesses erected at once, by the Authority of both the King and the Great Council of the Nation, though, it seems, the Pope took upon him the confirmation of this Decree.

The same Authors likewise tell us, That Archbishop *Plegmond* ordained two more Bishops over the Ancient Provinces (to wit) one *Bernod*, for the *South Saxons*, and *Cenwulf* for the *Mercians*, whose See was at *Dorchester* in *Oxfordshire*.

Cardinal *Baronius* in his *Annals*, having given us a Copy of these Letters of Pope *Formosus*, hath found a notable Error in the Date of them, for being written *Anno Dom.* 904, or 905. they could not be sent by that Pope who was dead about 9 or 10 years before, and therefore the Cardinal would put the time of this Council back to *Anno Dom.* 894. but then as Sir *H. Spelman* in his Notes upon it well observes, the fault will be as great this way as the other; for King *Edward*, under whom this Council was held, was not King till above 10 years after; therefore some would place this Council in the latter end of King *Alfred's* Reign, after the Kingdom came to be settled upon the expulsion of the *Danes*; but Sir *H. Spelman* affirms, That these things being written long after the time when they were transacted, the name of *Formosus* might be put into the Copies of these Letters, instead of Pope *Leo* the Fifth, and then all things will fall right enough. But as to *Frithestan* Bishop of *Winchester*, this Account of *Will.* of *Almesbury* will not hold, for our *Annals* tell us, That he was not made Bishop till *Anno Dom.* 910. upon the death of Bishop *Denulph*, and therefore that See could not be so long void, as this Relation would have it. The like mistake is in making *Werstan* to be then Bishop of *Shireborne*.

Anno Dom.
DCCCCV. This Year *Elfred*, who was *Gerefe* of *Bathe*, died, and about the same time there was a Peace made between King *Edward* and those of *East-England* and *Northumberland*; That is, as *Florence* interprets it, with the *Danish* Army inhabiting those Provinces, at *Ityngasford*; but where the place was, is now unknown to us, unless it be *Ilford* near *Christ-Church* in *Hampshire*, which is seated in the new Forest, called *Itene* in *Englisch-Saxon*. This Year also *Ligeaster*, now *Leicester* was repaired.

And *Florence* of *Worcester* likewise relates it to have been done in the Year 908. by the care of *Ethelred* Duke of *Mercia*, and the Lady *Elfreda* his Wife; and this Author does also inform us, That this Year the King subdued *Eastseax*, *East-England*, and *Northumberland*, with many other Provinces, which the *Danes* had a long time been possessed of, but *East-England* was not reduced till some Years after; also that he conquered the borders of the *Scots*, *Cumbrians* and *Galloway* Men, with the *Western Britains*,

Britains, and forced their Kings to yield themselves to him, and then he returned home with great Glory and Honour. *Anno Dom.*
DCCCCVII.

This Year also *Cadelh*, Prince of *South Wales*, died; he was second Son to *Roderic* the Great, and Father to *Howel Dha*, (i.e. the Good,) who succeeded him in that Dominion.

Some of the *South Wales* Antiquaries have endeavoured to prove this *Cadelh* to have been the eldest Son of *Roderic* the Great; but Mr. *Vaughan* hath so Learnedly confuted this Mistake in a small Treatise which he published on that Subject at *Oxford* 1663, that I think no Man can have any Reason to be dissatisfied with it.

This Year (according to *Florence* of *Worcester*) the ancient City of *Caerlegion*, that is in the English *Legeceaster*, (and now *Westchester*,) was repaired by the Command of Earl *Ethered*, and *Ethelsede* his Wife, repaired. Which tho Mr. *Camden* in his *Britannia* will needs have to be *Leicester*, yet that it was not so, may appear from the British Name of *Caerlegion*, which was never given to *Leicester*, but only to *Westchester* by the ancient British Inhabitants.

This Year deceased *Denulph*, who was Bishop of *Winchester*. This is he of whom our Historians tell us, That the King lighting on him as he lay concealed at *Athelney*, being then but a Swineherd, and finding him a Man of excellent Natural Parts, set him to School to learn, and he became so good a Proficient in Letters, that he was made first a Doctor, and afterwards a Bishop. *Anno Dom.*
DCCCCVII.

This Year also the Body of *St. Oswald* was translated from *Bardenigge* (that is, *Bardene* in *Lincolnshire*) into *Mercia*.

Frithestan now took the Bishoprick of *Winchester*, and Bishop *Asser* also deceased soon after, who was Bishop of *Shireburne*. Also the same Year King *Edward* sent an Army of the *West Saxons*, together with the *Mercians*, who very much wasted *Northumberland*, and staying there five Weeks, destroyed many of the *Danes*. *Anno Dom.*
DCCCCX.

Florence of *Worcester* and *Simcon* of *Durham* give us a very good Reason for this Action, viz. That the *Danes* had now broken the League they had entered into with King *Edward*; so that he never left them till he had forced their Kings and Commanders again to renew the Peace; which however it seems they kept not long.

For the next Year our *Annals* tell us,

That the *Danish* Army in *Northumberland* not regarding the Peace which King *Edward* and his Son had made with them, again wasted the Province of the *Mercians*; but the King being then in *Kent*, had got together about 100 Ships, which sailed toward the South-East to meet them, and then the *Danes* supposing that the greatest part of the King's Forces were in his Fleet, thought they might march safely whither they would without fighting; but so soon as the King understood they were gone out to plunder, he sent an Army consisting of *West Saxons* and *Mercians*, who following the *Danes* in the Rear, as they returned home met with them (in a place called *Wodnesfield*,) and fought with them, routing and killing many Thousands of them, with *Eorvils* and *Healfden* their Kings, with several Earls and Chief Commanders of their Army; whose Names I forbear to give, because I would tire my Reader as little as I could. *Anno Dom.*
DCCCCXI.

But to these Kings, as the * *Annals* of *Winchelcomb* inform us, one *Reginald* succeeded. * MS. in Bib. Coe. T. B. c. 4.

Anno Dom. Also the same Year, as *Florence* hath it, there was a remarkable Battle
DCCCCXI. between the *English* and the *Danes* in *Staffordshire*, but the former obtained the Victory.

Anno Dom. This Year *Æthered*, the Ealdorman of the *Mercians*, deceased; and the
DCCCCXII. King then took the Cities of *London* and *Oxenford* into his own hands, with all the Territories belonging to them.

But it seems the Lady *Elfede*, now a Widow, kept all the rest of *Mercia*; for this Year the *Annals* say, That she being Lady of the *Mercians*, came on the Vigil of the Feast of *Holyrood* to a place called *Seeargeat*, (which is now unknown,) and there built a Castle; and the same Year did the like at *Brigge*, which Mr. *Camden* supposes to be *Bridgenorth* in *Shropshire*, that Town being called *Brigge* by the common People at this day. And *Florence* also adds, That about this time she built the Town of *Bremesbyrig*.

Anno Dom. Now about the Feast of St. *Martin* King *Edward* Commanded the Town
DCCCCXIII. of *Heortford* to be new built, lying between the Rivers *Memar*, *Benefican*, and *Lygean*, the first and second of which Rivers is now hard to name right, only it is certain they were two Rivulets that discharged themselves into the River *Lee*, (then called *Lygean*.) between *Hartford* and *Ware*.

Anno Dom. After this, the Summer following, between *Lent* and *Midsummer*, the
DCCCCXIV. King marched with part of his Forces into *East-Seax* as far as *Maldun*, (now *Maldon*.) and there encamped, whilst a Town could be built and fortified at *Witham*, (near adjoining,) and then a great part of the People, who had before been under the *Danish* Dominion, became subject to him: In the mean time, whilst part of his Forces built the Town of *Heortford*, on the South side of *Lee*, the Lady *Æthelfleda* marched with all the *Mercians* to *Tameworthige* (now *Tamworth*) in *Staffordshire*, and there built a Castle; and before the Feast of *All-Saints* did the like at *Steford*; and the Year following she built another at *Eadesbyrig*, (supposed by Mr. *Camden* to be *Edesbury* in *Cheshire*;) and also the same Year, about the end of *Autumn*, she built another at *Weringwic*, (now *Warwick*;) and the Year following that, another at *Cyricbyrig* (now *Cherbury*) in *Shropshire*; and another at *Wearbyrig*, (supposed by Mr. *Camden* to be *Wedesbury* in *Staffordshire*;) and before *Christmas* another at *Run-casan*; (that is, *Runckhorne* in *Cheshire*.) But *Florence* places these Actions more rightly three Years after.

All which Castles (being built in the space of the two following Years) must be supposed to have been done not casually, but as the exigence of Affairs required, to secure the *Mercian* Frontiers against the *Danish*, as well as the *Welsh* Incursions.

But it is now time to cast our Eyes a little on the Affairs of that part of *England*, called *Wales*; where we find in the Chronicle of *Caradoc*, That this Year *Anarawd* chief King of *Wales* died, leaving behind him two Sons, *Edwal Ugel*, (i. e. the *Bald*.) who Reigned after him, and *Elise*; and (as some say) a third Son named *Meyric*. This *Edwal* is he, whom our Historians stile *Idwal Rex omnium Wallensium*; i. e. Supreme King of all *Wales*.

And I shall here likewise subjoyn what Mr. *Vaughan*, in his Notes upon this Chronicle, hath also added concerning the *Welsh* Affairs during the Reign of this Prince, tho' happening somewhat before this time, viz.

That

That after the Death of *Roderic* the Great, the Northern Britains of *Anno Dom.*
DCCCCXIV. *Strætclwyd* and *Cumberland* were (as *Hector Boetius* and *Buchanan* relate) much infested and weakened with the daily Incursions of the *Danes*, *Saxons*, and *Scots*; which made many of them (that is, all that would not submit their Necks to that Yoke) to quit their Country, and seek out more quiet Habitations; so that under the Conduct of one *Hobert* they came to *Gwyneth* (i. e. *North Wales*) in the beginning of *Anarawd's* Reign, who commiserating their distressed Condition, gave them the Country from *Chester* to the River *Conwey* to inhabit, if they could beat out the *Saxons*, who had lately possessed themselves thereof.

These Britains having returned Thanks to Prince *Anarawd*, (as was meet,) fell upon the *Saxons*, and Necessity giving edge to their Valour, they soon drove them out thence, being yet scarce warm in their Seats; and *Edred*, or *Æthered*, Earl of *Mercia*, made great Preparations for the regaining of the said Country: But the Northern Britains, who had settled themselves there, having Intelligence thereof, for the better securing of their Cattle and Goods, removed them over the River *Conwey*. In the mean time *Anarawd* was not idle, but gathering together all the Strength he could make, his Army encamped near the Town of *Conwey*, at a place called *Cymryt*, where his Men, making a gallant Resistance against the Assaults of the *Saxon* Forces, at length after a bloody Fight obtained a compleat Victory over them. This Battle was called *Gwaeth Cymryt Conwey*, because it was fought in the Township of *Cymryt*, hard by *Conwey*; but *Anarawd* called it *Dial Rodri*, because he had there revenged the Death of his Father *Rodri*. In this Battle *Tudwal*, the Son of *Rodri Mawr*, received a Hurt in the Knee, which made him be called *Tudwal Gloff*, or *The Lame*, ever after.

His Brethren, to reward his Valour and Service, gave him the Lands of *Unchellogeed Gwynned*; and then the Britains pursuing their Victory, chased the *Saxons* quite out of *Wales* into *Mercia*, where having burnt and destroyed the Borders, they returned home laden with rich Spoils. And *Anarawd*, to express his Thankfulness to GOD for this great Victory, gave Lands and Possessions to the Church of *Bangor*, as the Records of that See do testify, and likewise to the Collegiate Church of *Clynnoc* in *Arvon*, as we read in the Extent of *North Wales*. After this the Northern Britains came back from beyond the River *Conwey*, and possessed again the Lands assigned to them between *Conwey* and *Chester*, which for a long time after they peaceably enjoyed. Some English Writers, as *Mat. Westminster*, &c. not considering that the Britains had Lands in *Loegria* and *Albania*, after King *Cadwalader's* time, mistake those of *Cumberland* and *Strætclwyd* for the Britains of *Wales*; but *Assef Menev*, who lived about the Year 875, saith, That *Halden* the Dane marched into *Northumberland*, which he subdued, having before conquered the *Picts* and Britains of *Strætclwyd* in *Northumberland*.

I have given you this Relation at length, because it is not found in any of our Historians, and it lets us see, that the *English*, as well as the *Welsh*, have been very sparing to record their own Defeats. But to return again to our History.

About this time, (according to the *Copy of a Charter of King *Ed-*
ward, extant in an old Manuscript belonging to *Clare Hall* in *Cambridge*.)
He by the Command of Pope *John* and Arch-Bishop *Plegmund*, and by
the Advice of all the Bishops and Chief Men of his Kingdom, confirmed
to

Anno Dom.
DCCCCXV.

*Vt. Fuller's
Church History.

Anno Dom. DCCCCXV. to the Doctors and Scholars of Cambridge, as also to their Servants, all Priviledges which had been granted by himself or his Predecessours for ever to endure by a perpetual Right. This Charter bears Date at Grantecester (i. e. Cambridge) in the Year 915, and is directed to *Frithestan*, then Chancellor and Doctor.

But if Sir *John Spelman* thought he had Reason to suspect the Truth of that Passage we have cited out of *Asser's* History of the Life of King *Alfred*, concerning the *Studium* or School at *Oxford* before King *Alfred's* time, our Antiquaries may have as much (if not more) Reason to question the Truth of this Charter; since the Original of it is not to be found, but only this Transcript in the Book above cited; for they say it looks very improbable, that Cambridge should have continued an University during all the time of the Danish Wars, and under the Possession of those three Danish Kings, the last of whom enjoyed it till the latter end of this King's Reign, as appears by our present History: And besides all this, the barbarous and pedantic Latine at the Conclusion of this Charter, where the King is made to confirm it in these Words: *Stabili jure grata & rata decerno. durare, quamdiu vertigo Peli circa terras atque Aequora, Aethera Syderum jussu moderamine volvet*: Which seems to betray the ignorant Monk's Pen that counterfeited it; but *John Ross*, in his Manuscript History *De Regibus Angliae*, cited by *Bale*, relates from an ancient Table and Chronicle of the Abbey of *Hyde* near *Winchester*, (which himself by the Favour of the Abbot had perused) the Restoration of the University of Cambridge by King *Edward*, as follows.

Therefore for the Augmentation of Clerk-like Learning, as his Father had done to *Oxford*, so he again raised up Cambridge to her first Glory, which for a long time, with other general Schools, had lain desolate and destroyed; as also, like a most loving Nourisher of Scholars, he commanded that Halls for Students, Chairs and Seats of Doctors and Masters, should there be erected, and built at his own proper Charges, for he sent from *Oxford* University, (which his Noble Father the King had founded,) Masters of those Arts which we call Liberal, together with Doctors in Divinity, and invited them there formally to Read and Teach.

But since the Author here cited is but of modern Times, in comparison to this famous University, and also that Passage he hath cited out of the Annals of *Hyde*, is not now to be found in the Copies we have of them: I shall give the Reader a much more ancient Testimony out of *Thorold's* larger History of the Church of *Winchester*, where he cites an Epistle of one *Bonagratia de Villa Dei*, to the Black Monks of England, wherein there is this Passage, which I shall here Translate, viz. That whilst he was banished from his Country into England, and sojourned with the most Holy and Religious Monks in the City of *Winchester*, *Helmestian* Abbot of the said Cathedral Church, and the Venerable *Swithune*, *Præpositus*, (i. e. Bishop of the same,) who had been before in Professione sacra Theologie in Studio *Canterbrigiensi Cathedralis*, (i. e. Professor of Divinity in the University of Cambridge,) had often relieved him during the many Hardships he suffered in his Banishment, which special Favour he desired always should be acknowledged.

If we were assured that this Epistle was Genuine, it would advance the Antiquity of this University far higher than the time we are now treating

treating of, and would make it Ancienter than the time of King *Alfred*, in the latter end of whose Reign *St. Swithune* late Bishop of *Winchester*: But since we have not the Originals, but only Citations from these ancient Pieces, I shall not take upon me to determine of their Validity, but leave that, as also this Author's Credit, to the Reader's Judgment. But to return to our Annals.

This Year *Egbriht*, the innocent Abbot, was slain on the 16th Kal. of July, a little before the Summer Solstice; and about three Days after *Ethelfleda* sent an Army against the *Welsh*, which took *Brecenanmere*, (supposed to be either *Brecknock* Castle, or else some place near it,) and there she took the King's Wife, and about thirty four Prisoners.

The *Danes* marching now on Horseback after *Easter* from *Hamtune* (i. e. *Northampton*) and *Lygraceaster*, (now *Leicester*) slew many Men at *Hocneratune*, (now *Hocnorton* in *Oxfordshire*) and the places adjoining; and as soon as they had returned home again, they sent out another Company of Robbers, which marched towards *Ligtune*, (most likely to be *Leighton* in *Bedfordshire*;) but the People of that Country being forewarned of their coming, fought with them, and not only put them to flight, but also recovered whatsoever they had taken away, so that they left a great many of their Horses and Arms behind them.

Now a great Fleet sailed from the Southern Parts of *Armorica*, under the Command of two Earls, *Ohtor* and *Rhoald*, and sailing about toward the East, entred the Mouth of the River *Severne*, and there spoiled all the Coasts of *North Wales* toward the Sea, as far as they could; and they also took *Cumeleac* the *Welsh* Bishop in *Tringafeld* (now *Archenfield*) in *Herefordshire*, and carried him Prisoner to their Ships; but King *Edward* within some time Ransomed him for Forty Pounds; but after this, the *Danes* quitting their Ships, marched again towards *Tringafeld*, where the Men of *Hereford* and *Gleawcester*, and the neighbouring Towns, fought them, and put them to flight, and there slew *Rhoald*, and a Brother of Earl *Ohtor's*, with a great part of their Army, and drove them into a certain Wood, where they besieged them, till they made them give Hostages to depart out of King *Edward's* Kingdom: But at last it seemed advisable for the King to place a good Guard from the South part of the Mouth of *Severne*, and from the West of *Wales* toward the East as far as the River *Avon*, that so the *Danes* might not Land any more on that side; nevertheless leaving their Ships, they stole away privately by Night in two Companies to plunder, the one to *Weced* (now *Watchet* in *Somersetshire*;) and the other to *Portlocan* (now *Portlochbay*) in the same County, but they were routed in both places; inso-much, that few of them escaped alive, unless it were those who swam off to their Ships: Then they besieged an Island at *Bradancrelie*, (*Florence* calls it *Reoric*;) which is supposed to be a little Island (now called *Shepholm*) in the Mouth of *Severne*, where they were in such great want of Victuals, that many died with Hunger, because they could get no Provisions there. After this they went to *Deomed*, (supposed to be *South Wales*) from whence they passed into *Ireland*.

All this happened in Autumn: And the same Year, a little before *Mar-tinmas*, King *Edward* marched with his Army to *Buckingham*, and there stayed a Month, building two Forts on each side the River *Onse*; before he parted thence, *Thurkytel* the Danish Earl owned him for his Lord, as also

Anno Dom.
DCCCCXVIII. all their chief Commanders, and almost all their Noblemen, who were at Bedanford (now Bedford) with many of them that belonged to Hamp-
shire.

This Year also *Ethelfleda*, Lady of the *Mercians*, before *Whitsontide* took the Town of *Derby*, where within the Gates were killed four Thanes, who were very dear to her.

* Vesp. A. 5. Also we read, in the Collections of that Learned Antiquary Mr. *Lambert*, (and by him given to the * *Cottonian* Library,) that it is found in an Ancient Chronicle, once belonging to the Monastery of *Rocheſter*, and collected by one *Edmund de Hadenham*, That this Year the Lady *Ethelfleda*, by the Assistance of the King her Brother, besieged the City of *Canterbury*, and taking it, slew a great many *Danes* that were therein.

Anno Dom.
DCCCCXIX. * King *Edward* marching with his Army to *Bedanford* about *Martinsmas*, had the Town surrendered to him, and then all the Inhabitants who were his Subjects returned thither, and there he stayed a Month; and before he departed, he commanded a Castle to be built there on the South-side of the River.

Anno Dom.
DCCCCXX. * After this King *Edward* went to *Meldune* (now *Maldon*.) and rebuilt the Town, and saw it fortified whilst he was there. Also Earl *Thurkytel* passed over into *France* by K. *Edward's* Leave and Convoy, with all those *Danes* that would follow him; as likewise *Ethelfleda* brought under her Dominion the Town of *Legraceſter* (now *Leiceſter*.) and a great many of the *Danes*, belonging to that place, became subject to her, as also those who were at *York*; nay, some of them confirmed it both with an Oath, and by giving of Hostages, that they would continue so; but as soon as this was done, she departed this Life twelve days before *Midsummer* at *Tamworth*, it being the Eighth Year of her Government over the *Mercians* (after her Husband's Death,) with great Moderation and Justice: Her Body lies buried at *Gleawceſter* in the East Isle of *St. Peter's* Church.

This Lady's Death is placed in our printed Annals, under the Year 918, and that more rightly, for the *Cottonian* Copy of these Annals is certainly mistaken, in putting the Death of this Princess two Years later than this, viz. 920. though they all agree in Substance, viz. that she died at *Tamworth* about a Fortnight before *Midsummer*; and that thereupon King *Edward* going thither, the whole Nation of the *Mercians* submitted to him. But whenever this Princess died, she was certainly a Woman of great Virtue, Prudence, and Courage; and truly resembled her worthy Father King *Alfred*, as far as the Difference of Sex would permit.

But to return again to our Annals,

The same Year the Daughter and Heir of *Ethelred*, Lord of the *Mercians*, called *Ælſwinna*, whom her Mother had left her Heir, was deprived by the King of that Dominion; and she was, about three weeks before *Christmas*, brought into *West-Seax*.

John Bevoir, (who calls himself *Castoreus*;) in his Manuscript History of the Kings of *England*, gives us a very good Reason, if true, why the King dealt thus severely with this young Princess his Niece, which was this; That *Ælſwinna*, not making the King her Uncle, (whom her Mother had appointed her Guardian,) privy to her Designs, had contracted a Marriage with *Reginald*, King of the *Danes*: Whereupon King *Edward*, to prevent his Enemy, entered the Country of *Mercia*, and took it into his own Hands, and also carried the said Lady away with him. The

same

same Author likewise reporteth, That about this time *Leofred* a *Dane*, Anno Dom.
DCCCCXX. and *Griffyth ap Madoc*, Brother-in-Law to the Prince of *West-Wales*, came from *Ireland* with a great Army to *Snowdon* in *Carnarvonſhire*; and designing to bring all *Wales* and the Marches thereof to their subjection, over-ran and subdued all the Countrey as far as *Cheſter*, before ever King *Edward* had Intelligence of their Arrival; whereat he was very much offended; but being loath to trouble his Subjects in that behalf, he made a Vow, That he and his Sons with their own people, would be revenged on *Leofred* and *Griffyth*; and thereupon he came to *Cheſter*, and took the City from them: After this he made two Divisions of his Army, whereof he and his Son *Athelſtan* led the first, and *Edmund* and *Edred* the second; and followed them with such Celerity, that he overtook them at the Forest of *Walewode* (now *Sherwood*), where *Leofred* and *Griffyth* set upon him so fiercely, that the King at the beginning was in some distress, until Prince *Athelſtan* stepped in between his Father and *Leofred*, and gave the *Dane* such a Wound in the Arm, that it disabled him from holding his Spear, whereupon he was soon taken, and committed to the Custody of *Athelſtan*. In the mean time Prince *Edmund* and *Edred* encountering with *Griffyth*, slew him, and brought his Head to their Father: Upon that *Athelſtan* caused *Leofred* to be beheaded likewise, and so both their Heads were set up together on the top of the Tower of *Cheſter*; and *Edward* and his Sons returned home with great Triumph.

But it appears by the Age of Prince *Edmund* when he came to the Crown, that this Relation concerning himself and his Brother *Edred's* commanding part of their Father's Army, cannot be true; for he was not above Four years old when King *Edward* his Father died, and not above Eighteen when he began to reign.

This year (according to our Annals) King *Edward* commanded Anno Dom.
DCCCCXXI. his men to go to the Town of *Toſcecaſter* (now *Toſceſter* in *Northamptonſhire*) and to rebuild it; after which, the same year about *Lent*, he commanded the Town of *Wigingamere* (now *Wigmore* in *Herefordſhire*) to be rebuilt: But the same Summer, between *Whitsuntide* and *Midsummer*, the *Danes* of *Hamptune* (i. e. *Northampton*, as was said before) and *Ligeraceſter*, and those that lay *Northward*, broke the Peace, and marched to *Toſcecaſter*, and assaulting the Town a whole day hoped to take it, but those that were within defending it until such time as more men could come to their assistance, the *Danes* were forced to leave the Town, and march'd off: After this they often went out by night to plunder, and falling upon those that were unprovided, took a great many men and much Cattle, between *Barnwoode* and *Eglesbyrig* (the former of which was *Barnwood* Forest near *Bury-hill*, and the latter *Alisbury*, both in *Buckinghamſhire*). About the same time the *Danes* of *Huntandune* (i. e. *Huntington*) and the *East-Angles*, marched out and built a Castle at *Temsford*, where they settled themselves, for they had left that at *Huntandune*, supposing that from thence they might recover a greater share of the Countrey; and so they march'd till they came to *Bedanford*, but the men who were within it going out to meet them, killed great numbers of them, putting the rest to flight: After this a great Army of *Danes* being got together, advanced to the Town of *Wigingamere*, and stormed it for most part of the day; but those who were within defending it very well, they

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'were forced to leave the Town, and retreat, carrying away with them
'all the Cattel they found thereabouts: After this also, the same Sum-
'mer, there were great Forces assembled of King Edward's Subjects
'from the Towns round about *Temesford*, whither they went, and laying
'close Siege to the Town, they at length took it, and kill'd a *Danish*
'King, and *Taglossa* an Earl, and *Mannan* his Son, together with his
'Brother, and all those who defended the Town.] From which time
(according to *Florence*) the *Danish* Power did by little and little de-
crease, and that of the *English* increase. But this Author places all
these actions of this year under *Anno 917*.

'The same year a great many men assembled together in Autumn, as
'well from *Kent*, *Surry*, and *Essex*, as from the neighbouring Towns,
'and marching to *Colneceaster* (i.e. *Colchester*) assaulted that City till
'they took it, and all the Plunder they found in it, and killed all the
'men, except those that escaped over the Wall: After which also the
'same Autumn a great Army of *Danes* were got together with the
'*East-Angles*, both Land-Soldiers and Pyrates, whom they had invited
'to their assistance, hoping thereby to revenge the Defeat they had
'lately received; wherefore they went directly to *Maldune*, and be-
'sieged that Town, till such time that more men coming to its assistance,
'the *Danes* were forced to quit it, and retreat; but the men who
'were within it, together with those that came to their assistance,
'overtaking the *Danes*, killed many hundreds of the Land-men as well
'as Pyrates; not long after which, King Edward marched with an Ar-
'my of *South-Saxons* to *Passenham* (i.e. *Passham* in *Northamptonshire*)
'and there continued till the Town of *Tofecestre* could be encompassed
'with a Stone-Wall, where Earl *Thurferth* and the chief Commander
'of the *Danish* Forces that belonged to *Hamtune*, with all towards the
'*North* as far as *Weolade* (that is, the River *Weland*) accepted King
'Edward for their Lord and Protector; but about the time that the King's
'Army was to return home, he sent out fresh Forces to the Town of
'*Huntandune*, who repaired and rebuilt it in those places that were de-
'stroyed, according to the King's Command; so that all the people of
'that Countrey that remained alive, surrendered themselves to King Ed-
'ward, and sought his Peace and Protection. Likewise this very year
'before *Martinmas* the King marched with an Army of *West-Saxons* to
'*Colneceaster*, and rebuilt the Wall, and repaired all places which were
'ruinous. Then many as well of the *East-Angles*, as also of the *East-*
'*Saxons*, who were before under the *Danish* Dominion (and had been
'so for above thirty years), now delivered themselves up to the
'King, and also all the *Danish* Army in *East-England* swore Allegiance
'to him, promising to do whatever he thought good, and to defend his
'Subjects as well by Sea as by Land; but the Army that belonged to
'*Grantanbyrig* (i.e. *Cambridge*) did by themselves chuse the King for
'their Lord and Patron, confirming it by their Oaths as he had appoint-
'ed him. This year also *Sytric* (the *Danish* King) slew *Neil* his
'Brother.

And under this year I suppose we may justly place the total subduing
of the *Danes*, and subjection of the *East-Angles*, and consequently their
being freed from the *Danish* Yoke, under which they had groaned for
above fifty years; though what Government they had from the Death
of the last *Danish* King *Eorice*, is hard to determine; *William* of *Malmes-*
bury,

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bury, the only Ancient Author that hath mentioned these Affairs, *Anno Dom.*
telling us in general, That after the Death of this *Eorice*, the *Danish*
Earls or Governors either oppressed them, or else excited them against
the *West-Saxon* Kings, until this King Edward by driving out the *Danes*
restored the *English* to their Liberties, and added this Kingdom to his
own Dominions fifty years after the death of King *Edmund*, which falls
out much about this time.

But *Polidore Virgil* (I know not from what Author) hath a long
Story how King *Eorice* above-mentioned made War against King *Edward*,
and being routed by him in a great Battel, and returning home, fell so
far into the Hatred and Contempt of his Subjects, that they rose up
against him, and murdered him; and being then divided into Factions,
were forced to submit themselves to King *Edward*. This (if it were
true) would give a great light into this dark part of the History of
the *East-Angles*, of which we have but a very imperfect Account: But
since this Relation is found in no other Author except *Polydore*; and
besides, expressly contradicting the Testimony of *William* of *Malmes-*
bury, a much more Authentick Writer, by whose Account (as well as
by the *Saxon Annals*) it appears that this *Eorice* was dead long before:
I think we may justly look upon *Polydore's* Relation as a mere Fiction,
either invented by himself, or else taken from some Modern Author of
no great Credit: Therefore I must now warn the Reader concerning
this Historian, That though he had the Perusal of a great many Rare
Manuscripts, yet since he very seldom cites any Authors, and that we
find he sometimes differs from our most Ancient Writers, and is plainly
mistaken in divers Relations, we have great reason to refuse his Testi-
mony, where it is not agreeable with more Authentick Authorities.

I have nothing else to add under this year, but that as *William* of *De Gest. Pontif.*
Malmesbury tells us, the Body of King *Edmund* the Martyr having lain *lib. 2.*
for above Fifty Years obscurely buried at a place called *Halesdon* in *Suf-*
folk, was now by some devout people removed to a Town adjoining,
called *Badriceworth* (now *St. Edmundsbury*), where there was quickly
a Church built over him, and unto which King *Edmund*, Brother to
King *Athelstan*, was a great Benefactor; though this place was not
much taken notice of, until King *Cnut*, to gain the Favour of this
Saint whom his Countreymen had murdered, here afterwards built a
Noble Monastery.

This year also (according to *Florence* of *Worcester* and *Mat. West-*
minster) the King of *Scots*, *Reginald* the *Danish* King of *Northumber-*
land, with the Duke or Earl of the *Galloway Welshmen* or *Britains*, came
to King *Edward*, and submitting themselves to him, made a firm League
with him. This is the first time we find any Submission of the King of
Scots; which whether it amounted to a downright Homage, and to
hold that Kingdom of the Crown of *England*, may be much questioned,
and is absolutely denied by the *Scottish* Historians.

'Between *Lent* and *Midsummer* King *Edward* march'd with his Army
'to *Stanford*, and there commanded a Castle to be built on the *South-*
'side of the River *Weland*; so that all the people who dwelt in the Town
'on the *North*-side of that River submitted themselves, and besought
'him to be their Lord.

'Also (according to the *Cottonian* Copy of these Annals) *Howel*,
'and *Cledauc*, and *Jeothwell*, (Princes of *Wales*) with all the Nation
'of

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of the Northern Britains, desired to take the King for their Lord.] But in this the *Welsh* Chronicles are wholly silent, as commonly they are of any action that tends to the lessening of their Country.

Out of *Wales* the King marched to *Snottingham*, and took the Town, and commanded it to be repaired, and Garison'd with *Danes* as well as *English*; and then all the people in the Province of *Mercia*, of both those Nations came over to him.

This year also (according to *Florence*) *Athelward*, Brother to King *Edward* died, and was buried at *Winechester*: This is that Learned Prince, Son to King *Alfred*, whose Character we have already given.

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This year King *Edward* carried his Army about the end of Autumn, to *Thalwale*, (that is, *Thelwalle* in *Cheshire*, and which is supposed to have been so called from its being encompassed at first with a Wall made of Bodies of Trees, called in the *Saxon* Tongue *Thel*), where he ordered that Town to be repaired; and he commanded another part of his Forces, whilst he stayed there, to march out of *Mercia* to *Manigecaster*, (now *Manchester* in the Kingdom of *Northumberland*) and order'd it to be rebuilt, and strengthened with a Garison: This year also *Plegmond* Archbishop of *Canterbury* deceased, and *Reginold* (the *Danish* King) took *Eoferwick* (that is, *York*.)

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Before *Midsummer* King *Edward* marched with his Army to *Snottingham*, and ordered a new Town to be built on the South side of the *River Trent*, over-against that on the other side, and made a Bridge over the River between the two Towns; from thence the King went into *Peakland* (that is, the *Peak* in that Shire) to *Bedecammell* (which is supposed may be *Bakewell* in *Derbyshire*), and commanded a Town to be built near to it, and to be fortified with a Garison. Then also the King of *Scots*, with all the *Scotish* Nation, and *Reginald* the Son of *Eardulph* (the *Danish* King of *Northumberland*) with all the Inhabitants of that Kingdom, whether *English* or *Danes*, together with the King of the *Stracled Welshmen*, and all his Subjects, did chuse King *Edward* for their Patron and Lord.

But this year's actions are placed by *Florence* of *Worcester* and *Mat. Westminster* three years sooner; which shews the Copies they had of these Annals differ'd from those we have, though which of them is the truest, I shall not now take upon me to affirm; but it sufficiently shews, that both these Copies were not written at one and the same time.

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And now King *Edward* deceased at *Fearn-dune* in the Province of the *Mercians* (now called *Farrington* in *Berkshire*); and *Ælfveard* his Son also deceased not long after him at *Oxnafor*; (i. e. *Oxford*).

But the *Canterbury* Copy of these Annals, as also *Florence* of *Worcester*, place the Death of these two Princes under the foregoing year; and indeed they seem to have been in the right. But this is most certain, that this Prince, who is called *Athelward* by *William* of *Malmesbury*, was his Eldest Son by Queen *Ælfeda* his Wife, the Daughter of Earl *Athelane*, and being very well instructed in Learning, did much resemble King *Ælfred* his Grandfather as well in Face as Disposition: yet though he survived his Father, he never took upon him the Title of King, because he outlived him so little a time, that he could not be solemnly *Blessed* and Crowned King according to the Law and Custom of Succession in those times.

I have

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I have nothing more to add to this Reign of King *Edward* the Elder, but only the Laws he made, which since it is not specified in what year of his Reign, nor in what Common-Council of the Kingdom they were enacted, I thought best to refer to this place.

In the Preface to his Laws he strictly charges and commands his Officers, that as much as in them lies they do Justice according as it stands in the *Judicial* Book (supposed to be some Book of Presidents or Judgments); and without all fear boldly dispense common Right to all men; and that they set and appoint certain days for determination of the several Causes depending before them.

The first Law is concerning Traffick, and in way of confirmation of the fourth Article of the League made betwixt his Father and the *Danish* King *Guthrun*, ordains, that if a man will sell any thing, he shall have one to vouch and make good the sale; and that no man buy any thing without the Town, unless he have the Portreeve for witness, or some other men worthy of Credit; otherwise he shall undergo the Penalty of Contumacy against the King: This Vouching or Warranty shall also proceed from one to another, till it end with him who first sold it: The rest of this Law, containing in what cases the Buyer, and likewise the Demandant, shall find sufficient Testimony or Oaths of the true buying of the Goods so bought, being long, I refer the Reader to the Law it self.

The second of King *Edward*'s Laws ordains, That whosoever denies another man his Right either in *Bocland* or *Folcland*, demanding it before the King's Sheriff, when as he hath no Right in either, shall pay to the King for the first Offence Thirty Shillings, and as much more for the second; and if he offend the third time, then to pay an Hundred and twenty shillings for his Contumacy against the King.

The third adjudges that for one who had forsworn himself, or born false witness, no credit should be given to him for the time to come, but that he be put to *Ordeal*, in all cases where his Oath is required.

The fourth declares, That King *Edward* lying at *Exeter*, and consulting with his *Wife Men* by what means he might best provide for the Publick Peace and Tranquility, it then seemed to them that what he had commanded was too remissly executed; therefore he now required all that will amend and reform these things, and would with him enjoy common society, that they would prosecute with their utmost hatred the same persons as he did both by Sea and Land; and that they would take care not to do wrong or injury to any man. He that doth contrary, let him (as was formerly ordained) pay thirty shillings to the King; and if he offend the second time, as much more; if the third, an hundred and twenty shillings.

The fifth commands, that that *Reeve* or Judge who doth not Justice according to the testimony of such as are summon'd, pay an hundred and twenty shillings for his Contumacy against the King.

The sixth wills, That if a Servant be accused of Theft, he that recommended him to his Master, or other of his Friends (if he have any), be Sureties for him that he discharge himself of what is deposited against him; and if he have none to interpose on his behalf, those that are concerned may seize his Goods; but if he have neither Goods nor Friends, let him be taken into custody.

"The

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"The eighth Law enjoins that no man knowingly and voluntarily have peace with, or harbour one that is condemned for any Crime; he that acts contrary, and thereby breaks his Oath, and the Faith given by him and all the people, let him undergo the Mulct prescribed in the *Judiciary Book*; which if he refuse to pay, he is to be deprived of the King's Favour, and all other mens Friendship, and farther forfeit all his Estate; and if any afterwards relieve him, let him also incur the Penalty expressed in the said Book; and farther, whosoever shall relieve a Fugitive either in this Countrey, or in the *Eastern or Northern* parts of the Kingdom, (*i. e.* in *East-England*, and *Northumberland*) let him be punished as by the Articles of Peace is ordained.

"The ninth provides, that if one deprived of his liberty for stealing, steal again, so that all his Kindred forsake him, and none will engage for him, he is to be set to servile and hard labour, as opportunity shall offer, and his Kindred shall lose the valuation of his head.

"The tenth Law forbids any man to receive another man's Servant without his leave, and that he hath fully satisfied his Master; he that doth otherwise, shall be punished as contumacious against the King.

"The eleventh and last commands, That about every fourth Week every Sheriff or Judge hold the *Gemot* or Assembly, and administer Justice to every man, and determine all Causes at the days appointed; if he do otherwise, he is to be punished as was before said.

From all which Laws we may observe, First, That the Law concerning redeeming of all Crimes by Pecuniary Fines was not yet abolished, nor in some Ages after; but the strict Laws for vouching of Goods sold, as also against Fugitives and Runaway Servants, were but necessary in such licentious and turbulent times, when it was so very easy for Offenders to pass out of the *English* Territories into those of the *Danes*. You may also here observe the Antiquity and Power of the *County Court*, which was then held (as now) every Month, but had much more Power anciently than at this day.

As for the Laws that follow, and which are entituled in Mr. *Lambard's* Copy, The Ecclesiastical Laws of *Edward the Elder*, King of *England*, and *Gutherne* King of the *Danes* in *East-England*, which were first made by the Kings *Alfred* and *Gutherne*, and were now said to be again confirmed by King *Edward* Son to *Alfred*, and the same King *Gutherne*, there must certainly be an Error in the Name of the *Danish* King here mentioned, since it appears by our Annals that *Gutherne* died ten years before King *Alfred*; therefore since we do not find any other *Danish* King of this Name, we may rather suppose that these Laws were made by King *Edward* and *Eoric* the *Danish* King who succeeded *Gutherne* in that Kingdom; but be it as it will, I shall not trouble the Reader with their Recital, since they relate chiefly to Ecclesiastical Affairs, and are in most points but a Repetition of those things which had been before agreed upon by King *Alfred* and King *Gutherne* some years before.

King *Edward* dying, after four and twenty years Reign, was buried in the Monastery at *Winchester*, which his Father had founded, leaving by his Testament *Athelstan* his Eldest Son to succeed him; who (as *Florence of Worcester*, and *William of Malmesbury*, and most other Writers relate) was not born of the Queen, but of one *Egwinna* a Lady, the

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the Daughter of a Nobleman; whose Name, though *William of Malmesbury* does not tell us, because he says he had not found it in writing, yet the Chronicle ascribed to *Abbot Bromton* tells us a long and improbable Story of the getting and Birth of this Prince; which being no where else to be found, as I know of, I shall here give you: That in the Reign of King *Alfred*, when his Son *Edward* was young, there was in a Village of the *West-Saxons*, the Daughter of a certain Shephard, called *Egwinna*, who falling asleep, dreamed that the Moon shone out of her Womb so bright, that all *England* was enlighten'd by its Splendor: This Dream she told to a Grave Matron, that had been Nurse to several of the King's Children: Upon this she takes her into her house, and educates her as carefully as if she had been her own Daughter, instructing her so to demean her self, as might become a Person both of Birth and Breeding. In process of time it happen'd, that Prince *Edward*, the King's Eldest Son, passing upon some occasion through this Town, thought himself obliged in Honour and Good Nature to visit his Nurse; by which means he got sight of this Maid, and she being exceeding beautiful, fell passionately in love with her, and by his violent Importunity he got her Consent to lye with him, and by one Night's Lodging she proved with Child, and being afterwards delivered of a Son, in respect to the Mother's Dream the Father gave him the Name of *Athelstan*, which signifies, *The most Noble*.

If this Story be true, that he married this Woman without the Consent of his Father, and kept the Marriage private, the Authors above-cited had good cause to suppose her to have been rather his Concubine than his Queen; though there be also other Historians, who make her to have been his Lawful Wife: But thus much is more certain, That King *Edward* had Prince *Ethelward* above-mentioned, by his Wife *Alfreda* the Daughter of Earl *Ethelam*, as also another Son, called *Edwin*, of the manner of whose Death *William of Malmesbury* says he cannot certainly tell us; but gives us an exact account of what became of all the rest of his Children: He had also by her six Daughters, *viz.* *Edelfleda*, *Edgiva*, *Ethelhilda*, *Ethilda*, *Edgitha*, and *Elgiva*; of whom, the first and third vowed their Virginity to God, and both of them lye buried by their Mother in the Monastery of *Winchester*; as for *Edgiva*, her Father bestowed her upon *Charles* King of *France*; and for *Ethilda*, her Brother King *Athelstan* bestowed her in Marriage upon *Hugo*, a King or Prince of the *French*; and *Edgitha* and *Elgiva* their Brother sent to *Henry* the *German* Emperor, the Second of which he married to *Otho* his Son, and the Elder to a certain Duke near the *Alpes*. King *Edward* also begot of his Third Wife *Edgiva*, *Edmund* and *Edred*, who both reigned successively after their Brother King *Athelstan*, as also two other Daughters, *Eadburga* and *Edgiva*; the former became a Nun, but the latter being a great Beauty, was bestowed in Marriage by her Brother *Athelstan* on *Lewis* Prince or Duke of *Aquitain*: But King *Edward* had so well bred all his said Daughters from their Infancy, that they were wont all of them to bestow their leisure time upon good Letters, and after that were wont to exercise both their Distaff and the Needle; and in this manner they passed the first years of their Virginity: Likewise his Sons were so inured to Learning, that not being rude and ignorant in Knowledge, they became (like *Plato's* Philosophers) fit to Govern the Commonwealth; as our Author handfomly expresses it.

This

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This King seems by his History to have been a Prince of great Mildness and Humility, as well as Courage; which appears by this Story; but tho it be not found in any of our Historians, is yet related by *Walter Mape* in his *Nugis Curialium* in Manuscript, as follows; That when *K. Edward* the Elder came to *Austelin*, (I suppose, that which we now call *Aust*, where is a Ferry to pass out of *Somersetshire* into *Wales*) *Lewelyn* Prince of *North-Wales* came to *Bethesley* about a Treaty of Peace, he refused first to cross the *Severne*; but when King *Edward* heard it, he took Boat and rowed towards him; but the Prince (being then by the Water-side) when he saw him, and knew who he was, he cast off the Rich Robe he then had on (which he had provided for that meeting), and entering the River breast-high, taking hold of the end of the Boat, submissively said, *Most Sage King, thy Humility hath overcome my Insolence, and thy Wisdom triumph'd over my Folly: Come, pray Sir, get upon this Neck, which I (like a Fool as I am) have lifted up against thee; and thus enter that Land which thy benign Clemency hath made this day thine own*: So taking the King upon his Shoulders, and setting him on shore, he made him to sit down upon his own Royal Robe, and putting his own hands between the King's, there did him Homage.

But this Circumstance only serves to bring all the rest of this Story into question; for it is certain this Ceremony of doing Homage was not in use till after the coming in of the *Normans*.

Besides, the *Welsh* Chronicles mention no such thing, nor can I find any Prince either of *North* or *South Wales*, called *Lewelyn* at that time, till Anno 1015, in the Reign of King *Cnut*, above a hundred year after the death of King *Edward* the Elder; but perhaps the Story may be true, being told by Tradition, though the Name of the Prince may be mistaken; and *Lewelyn* put instead of *Hovel*, who was now King of *South-Wales*, and in whose Territories this Action must have happen'd.

But whether this Relation be true or false, we may from it draw this Observation, That it is not always Wisdom in Princes to insist too nicely upon Circumstances, especially in Ceremony, but that sometimes to recede from them, may tend to the greater Advantage of that Prince that doth it.

King

King A T H E L S T A N.

THE same year, not long after King *Edward*'s decease, the *Saxon Annals* tell us, 'That *Aethelstan* was elected King by 'the *Mercians*, and afterwards Crowned at *Kingstune* upon ' *Thames* (being then a Royal Town). Note, He was crowned in the midst of the Town upon a Scaffold built on purpose, whereon the Ceremony of the Coronation was performed in the open view of all men, by *Athelm* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, with great Acclamations of the People.

' *Allo St. Dunstan* was born, and *Wulfhelme* was consecrated Archbishop of *Canterbury*, upon the Death of *Athelm*.

From whence you may observe, the *Mercians* had not yet lost their Ancient Right of chusing their own King; and no doubt but the *West-Saxons* did so likewise, though it be not particularly express'd in the *Annals*: For an Ancient Manuscript Chronicle in the * *Cottonian Library*, says only, *Electus est in Regem*.

And you may also hence observe, That the King's Consecration or Coronation is placed as a different action from his Election; as it is also in the Author last cited, and in *H. Huntingt. n.*, who therein follow our *Annals*, and say expressly, That he was *Elected*. But it seems before his election, one *Alfred*, with some factious men of his Party, endeavour'd to hinder King *Athelstan*'s coming to the Crown, because he was begot on a Concubine; which, says *William of Malmesbury*, if it were true (as he seems there to doubt), yet had he nothing else ignoble in him, for he surpassed all his Predecessors as well in his Devotion as his Victories: So much better is it (as he well observes) to excel in good Qualities, than in his Ancestors, the former only being truly a man's own.

Hither we may also refer what the same Author tells us concerning this *Alfred* above-mentioned, out of the Preface to King *Athelstan*'s Charter, whereby he confers the Lands once belonging to this *Alfred* upon the Church of *Malmesbury*, for the Souls of his Cousins, *Ethelred*, *Edwin*, and *Ethelwin*, there buried: And to testify to the world, that he gave what was his own, he there at large relates the whole Conspiracy which *Alfred* had laid, together with his Complices, to seize him in the City of *Winchester*, and to put out his Eyes; but the Plot being happily discovered, and *Alfred* denying it, he was sent to *Rome* there to purge himself before Pope *John*; where coming to take his Oath at the Altar of *St. Peter*, he fell down, and being carried by his Servants into the *English* School, there died the third night after: but, it seems, the Pope would not dispose of his Body, till he had sent to ask King *Athelstan*'s Judgment what should be done with it; when by the Advice and at the Request of the Chief Men, the King assented that it should (though unworthy of that Honour) be laid among the Bodies of other Christians; but his whole Estate was adjudged confiscated for so black a Treason.

U 11

But

Anno Dom.
Dccccxv.

Anno Dom.
Dccccxxv.

But one of the first things this King performed after his coming to the Crown (as we find in *Florence of Worcester*) was his bestowing his Sister *Edgitha* in Marriage to *Sihtric* the Danish King of *Northumberland*, who desired the Alliance of King *Athelstan*: And, as *Matthew Westminster* relates, this Prince professing himself a Christian, was a little before his Marriage baptized; but did not long continue so, for he relapsed again to his former Paganism. And the next year,

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Dccccxxvi.

According to *Florence*, and *Simeon of Durham*, he deceased; after whose death the Lady above-mentioned retiring to her Brother King *Athelstan*, became a Nun at *Pollesworth*.

Nor can I here omit the Falshood of the *Scottish* Historians, who out of spight to King *Athelstan's* Memory, make *Sihtric* to have been poyson'd by this Lady, whom they call *Beatrix*, and that at the Instigation of her Brother King *Athelstan*; whereas her Name was not *Beatrix*, but *Edgitha*, or *Orgiva*; and was a Woman of as great Reputation for her Sanctity, as the King her Brother was for his Valour and other Noble Virtues, which render'd him above the putting his Sister upon so base an Action.

But before I dismiss this Relation, I cannot omit what *John of Wallingford* adds concerning this King *Sihtric*, whom he calls *Sietric*; viz. That upon this Marriage with King *Athelstan's* Sister, he advanced him to the Title of King, that his Sister might not stoop so low as to that of Countess; and that *Sietric* then had for his Kingdom all the Countrey from the River *Thems*, as far as *Edinburgh*, from which time the *Danes* began to settle in those parts, who before rambled about over all *England*; to which Settlement, as also to a fresh accession of more, the Northerly Situation of that Countrey, lying over-against *Denmark*, contributed very much, as this Author well observes.

This year (according to *Florence of Worcester*, and *Simeon of Durham*) *Sihtric* King of the *Northumbrians* departed this life; so that it seems that this King survived his Marriage but a small time.

Also the same year (according to *Florence*) *Hugh*, the Son of *Robert* King of the *French*, married King *Athelstan's* Sister; and after the death of King *Sihtric*, *Guthfrith* his Son succeeded him, though but for a little while; for the year following our Annals tell us,

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Dccccxxvii.

That King *Athelstan* expelled the said *Guthfrith* King of *Northumberland*, and added his Dominions to his own: And the same year *Wulfhelm* the Archbishop went to *Rome*.

From which Conquest of the Kingdom of *Northumberland* we may observe, That as King *Edward* had before conquered the *Danes* of *East-England*, and had also added *Mercia* to his own Kingdom; so King *Athelstan*, by the Expulsion of King *Guthfrith* (who was also of the Danish Race) became the first King that ruled all *England*, without any King under him.

Of this Prince also *John of Wallingford* relates, That being a Young Man he was stirred up to this Rebellion by the suggestion of the *Northumbrians*, who told him that their Countrey had always enjoyed a King of their own, without being Tributary to the *Southern English*: And indeed, from the first arrival of the *English Saxons*, they had been never subject to any of the *West-Saxon* Kings, except King *Athelstan*: Therefore this *Guthfrith*, or *Gutred*, moved by these instigations, took upon him the Name of King, without King *Athelstan's* consent, and casting

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Dccccxxvii.

ing out the Garisons, seized all the Forts and Castles of that Country, and flatly denied to pay the Tribute imposed upon his Father; with which *K. Athelstan* being much provoked, he not only raised great Forces of his own Subjects, but also sent for Aid to his Friends in Neighbouring Kingdoms; and so in few days gathering together a great Army, totally expell'd him his Kingdom.

And therefore *Alfred* of *Beverly*, an Ancient Author still in Manuscript, very well observes of this Prince, That by subduing the *Scots*, *Welsh*, and all the Kings of *Britain*, he justly deserved the Title of the first Monarch; though his Modesty was so great, that he never gave himself that Title, but left it to his Brother *Edred* to take, as shall be shewn in his Reign.

This year *William* (Son to *Rollo*) succeeded to the Dukedom of *Normandy*, and held it fifteen years.

Byrnstan was consecrated Bishop of *Winchester*, and held that Bishoprick two years and an half. The year following,

Frithelstan the Bishop deceased. *Florence of Worcester*, and *Simeon of Durham*, as also the Chronicle of *Mailrosse*, do all agree, that this Bishop *Frithelstan* did before his death ordain Bishop *Byrnstan* in his room; and if so, he resigned the Bishoprick of *Winchester* to him, and lived only one year after it.

Also the same year (according to our Annals) *Edwin Aetheling* was drowned.

This *Edwin* here mentioned in our Annals, was Brother to King *Athelstan*, whose Death being the greatest Blot of this King's Reign, divers Authors have concealed it; but notwithstanding, it is thus given us by *William of Malmesbury*, and the Chronicle called *Abbot Bromton's*; *Alfred* above-mentioned having conspired against King *Athelstan*, (as you have already heard) had several Complices in that Treason; and there were not wanting some Court-Sycophants to accuse Prince *Edwin* of being in that Plot, for he was the eldest Legitimate Son then living of King *Edward* by his Lawful Wife; since therefore the apprehension of a Rival usually overpowers all Obligations both of Friendship and Nature, though *Edwin* both by Word of Mouth, and by Oaths and Imprecations, protested his Innocence; yet all this would not prevail against these Court-Whisperers, who affirmed that if he were only banished, he would be commiserated by Foreign Princes, and still more endanger the King's safety; whereupon such a way was found out, that under the Notion of Banishment he might with the least appearance of Cruelty be dispatch'd: In short, an old rotten Vessel was provided, and only the Prince and his Equire were put into it, without any Pilot or other body to steer or manage it; and thus for some time they weather'd it at Sea; but the Young Prince being brought up tenderly, and not used to hardship, despairing of his Life, cast himself headlong out of the Vessel, and so perished in the Ocean; whilst his Servant being more courageous, was resolved to save himself if he could; and meeting with better fortune, was driven on shore at a place called *Whitsand*, on the Coast of *Picardy*, not far from *Dover*.

The Fact was not long done, before *Athelstan* sorely repented of it; which he is said by a Seven Years Penance to have testified to the world, as also by the Punishment of him who was the principal Instrument in this *Fratricide*, and had whispered this Jealousy into his Breast,

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Dccccxxiii.

who being his Cup-bearer, as he was going to present a Cup of Drink to him, one of his Feet slipped; but by the Nimbleness of the other recovering himself, he said, *Thus one Brother helps another*; which the King hearing, and sadly calling to mind how little he himself had assisted his Brother, oppressed by the Calumnies of this Parasite, caused him to be put to death.

This is the Tale told by *William of Malmesbury*, and the other Author; the latter of whom delivers it as a certain Truth, whilst the former tells it only as an old Story, sung in certain Ballads, and of which he himself doubted the Truth. But *Buchanan* the Scotch Historian (I suppose out of malice to this King's Memory for routing his Countreymen) makes King *Athelstan* not only to have procured the Death of his Brother *Edwin*, but also of his Father King *Edward*, whom he therefore fancies to have been called *Edward the Martyr*; and not content with this neither, he adds, that he put his Brother *Edred* to death also: Yet certainly there can scarce be more Mistakes committed in so few Lines than he has been guilty of in these; for in the first place it is agreed by all our Historians, that King *Edward* died a Natural Death; and as for him whom he calls the *Martyr*, he was the Son of King *Edgar*; nor did he begin to reign till above an hundred and fifty years after, as shall be shewn when we come to his Reign.

But as for what *Buchanan* objects against some of our later Historians, for making *Athelstan* to be King of all Britain, and to have restored *Constantine* King of Scots to his Kingdom, and to have forced him to do him Homage for it; we must confess, that *Buchanan* is so far in the right, that neither our *Saxon Annals*, nor *Marianus Scotus*, nor *Florence of Worcester*, mention any thing of it, though they all do relate the great Victory which King *Athelstan* obtain'd over the Scots, but yet are wholly silent either about his driving of the King of Scotland out of his Kingdom, or of causing him to do him Homage for restoring him to it. This is to shew, that I would not be partial to the Historians of our own Countrey, as if they could not also be sometimes guilty of great Errors; and therefore I thought good to take notice of it here.

This year (as our Annals relate) King *Athelstan* made an Expedition into Scotland with a great Army by Land, as also with a considerable Fleet by Sea, and laid waft great part of that Kingdom. The same year also Bishop *Byrnstan* deceased at *Winchester*, on the Feast of All Saints.

But as for the Causes of this War made by King *Athelstan* against Scotland, since not only our Annals but many of our other Authors are silent in it, we must supply that defect from *William of Malmesbury*, and *Roger Hoveden*, and the Chronicles of *Mailross*, who relate, that *Anlaf* the Son of *Sihtric* King of Northumberland, having fled into Ireland, and the late King *Godefrid* his Brother, into Scotland, King *Athelstan* sent Ambassadors to *Constantine* King of Scots, demanding the Fugitive to be given up to him, or else upon his Refusal denouncing a speedy War against him, which War indeed he made; for marching into Scotland with a great Army both by Sea and Land, he drove his Enemies before him as far as *Dunfeodor* and *Wertermore*, and by Sea as far as *Cathness*; but *Malmesbury* affirms, that they not daring in any thing to displease him, went to a place called *Dacor* (or *Dacre*) in Cumberland, where each surrender'd up himself and all his into the hands of the English King, who was Godfather to the Son of *Constantine*, and now ordered

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dered him to be baptized in testimony of that Accord; whom also (together with great Presents) he left as a Hostage with the King; and so Peace being thus happily concluded, he returned home into his own Countrey. But the Scotch Historians do not mention this Invasion at all, nor will allow King *Constantine* to have had any Son: And indeed it seems improbable, that if *Constantine* had now given his Son to King *Athelstan* as a Hostage, he would have dar'd to renew the War again so soon after this Agreement. But for all this, *Godefrid* escaped while they were preparing for the Journey, and travelling with one *Turfrid* into several parts of the Countrey, at length got some men together, and laid Siege to *Tork*, the Inhabitants of which they tempted both by fair and foul means to let them in; but not being able to prevail with 'em, they went their ways, and were both taken shortly after, and shut up in a Castle; from whence making their escape by deluding their Keepers, *Turfrid* not long after was shipwreck'd at Sea, and became a Prey to the Fish; but *Godefrid* endured much more misery both by Sea and Land, and at last came as a Suppliant to the King's Court, who kindly received him: but after he had been profusely feasted for four days together, he got away again to his Ships, and then returned to his old trade of Piracy. In the mean time *Athelstan* demolished a Castle which the Danes had fortified at *Tork*, that so they might not shelter themselves any more there; and the large Booty he found in it, he divided amongst his Soldiers, to every one a share: For so Worthy and Liberal was this Prince, that he never sought to hoard up Money for himself, but bestowed whatever he got, either upon those Servants he found faithful to him, or else upon Monasteries: No wonder then if he won the hearts of all the Monks, who were the only Historians of those times.

Now also (as *Florence* relates) *Wulfbelm* Archbishop of *Canterbury* deceasing, *Odo* Bishop of *Wells* succeeded him.

This Man was of a Danish Race, whose Parents had come over hither in King *Alfred's* Reign; but their Son had been first a Soldier under him, and then turning Priest, was at last by King *Athelstan's* Recommendation made a Bishop; but having never been a Monk, and none but Monks having been hitherto made Archbishops of *Canterbury*, he for a long time refused it; till at last he was persuaded to go over into France, and there taking upon him the Habit of a Monk, and returning home, was immediately consecrated Archbishop. This Man was a Prelate of great Sanctity according to those times, and a severe Exactor of Ecclesiastical Discipline, as you will find hereafter.

This year also (according to the Annals) Bishop *Byrnstan* above-mentioned deceased at *Winchester*. And the following year, Bishop *Elfeage* succeeded him in that Bishoprick.

About this time, according to **William of Malmesbury*, King *Athelstan* drove the Welsh out of *Exeter*, and built new Walls about it; and then founded a Monastery of *Benedictines*, which was afterwards changed (upon the removal of the Bishop's See from *Crediton* to this City) into a Dean and Secular Chanons, as shall be shewn in due time. But after two years,

The War was again renewed between King *Athelstan* and *Constantine* King of Scots, and a great Battel followed, of which our Annals give us (contrary to their custom) a Poetical, if not a Romantick Relation,

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Dccccxxvi.De Pontif.
Lib. 2.Anno Dom.
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tion, which to translate *verbatim* would be ridiculous; but the Substance of it is thus; 'That this year King *Athelstan* and his Brother *Eadmund* ' *Etheling* overcame the *Scots* in Battel about *Brunanburh* (now *Brom-* ' *ridge* in the County of *Northumberland*, as *Cambden* supposes) breaking ' through their Works, and killing many of their Noblemen; so that ' both Armies fighting from Sun-rising to Sun-set, there perished a ' great multitude of *Scots*, *Irish*, and *Danes*.] For it seems by *Florence* ' of *Worcester*, that another *Anlaf*, Son to the King of *Dublin*, being excited ' by his Father-in-Law, King *Constantine*, had sail'd up the River *Humber* ' with a great Fleet, and landing, King *Athelstan* and his Brother *Ead-* ' *mund* met them with a powerful Army at the place above-mentioned; ' and if so, it could not be in *Northumberland*, as Mr. *Cambden* supposes, ' but rather in *Yorkshire* or *Lincolnshire*.

But to proceed with our Annals; the Success of this Fight was, ' That the *English-Saxons* towards the latter end of the day utterly rout- ' ed and put to flight the Enemies Forces, and pursued them as long as ' day-light lasted; so that in that place there fell no less than five Kings, ' besides seven other Commanders on *Anlaf's* side, (not reckoning those ' of the Naval Forces, and the *Scots* Fleet, who were kill'd without ' number); so that *Anlaf* was forced to save his Life by going on board ' his Ships with a small Company; as also one *Froda* by flight returned ' into his own Countrey.] This *Froda* was (it seems) some *Norman* or ' *Danish* Commander, who came to assist *Anlaf*.

' Neither could King *Constantine* brag much of the success of this ' Fight among his Relations, for they most of them fell that day in Bar- ' tel, the King leaving his Son dead upon the Spot behind him, having ' received many Wounds. Nor could King *Anlaf* himself boast of ' much better good fortune, for they had all reason enough to repent ' their having tried the Valour of these *English* Princes. And not only ' the *Scotch* but *Irish* King with great difficulty got home to *Disline* ' (now *Dublin*) in *Ireland*. But King *Athelstan* and the Prince his Bro- ' ther return'd home with Honour and Glory into their own Countrey, ' leaving their Enemies Carcasses to be devoured by the Fowls of the ' Air, and Beasts of the Field; insomuch that there never was a greater ' Slaughter in this Island mentioned by Historians, since the time that ' the *English-Saxons* conquered this part of *Britain*.

So far you have from the *Peterburgh* Copy of these Annals; but that ' in the *Cottonian* Library says no more, than that ' This year King *Athel-* ' *stan* and King *Eadmund* his Brother led their Army to *Brunanburgh*, and ' there fighting with *Anlaf*, by the help of Christ obtained the Victory.

But having given you a short Relation of this Battel from the *Saxon* ' Annals, who only relate the Success of this Fight, without giving us ' any Causes or other Circumstances of it; I shall both from *Ingulph*, as ' also from *William of Malmesbury*, give you a more perfect Account of ' it; which is thus:

Constantine King of the *Scots* being exasperated by the late Invasion ' made in his Kingdom, joined with *Anlaf* the Son of *Sihtric* (whom ' *Florence* more probably supposes to have been not this *Sihtric*, but some ' other of his name, who was King of *Ireland* and the Isles adjacent, ' and had married the Daughter of King *Constantine*) who also drew in ' *Eugenius* Prince of *Cumberland*, with great Forces which he had raised ' out of several Countries, to their Assistance; and after near four years prepa-

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preparation, they invaded *England* by the River *Humber*, and passed ' through the Countrey to a place called *Brunanburgh*, or *Bruneford*; ' *Athelstan* all this time feigning a Retreat, on purpose that he might ob- ' tain some better advantage against them, as some write; or, as others, ' that they being fearful to grapple with him; *Anlaf* perceiving with ' whom he had to do, puts off his Royal Habit, and becomes a Spy upon ' him in the Disguise of a Musician, attending with an Harp in his Hand ' at *Athelstan's* Tent; by which means he was easily admitted into the ' King's Presence, diverting them by his Musick, till such time as they ' having eaten and drank sufficiently, they began to debate seriously ' about the Work they had in hand; and he all the while made what ' Observation he could; at last, when he had received his Reward, and ' was commanded out of the Tent, he scorned to carry the Money ' away with him, hid it in the Earth, which a certain Soldier who had ' formerly served him, taking notice of, thereby came to know him, and ' after he was gone, acquainted the King who he was; but being blamed ' for not giving him more timely notice, the Soldier excused it, as having ' formerly taken a Military Oath in *Anlaf's* Service; affirming, that had ' he betrayed *Anlaf*, he himself to whom now he was in the same Rela- ' tion, might have expected no better Fidelity; but however, he advised ' King *Athelstan* to remove his Tent into another place: This Advice ' was looked upon as good and wholesome, and indeed, how seasonable ' it proved, very shortly appeared; for a certain Bishop coming to the ' Camp that night, pitched his Tent in the same place; when *Anlaf*, ' with a design to destroy the King, assaulted that part of the Camp, ' being ignorant of what had passed, and easily killed the Bishop with ' all his Followers.

Ingulph (who seems more exact than any other Historian in this mat- ' ter) writes, That *Anlaf*, tho he had brought with him an infinite multi- ' tude of *Danes*, *Norwegians*, *Scots*, and *Picts*, yet either out of Diffi- ' dence, or Craft familiar to his Nation, chose rather by night to surprize ' his Enemy, than fairly to give him Battel in the open field, and by day- ' light; so he fell suddenly upon the *English*, and kill'd a Bishop who was ' come but the Evening before to the Camp, which causing a great Cla- ' mour and Tumult, the King, tho a Mile off, took the Alarm with his ' whole Army, who putting themselves into such order as the Surprise ' would permit, by break of day came up to the Enemy, where finding ' them tir'd and disorder'd by their late March for want of sleep, King ' *Athelstan* in Person leading on the *West-Saxons*, fell upon *Anlaf* him- ' self, whilst *Turketul* his Kinsman and Chancellor, (who had the Conduct ' of the *Londoners*) and the *Mercians*, assaulted *Constantine* the *Scottish* ' King; their Missil Weapons being quickly spent, they came to hand- ' blows, and to fight it out with Sword and Buckler, where many of ' them lost their Lives, and the Carcasses of mean persons lay confu- ' sedly together with the slain Bodies of Princes, Death making no dis- ' tinction. The Dispute continuing very long and violent by reason ' of the multitude of Enemies was so great, *Turketul* took with him some ' of the *Londoners* whom he knew to be most valiant, and a Captain of ' the *Worcestershire*-men, called *Singin*, one of approved Courage, who ' being taller than the rest, and of well compacted Limbs, and the stout- ' est of all those *London* Heroes that accompanied him; then *Turketul* ' rushing into the very midst of his Enemies, and laying vigorously about

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about him, hewed down whole ranks of men on both sides of him, in-
somuch that he passed through whole Troops of *Orcadians* and *Picts*,
bearing a Wood of Arrows on his Breast-plate, and making his way
through whole Companies of *Cumbrians* and *Scots*, he at length reached
Constantine himself, whom he dismounted, and would have taken alive;
but the *Scots* were so concerned for their King, that they had a very
smart Conflict about him, and many of them pressing upon the few
English that followed him, and all of them aiming chiefly at *Turketul*,
he began to repent of his Rashness, seeing no means either of escaping
himself, or getting off his Prisoner; when on the sudden Captain *Singin*
coming in afresh to his Rescue, killed King *Constantine*: And now
their King being slain, the *Scots* were so discouraged, that they soon re-
tired; and the Report of their Discomfiture flying about the Army,
Anlaf and all his Followers ran away, after an incredible Slaughter of
Danes and *Scots* upon the place.

So much *Ingulph* relates, for the greater Honour of this *Turketul*,
the Chancellor, who was afterwards Abbot of the Abby of *Croyland*,
and his Predecessor in the Government of that Monastery, where he
left a large Memorial of his Secular Employments. And the same Au-
thor farther adds, that besides *Constantine*, five other Kings were there
slain, twelve Earls, and an infinite number of Common Soldiers.

But though *Ingulph* and *William* of *Malmesbury* do thus confidently
relate *Constantine* King of *Scots* to have been slain in this Battel, yet all
the *Scotch* Historians, as well as our own Annals, asserting the contrary, it
is not to be insisted on as true, and therefore I shall pass it by; yet grant-
ing he was not kill'd in that Battel, *John Fordon* and *Buchanan* do both
agree, that he became not long after dead to the world; for being
quite tired out with his late ill success, he professed himself a Monk
amongst the *Culdees* of *St. Andrews*, (an Order of Monks so called)
of whom this King became Abbot. But the *Scotch* Historians do all
confess the greatness of the Victory on the *English*, and the great Loss
on their own side; acknowledging the Fall of *Eugenius* King of *Deira*,
(whom our Historians call King of *Cumberland*), but will not own King
Constantine to have been so much as present at this fight, but only *Mal-
colme* his Cousin, who upon his retiring into a Monastery, was declared
King in his room: Yet *Hector Boethius*, and *Buchanan*, to lessen this Vi-
ctory as much as they can, do suppose, (though I do not know from
what Authority, since *Fordon* mentions no such thing) "That the
"English under King *Athelstan* being much weaker in Forces, he was
"fain to supply that by Cunning and Artifice; and having strengthen'd
"his Army by fresh Supplies, he commanded them at the first Onset to
"make as if they fled, and when they found the Enemy had broken their
"Ranks, to turn again on their Pursuers; which being punctually ob-
"served by King *Athelstan*'s Army, the *Danes* and *Scots* supposing
"themselves to be Victors, immediately fell to spoiling the Enemies
"Camp; and thereupon a Sign being given by King *Athelstan*, they fell
"upon the Enemy, now laden with Prey, and destroyed them like so
"many Sheep, insomuch that in this Fight most of the *Scotch* Nobil-
"ity were slain, whilst they rather chose to dye than to survive the Ig-
"nomy of having deserted their Companions.

But this sounds very Romantick, as does also his Relation of the
Battel, which neither agrees with the plain downright way of fighting
used

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used in that age, nor with the Stout and Martial Genius of this King;
But let the Manner of gaining the Victory be as it will, they all agree
upon the Effect of it; That King *Athelstan* (his Enemies being asto-
nish'd with so great a loss) took *Cumberland* and *Westmorland* from the
Scots, and recovered *Northumberland* from the *Danes*.

But since the Monks will scarce let so great a Victory pass without a
Miracle, I cannot forbear relating what *Fordon*, and the Chronicle
ascribed to Abbot *Bromton*, have related from a certain Legend of
St. John of *Beverly*; viz. That King *Athelstan* going to make War
against the *Scots*, and by the way paying a Visit to the Tomb of that
Saint, there pawn'd his Knife at the Altar, promising to redeem it at
his return; but when they had thus fought against the *Scots*, he begged
of God a Sign, whereby it might appear to future Ages, that they
were justly vanquished by the *English*; and thereupon the King striking
a certain Rock with his Sword near the Castle of *Dunbar*, he made a
Gap in it an Ell deep; this Miracle is so gross, that even *John Fordon*
himself ridicules it. But it seems King *Athelstan* made good his Promise,
and upon his return with Victory, enrich'd the Church of *St. John*
with great Possessions; and so, I suppose, got his Knife again.

As for the other Miracle related also by the Monks, of King *Athel-
stan*'s Sword being lost out of the Scabbard just when he was ready to
fight, and another was by Miracle put in the place, at the Prayers of Arch-
bishop *Odo*; which Sword they pretend was kept in the King's Treas-
ury; it is no less a Wonder than the former; and one such as these is
enough at one time.

This year (according to *Florence*) King *Athelstan* founded the Abby
of *Middleton* in *Dorsetshire*, to expiate the Death of his Brother Prince
Edwin, whom through false suggestions he had destroy'd, (as you have
already heard).

About this time also (according to the *Welsh* Chronicle) *Howel
Dha*, Prince of *South-Wales* and *Powis*, after the death of *Edwal Voel*,
his Cousin, Prince of *North-Wales*, took upon him the Government
of all *Wales*, the Sons of *Edwal* being then in Minority. This *Howel*
made that Excellent Body of Laws that go under his Name, and which
you may find in Sir *H. Spelman*'s first Volume of Councils: This
Prince, for his Discreet and Just Government, not only made himself
highly beloved, but also rendred his Memory very glorious to After-
Ages.

But it seems King *Athelstan* did not long survive this Victory; for (as
our Annals relate) "he deceased this year on the 6th Kal. Novemb. just
"Forty years after the death of King *Alfred* his Grandfather, having
"reigned Fourteen Years and Ten Months:] But there is certainly an
Error in this Account; for either this King must have reigned a year
less, or else the King his Father must have died a year sooner than our
Annals allow him; and perhaps with greater Certainty; for *Florence*
of *Worcester* places his Death in Anno Dom. 924.

Nor can we before we finish this King's Life, omit taking notice,
That *Bromton*'s Chronicle and other Modern Writers do place the long
Story of the *Danes* invading *England* in this King's Reign; and that
one *Guy* Earl of *Warwick* returning home by chance from the *Holy
Land* in the Habit of a Pilgrim, just when King *Athelstan* was in great
distress for a Champion to fight with one *Colebrand* a monstrous Danish
Gyant,

Anno Dom.
Dcccxli.

Gyant, whom the King of the Danes had set up to fight with any Champion the *English* King should bring into the field; that Earl *Guy* accepted this Challenge, and without being known to any man but the King, fought the Gyant near *Winchester*, and killing him, the Danes yielded the Victory; whilst Earl *Guy* privately retired to a Hermitage near *Warrick*, and there living a Hermit's life, ended his days.

But though *John Rouse* in his Manuscript Treatise *de Regibus Anglorum*, places this Action under *Anno 926*, as soon as ever King *Athelstan* came to the Crown; and that *Tho. Rudburne* in his History of *Winchester* says, That this Gyant's Sword being kept in the Treasury of the Abby of *Winchester*, was shewn in his time; yet since neither the *Saxon* Annals, nor any other Ancient Historian, mention any Invasion of the Danes in this King's Reign, nor any thing of such a Combat, it ought to be looked upon as a *Monkish* Tale, only fit for Ballads and Children.

But since the Monks are very profuse in the Praises of this Prince, I will give you *William of Malmesbury's* Character of him; That as for his Person, he did not exceed the ordinary Stature, being of a slender Body; his Hair (as he had seen by his Reliques) was Yellow; that as for his Natural Temper and Disposition, he was always kind to God's Servants (*i. e.* the Monks), for there was scarce a Monastery in *England*, but what had been adorned by him with Buildings, Books, or Reliques. And though he was grave and serious amongst his Nobles, yet was he affable to the Inferior sort, often laying aside the Majesty of a King, to converse the more freely with ordinary men. This made him as much admired by his Subjects for his Humility, as he was fear'd by his Enemies and Rebels for his Invincible Courage and Constancy.

An Eminent Instance of this was, in that he compell'd the Kings of *North-Wales* (for some time standing out) to meet him at *Hereford*, and submit themselves to him: I wish our Author had told us the Year when it was done, since our Annals have wholly omitted it; for *tho Ran. Higden* in his *Polychronicon* has put it under *Anno 937*; and also relates from *Alfred of Evesbury*, that this King restored both *Constantine* King of *Scots*, and *Hoel* King of the *Britains*, to their Kingdoms; saying, *It was more glorious to make a King, than to be one*; yet I do not see any Authority for it: But this is agreed upon by all, That *Athelstan* did about that time enter *Wales* with a powerful Army, and effected what no King had ever presumed to think of before; for he imposed a Yearly Tribute upon those Kings, of Twenty Pounds in Gold, and Three hundred Pounds in Silver, and Twenty five thousand Head of Cattel. Yet the Laws of *Howel Dha* appointed the King of *Aberfraw* to pay yearly to the King of *London*, no more than Sixty six Pounds for a Tribute, besides Hawks and Hounds.

John of Wallingford makes this King the first who reduced all *England* into one Monarchy, by his Conquest of *Northumberland*, *Cumberland*, and *Wales*; yet that he was in his own nature a Lover of Peace; and whatever he had heard from his Grandfather, or observed in his Father, he put in practice, being just in his Judgments, and by a happy conjunction of many Virtues, so beloved by all men, that to this day Fame, which is wont to be too severe to the Faults of Great Men, can relate nothing to his prejudice.

William of Malmesbury also gives us a short Account of his Life and Actions from his very Childhood; wherein he tells us, That this Prince when

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Dcccxli.

when he was but a Youth; was highly beloved by his Grandfather King *Alfred*, inasmuch that he made him a Knight, girding him with a Belt set with Precious Stones, and whereat hung a Golden-hilted Sword in a Rich Scabbard; after which, he was sent to be bred under his Uncle *Ethelred* Earl of *Merca*, to learn all those Warlike Exercises that were befitting a Young Prince.

Nor does he only relate him to have been Valiant, but also competently Learned, as he had been informed from a certain old Author he had seen, who compared him to *Tully* for Eloquence; though (as he rightly observes) the Custom of that Age might very well dispense with that Talent; and perhaps a too great Affection to King *Athelstan*, then living, might excuse this Author's over-large Commendations.

But this must be acknowledged, that all *Europe* then spoke highly in his Praise, and extoll'd his Valour to the Skies; Neighbouring Kings thinking themselves happy if they could purchase his Friendship either by his Alliance, or their Presents. *Harold* King of *Norway* sent him a Ship whose Stern was Gilded, and its Sails Purple; and the Ambassadors by whom he sent it, being Royally received in the City of *Tork*, were rewarded with Noble Presents. *Hugh* King of the *French*, sent *Anwulf*, Son of *Baldwin* Earl of *Flanders*, (Grandson to King *Edward* by *Ethelwine* his Daughter) as his Ambassador, to demand his Sister in Marriage; who when in a Great Assembly of the Nobility at *Abingdon* he had declared the Desires of this Royal Woer, besides Noble Presents of Spices, and Precious Stones, especially Emeralds, such as had never been seen in *England* before, and also brave Horses richly equipped, he sent the King a certain Vessel made of an Onyx, curiously engraven with Vines, and the Figures of Men; he likewise presented him with the Sword of *Constantine* the Great; in the Hilt of which (being all overlaid with Plates of Gold) was set one of the Nails of Christ's Cross; also with the Lance of *Charles* the Great, and the Banner of the Martyr *St. Maurice*, both which the said King had made use of in a Battel against the *Saracens*; and a Gold Crown or Diadem set with Precious Stones: But that which was more Valuable than all the rest, was a little Piece of Christ's Cross, and a Bit of his Crown of Thorns, both set in Chrystal, and which the King afterwards bestowed upon the Abby of *Malmesbury*, with very large Endowments, (as appears by his Charters above-cited) and in whose Church he had ordered the Bodies of his Cousins *Elwin* and *Ethelwin*, the Sons of his Uncle *Ethelward*, to be interr'd, whom he lost in the Battel against King *Anlaf*: And though this King died at *Gloucester*, yet was his Body carried to *Malmesbury*, and there interr'd with great Pomp.

There is yet to be seen in the said Church (of which only the Nave is now left) an Image made for him in Stone, though of no Antiquity, as any one may easily discover, that observes it.

But since this King also made many good Laws, some of them which are the most remarkable, I shall here set down from Mr. *Lambard's* *Saxon* Copy.

These Laws were made at *Gratanleage*, in a Great Council there held by King *Athelstan*; but the Year not being express'd, it is supposed to be about *Anno 928*.

After a Religious Preface, "The first Law is against Thieves, requiring that if a Thief be taken in the Fact, no man shall spare him,

X x 2

"if

Anno Dom.
Dccccli.

"if he be above twenty years old, and had stole any thing above the value of eight pence: If any one do contrarily thereunto, he shall pay the value of the Thief's Head, or make amends for the fault, and yet the Thief himself shall not be spared; who if he contumaciouly make Resistance, or fly for it, shall find no favour. A Thief cast into Prison, shall there stay forty days, and then after the payment of an 120 shillings be discharged; but his Kindred must give Security for his future good behaviour; after which, if he steal again, they must either pay the value of his Head, or bring him back to Prison; and in case any one resist, he shall pay to the King, or to any other whom it concerns, the value of his own Head; and if any stand by him (*i. e.* defend him) he shall pay to the King an 120 shillings.

"The sixth Law is against Witchcrafts, Enchantments, and such like deeds that procure Death; that if any one by them be made away, and the thing cannot be denied, such Practisers shall be put to death; but if they endeavour to purge themselves, and be cast by the threefold *Ordeal*, they shall lye in Prison an hundred and twenty days; which ended, then their Kindred may redeem them by the Payment of an 120 shillings to the King; and farther pay to the Kindred of the slain the full valuation of the Party's Head; and then the Criminals shall also procure Sureties for their good behaviour for the time to come.

"The same Punishment shall be inflicted on Incendiaries, and such as rescue Thieves; nay, such as endeavour to rescue them, though no man be wounded in the attempt, shall pay an 120 shillings to the King.

As for Enchantments, mentioned in this Law, the *Saxon* word is *Liblaciun*, which signifies the Art of Conjuraton or Witchcraft, yet not all in general, but that sort of it properly called *Fascination*, or Enchantment used by certain *Ligatures*, *Fascia*, or Bands.

"The seventh ordains concerning simple *Ordeal*, That if one accused several times of Theft, be cast by it, and have no body to be Surety for him, he shall be sent to Prison, and thence freed by his Kindred, as was before said.

"The tenth forbids any Commutation of Goods, unless in the presence of the King's Reeve, the Priest of the Town, or the Lord of the Soil, or some other credible person, under the penalty of thirty shillings, and the forfeiture of the thing changed to the Lord of the Soil; and if any shall bear false witness, he shall be infamous, and no credit given to him ever after, and also shall forfeit 30 shillings.

"The twelfth confirms the first part of the Law of King *Edward* the Elder, decreeing no man's buying any thing out of a Town which exceeds the value of twenty pence; and within the Town, unless in the presence of the Portreeve, or some other credible person; or else in the presence of the King's Sheriff or Justice in *Folcmote*.

"The fourteenth appoints through all the King's Dominions that one and the same Money be currant, and that it shall not be coined out of some Town; and if any Minter or Coiner shall embase the Coin, he shall lose his hand; which being cut off, shall be affixed to the Workhouse: If any be accused of adulterating Money, and will purge himself, he shall by the *Ordeal* of hot Iron cleanse his hands of such wickedness; but if by *Ordeal* he be cast, then he shall be punished as now was said.

Then

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Dccccli.

"Then follow the places appointed for Publick Mints; *viz.* at *Cantebury* there shall be seven Minters or Coiners, whereof four for the King, two for the Bishop, and one for the Abbot. At *Rochester* there shall be three, whereof two for the King, and the third for the Bishop. At *London* eight. At *Winchester* six. At *Lewes* two. At *Ely* one. At *Chichester* one. At *Hampton* two. At *Worham* two. At *Exeter* two. At *Salisbury* as many, and in every other great Town one.

"That which follows, commands, That for every Plow a man shall keep two well-furnished Horsemen.

Which shews, that this Law for the Militia's being laid according to the Rate of Estates, is one of the ancientest of this kind in *England*, as also the most general Tax, being laid upon Corn, then the most staple Commodity of the Kingdom.

"The eighteenth forbids Horses to be transported, except such as are sent abroad as Free Gifts or Presents.

"The twentieth Law enacts, That if any one absent himself from *Folcmote* thrice, he shall be punished as contumacious against the King, if so be that the holding of the Assembly was declared a *fevenight* before; in such case if he refuse to do Right, and pays not his *Mulct* to the King, the ancient men of the Countrey are to go and seize upon all that he hath, and take Security for his appearance.

"The twenty second, in confirmation of a former Law, requires, that no person receive another man's *Mann* (as this Law words it) into his Family, without leave first obtained of his Master: he that doth otherwise, shall restore the man, and pay the *Mulct* of Contumacy against the King; and no man is to put away his men accused of any Crime, till they have first made satisfaction.

By this it appears how ancient in this Nation the Custom is of calling a Servant by the word used for the whole *Species* of Mankind, a Phrase in use as well with the *Romans* and others more ancient, as with modern people.

"The twenty fourth is concerning Traffick; and in confirmation of former Laws ordains, That if a man buy any thing with witness, which another man challenges for his own, the Seller shall make it good, and secure the bargain, whether he be Bond or Free: But on the Lord's day no Market shall be held, under penalty or forfeiture of the Wares, and a *Mulct* of 30 shillings besides.

The next thing that follows at the end of these Laws, relating to the Civil State, is the Valuation of mens Heads, which we have often heard mentioned by these Laws, but never yet to what it particularly amounted: First then, saith the Text, "The valuation of the King's Head, according to the *English* Common Laws, is thirty thousand *Thrymses*, whereof fifteen thousand are properly the value of his Head, the rest being due to the Kingdom; so that the latter fifteen belonged to the Nation, the former to his Kindred. An Archbishop's and Earl's *Weregild* (as the *Saxons* called the valuation of his Head) is fifteen thousand *Thrymses*: A Bishop's and *Ealdorman*'s eight thousand. A General's of an Army, or an High Marshal's four thousand *Thrymses*. The valuation of a Spiritual *Thane* or Priest, as also of a Temporal *Thane*, was two thousand *Thrymses*. That of a Countreyman (or *Georl*) by the *Danish* Law was 267 *Thrymses*. But if a *Welshman* grow so rich as to maintain a Family, have Land, and pay a yearly Rent to the

Anno Dom.
Dcccclii.

the King, he shall be valued at 120 shillings; if he possess half a Hide of Land, at 80 shillings: If he have no Land, yet if he be a Freeman, the value of his Head shall be seventy shillings. If a Ceorl or Countreyman be so wealthy as to possess five Hides of Land, in case he be killed, the price or value of his Life shall be two thousand Thrymses; but if he come to have a Corset, an Helmet, and a Gilt Sword, tho he have no Land, he shall be accounted a Sithcundmon; and if his Children or Grandchildren shall grow so rich as to possess five Hides of Land, all their Posterity shall be reckoned as so many Sithcundmen; and be valued at two thousand Thrymses. The Mercians value a Countreyman at two hundred shillings, a Thane at twelve hundred: They are wont to equal the single value of the King's Head with six thousand Thanes, that is, thirty thousand Scats, for so much is the value of the King's Head, and as much more must be paid as a recompence for his death; the value of his Head belongs to his Kindred, and the compensation of his Death to the people. He that is valued at 1200 shillings, his Oath shall be of the same esteem as those of six Countreymen; for where such an one is slain, six Countreymen would satisfy over and above for the value; therefore the value of him and all them shall be the same. By the English Law the Oaths of a Priest and a Thane are of the like esteem.

By these valuations of Heads from the highest to the lowest Rank, we may perceive that in those Ancient Times Punishments consisted rather in Mulcts than in Blood; contrary to our present Custom, whereby small Offences in comparison (especially if reiterated) are become Capital; which whence it hath proceeded, whether from this consideration, that Crimes in latter Ages do more abound, or from other reasons, is not evident. As for the Sithcundmon mentioned in this Law, Mr. Somner derives this word from *Sydh* or *Gethysa*, an Equal or Companion, and *cund* kind, and *Mon* man; so that he seems to have been one equal to a Thane.

Vid. Somn.
Gloss.

King

King EDMUND.

NOT long after King *Athelstan's* Decease, Prince *Edmund* his Brother succeeded him at the Age of Eighteen Years, and reigned Six Years and an half.

This year (according to the Annals) King *Edmund*, Lord of the English, and the Protector of his Subjects, invaded *Mercia* on that side where the River *Humber* and the * Way of the *White Fountain* divide the Countrey; he there took in five Cities (*viz.*) *Leicester* (now *Leicester*), *Lincolne* (now *Lincoln*), and *Snotingham*, *Stanford*, and *Deorby*, which were all before under the power of the *Danes*, being forced to submit to them, having been long under their Tyrannical Yoke.

This seems very strange, for most of those places are mentioned to have been before recovered from the *Danes* by King *Edward* his Father; and how they could be conquered again in the time of so great a Warrior as King *Athelstan* was, I could not understand, were it not explained by other Authors.

The same year King *Edmund* received King *Anlaf* to Baptism, and some time after he likewise received King *Reginald* at his Confirmation. This year also King *Anlaf* deceased, and *Richard* the Elder took upon him the Dukedom (of *Normandy*) and governed it 52 years.

But *R. Hoveden* and *Mat. Westmister* (from what Authority I know not) relate, That this *Anlaf* the Dane, above-mentioned, and *Norwegian* by Extract, who had been in the time of King *Athelstan* expell'd the Kingdom of *Northumberland*, about this time landed in *Yorkshire* with a great Fleet, resolving to subdue the whole Kingdom of *England*; and marching Southward besieged *Northampton*; but not succeeding there, he marched back to *Tamworth*, where having wasted the Countrey round about, came at last to *Leicester* (now *Westchester*); which when King *Edmund* heard of, he march'd with a powerful Army, and met him at that City, and having fought with him most part of the day, the two Archbishops of *Canterbury* and *York*, seeing the great Danger and Hazard the Kingdom was then in, made an Agreement betwixt the two Kings, That *Anlaf* should possess that part of *England* lying North of *Watlingstreet*, and King *Edmund* that part which lay South of it, and that the Survivor of them should quietly enjoy the whole Kingdom; and thereupon *Anlaf* married *Alditha* the Daughter of Earl *Orme*, by whose Counsel and Assistance he obtained the late Victory. But *William* of *Malmesbury* tells this Story somewhat different; *viz.* That about this time the *Northumbers* rebelling, recalled this *Anlaf* out of *Ireland*, whom they made their King, but whom nevertheless King *Edmund* conquered, and at last expell'd the Kingdom, and so once again added *Northumberland* to his own Dominions; which shews the great uncertainty of the History of these times.

But

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Dccccliii.

But *R. Hoveden* and *Mat. Westmister* do further add, That when this *Anlaf* had not long after his Marriage spoiled and burned the Church of *St. Balther*, and had burnt *Tiningaham*; by the just Judgment of God, he miserably ended his Life, but without telling us by what means.

And they both further relate, That *Anlaf* the Son of *Sihtric* after this reigned again over the *Northumbers*, and was this year expelled that Kingdom by King *Edmund*. But it seems *R. Hoveden* and *Mat. Westmister* make this latter *Anlaf* a quite different person from the former, who is supposed to have reigned in *Ireland*; whereas this was the Son of *Sihtric* late King of *Northumberland*, and whom we shall meet with again more than once in the following History. But *John of Wallingford's* Chronicle, makes this King, whom he calls *Olaf*, a *Norwegian*, whom the *Northumbers* had called in, and bestowed upon him the Title of King, and under him rebelled against *K. Edmund*. As for this *Reginald* here mentioned in our Annals, I suppose he is the same whom *H. Huntingdon* calls King of *Tork*, because he had conquered that Country: But tho the History of these Transactions are very short and obscure, yet that which has been already related from these Authors, will serve to explain what would have been otherwise in the dark; viz. how the Cities and Towns above-mentioned now came to be recovered from the *Danes*, as having been taken by their King *Anlaf* aforesaid.

Anno Dom.
Dccccliii.

This year Queen *Ælgiwa* was brought to Bed of Prince *Edgar* (afterwards King) as *Florence* relates: Yet she lived not long after, but died the year following, according to *Ethelward's* Chronicle.

Anno Dom.
Dccccliv.

'King *Edmund* reduced all the Countrey of *Northumberland* under his own Dominion, expelling thence the two Kings, *Anlaf* the Son of *Sihtric*, and *Reginald* the Son of *Guthferth*.

But *Ethelward* relates this action to have been done by this King's Lieutenants; viz. Bishop *Wulfstan*, and the Ealdorman of *Mercia*, whose Name he does not give us, only that these two expelled certain Deferrers, viz. *Reginald* and *Anlaf* out of the City of *Tork*, and reduced it wholly under this King's Power.

John of Wallingford also makes this *Anlaf* to be the King's Nephew, and different from *Anlaf* the *Norwegian*.

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Dccccliv.

'King *Eadmund* subdued the whole Countrey of *Cumberland*, and gave it to *Malcolme* King of *Scots*, upon condition that he should assist him in his Wars both by Sea and Land.

For the Reader is to observe, that hitherto the *Britains*, though much disturbed by their Neighbours (the *Picts*, *Scots*, and *English*), had ever since the coming in of the *Saxons* still there continued a distinct Principality, and after several of them had been wearied out, they retired into *North Wales*, and there erected the Colony of *Strathclyd*, as we formerly said; though the History and Succession of these Kings are wholly lost, unless it be such scattered Remains as we have given you in the former Book. But *Mat. Westmister* (though under the next year) adds that which is very unlikely to be true, that King *Edmund* conquered this Countrey by the Assistance of *Levellyn* Prince of *Wales*, and put out the Eyes of the two Sons of *Dunmaile* King of that Province; though what he adds further, appears somewhat more probable, That he granted it to the King of *Scots* upon this condition, viz. To defend the *North-parts* of *England* from the Invasion of Enemies both by Sea and Land.

Land. To which *Bromton's* Chronicle adds likewise, That he was also to attend the King of *England* at several Great Feasts in the year, when he held his Common Council; and that the King of *Scots* had for that end several Houses assigned him to lye at by the way.

Also this year *Mat. Westmister* relates, that King *Edmund* gave one of his Royal Towns, then called *Beadricesworth*, with divers other Lands, to build a Church and Monastery, in Memory of *St. Edmund* the Martyr, whose Body was there enshrined.

This year likewise (as *Florence* relates) King *Edmund* sent Ambassadors to Prince *Hugh of France*, for the Restitution of King *Lewis*; whereupon the said Prince held a Solemn Council with all the Chief Men of the Kingdom concerning it: But not long after,

King *Edmund* deceased at the Feast of *St. Augustin*; having held the Kingdom Six Years and an half.

But the *Laudean* or *Peterburgh* Copy of these Annals, as also *Ethelward's* Chronicle, place the Death of this King *Anno Dom.* 948; which without doubt is the truest Account.

So that he died in the very Flower of his Age, being not yet Five and twenty years old: But we shall give you the manner of his Death, from *William of Malmesbury*, as well as from other Authors, since he met with such an End, the like to which I have not read of any other Prince, taking all the Circumstances together: And thus we find it: He having made a Great Entertainment at a place called *Pucklekirk*, upon the Holiday of *St. Augustin* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, for all his Nobility and Chief Men, and there spying towards the end of Dinner a certain Notorious Thief called *Leof*, sitting at the Table, whom he had before banished, commanded *Leon* his Sewer to lay hold on him: But the Thief not only resisted him, but was also like to have killed the Sewer: Whereupon the King (leaping from the Table, and) going to rescue him out of the Villain's hands, and having now laid hold on him, and thrown him on the ground, he twisted his hands in his hair; upon which the Thief pulling out a Dagger, stabbed the King (who lay upon him) into the Breast, so that he immediately expired; but the King's Servants presently coming in, soon cut the Villain to pieces; though some of them were first wounded by him. The King's Body was thereupon carried to *Glastenbury*, and there buried; and the Town wherein he was killed was bestowed on the same Monastery to sing Masses for his Soul. To this Place the Prince (as well as his Brother) was a great Benefactor; as appears by his recited Charter in *William of Malmesbury*, whereby he confers divers large Privileges upon that Abby, of which *St. Dunstan* was then the Abbot: And it is also to be observed, that He there styles himself in the beginning of his Charter, "*Edmund*, King of the *English*, and Governor and Ruler of the other Nations round about; and says, That with the Advice, and by the Consent of his Chief Men, and for the Remission of his Sins, He made that Grant to the Church of *St. Mary* at *Glastenbury*. This Charter bears date *Anno* 944. in Letters of Gold, and was written at the end of a Book of Gospels which he had given to the same Church, most curiously bound. So that it is no wonder if he had the good words of the Monks; though he might also very well deserve them; yet this last Action speaks him to have been extremely transported with Passion, thus to debate the Majesty of a King, in going about to seize a common Malefactor with his

Anno Dom.
Dcccclvi.

own hands; and indeed he paid too dear for thus acting below his Character.

This King made divers good Laws; which since the Title does not recite in what year they were made, I have referred to this place; some of which I shall here give you, translated from the *Latin* Copies in Abbot *Bromton's* Chronicle, as well as from Mr. *Lambard's* Collection.

In the Preface of which we are told, "That at the solemn Feast of *Easter* the King had held a Great Council at *London*, as well of Ecclesiasticks as Laicks, where were present *Odo* and *Wulfstan*, Archbishops, with many other Bishops, to consult for the good of their own Souls, and of those that were committed to their Care and Government.

At which Synod or Council were enacted several Laws; viz. but they being six in number, of mere Ecclesiastical Concernment, as for paying *Tithes*, and against Fornication with *Nuns*, and *Perjury*, I omit them.

Then follow, in *Bromton's* Copy, seven other Constitutions of Civil Concernment, said to have been made by the King, his Bishops, and *Wise Men*, at *Canington*, not extant in the *Saxon* Edition.

"The first of these requires an Oath of Fidelity to be taken by all to King *Edmund*, in like manner as a man ought to bear Faith to his Lord, without any Controversy or Sedition, both in publick and private; to love whom the King should love, and to hate whom he should hate; and before the Oath be given, that no man should conceal a Crime in his Brother or Neighbour, more than in a Stranger.

"The second, concerning the apprehension of Thieves, enjoins, that if it be known for certain where a Thief is, the *Twelfth* and *Twelfth* men (i.e. the former worth Twelve hundred, and the latter Two hundred Shillings of Estate) should combine together, and take him either alive or dead; but in case any man take up a mortal Feud against another for so doing, he is to be esteemed as the Enemy of the King, and all his Friends: And if any refuse to assist in his apprehension, he shall forfeit to the King an 120 shillings, and to the Hundred 30 shillings.

"The fourth enjoins, That if several Thieves do steal, the eldest of them shall be hanged, and each of the rest be whipp'd thrice, and for an Example have his little finger cut off.

This I take notice of, because it is the first Law whereby Thieves are expressly ordered to be hanged, without being admitted to pay their *Weregild*, or Price of their Heads.

The fifth and sixth being against buying and receiving Strangers Cartel, I pass by.

"The seventh enjoins, that every Person make his Servants, and all that live within his Peace (i.e. his District), and on his Lands, to give Security; and also that all others of Ill Fame who lye under Accusations, should have Security given for them; and what Officer, Thane, Ealdorman, or Countreyman soever he be, that refuseth to do according thereunto, shall forfeit 120 shillings, and further be deemed worthy of such Punishments as have been before mentioned.

After these follow seven other of King *Edmund's* Laws, found both in *Bromton* and *Lambard's* Copies; before which also we find a Preface, "Wherein the King signifies to all his Subjects both old and young, that he had most studiously enquired in a Solemn Assembly of Ecclesiasticks
"and

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"and Laicks, by what means the Christian Life might best be maintained; and that it seemed most convenient to them all, that he should cherish and procure Love and mutual Friendship through all his Dominions; for they were much troubled at the unjust Divisions and Contentions among them; therefore the King and they did now ordain,

"First, That if hereafter one man kill another, he alone should bear the *Deadly Feud* or Enmity of the Kindred of the Party slain, unless within Twelve Months by the assistance of his own Kindred, he should pay the *Weregild*, or value of the slain man's head, of what condition soever he was; and then they should not be taken for Enemies; in the mean time they shall not relieve him, nor have peace with him, and if they do or have, they shall forfeit all their Estate to the King; and he that shall kill any man, shall be taken as an Enemy by all the Kindred of the slain, and they may maintain *Deadly Feud* against him; and if any shall revenge himself upon, or procure any other of his Kindred besides the Manslayer himself, he shall forfeit all he hath, and be taken as an Enemy both by the King and all that love him.

Which Law was made, because before this, if one man killed another, the Kindred of the slain had a Mortal Feud, and revenged his Death upon any of the Relations of the Murderer; as they do among the *Indians* even to this day.

"The second denounces, That if a man fly to a Church, or to the King's Town, and there any one set upon him, or do him harm, he shall be punished in the same manner.

"By the third, the King expressly forbids, that any *Fyhtwite*, or *Manbote* (that is, any Fine for fighting or killing) be remitted.

"By the fourth, the King openly declares, that his House shall afford no shelter to him that hath shed blood, except he have first made satisfaction to God, and the Kindred of the Party slain, and done what soever was enjoined him by the Bishop in whose Diocese the Fact was committed.

"The sixth enjoins, That he that breaks the Peace, and sets upon a man in his own house, shall forfeit all he hath, and his Life to be at the King's Mercy.

"The seventh and last of these Laws is also concerning Enmities or *Deadly Feuds*; declaring that it is the Duty of all *Wise Men* to suppress them, and prescribing the way and means of doing it. As

"First, That an Indifferent Friend be sent before to the Kindred of him that is slain, to signify to them, that he that killed him will make all due satisfaction; upon which the Manslayer shall be delivered into his hands, that he may safely appear, and give Caution for the Payment of the value of the dead man's head; which as soon as he hath done, the King's Peace is next to be made betwixt them: Then after the end of one and twenty days, he shall pay *Halsfage* (according to *Bromton's* Copy, or as the *Saxon* Text has it, *Healfange*) that is (as Mr. *Lambard* interprets it) that which was paid in Commutation for the Punishment of hanging by the Neck, to the King or Lord. The rest, as being tedious, I omit; for I think this sufficient to let the Reader understand the nature of these *Deadly Feuds*, or Family Quarrels, among the *English* who were derived from the Ancient *Saxons*, *German*s,

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mans, and other barbarous *Northern* Nations, that commonly maintained private Quarrels by their whole Kindred, thereby rendring their Feuds as it were Hereditary. So *Tacitus* writes concerning the *Germani*, that they were forced to take up the Quarrels and Friendships of their Fathers and Kinsmen.

Besides these Laws before-mentioned, there is some other Constitutions ascribed to the same King *Edmund*, concerning the Manner and Rites of Marriage; and though found by Sir *H. Spelman* in *Saxon* (in an Ancient Book belonging to *Corpus Christi* College in *Cambridge*) tacked to the Laws of King *Alfred*; yet **Bromton* reckons them amongst the Laws of King *Edmund*, and I think they ought rather to be supposed his: They are to this effect; "That where a man resolves to marry a Woman with her Friends Consent, the Bridegroom shall give Caution or Security by his Friends, not only to marry her, but also to fulfil the Covenants made between them, and shall also engage to maintain her. After that, the Bridegroom is to declare what he will give his Bride, besides that which she formerly made choice of with his good liking, if she survive him. In case they so agree, it provides, that after his Decease she shall have the one half of all his Estate; and if they have a Child betwixt them, the whole, till such time as she marry again. Then when they have agreed on all things, the Kindred of the Bride shall contract her to him, and engage for her Honefty; and at the same time they shall give Caution for the Celebration of the Marriage. The rest being not very material, I omit; and have only set down these, to let the Reader see the Antiquity of Covenants before Marriage, and of Bonds for the performance of them; as also of Jointures, the Thirds of the Estate not being then settled by Law, as *Dower*, by what I can find.

Having now finished the Reign of King *Edmund*, I have no more to observe, but that though he left two Sons by the Queen his Wife, (*viz. Edwi and Edgar*), yet notwithstanding his Brother *Edred* succeeded to him as Next Heir, (for so *Ethelwerd*, as well as *Florence of Worcester*, styles him.

* Col. 861.

King E D R E D.

THIS year (according to our Annals) *Eadred Atheling* after his Brother's Decease was made King, and presently reduced all *Northumberland* under his Obedience: Upon which the *Scots* also swore to perform whatever he would require of them.

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But the Manuscript Life of *St Dunstan*, written by a Monk of those times, and which is now in the *Cottonian* Library, is much more particular concerning this King's Succession; saying, That King *Edmund* being slain, *Eadred* took the Kingdom, succeeding to his Brother as his Heir. Which is also confirmed by *Florence of Worcester*, who says, That *Edred* being Next Heir to his Brother, succeeded him: And *Ethelwerd* gives us the reason of it more fully, That he succeeded him *quippe ejus Heres*, because he was Next Heir. And *Simeon of Durham* further adds, That this King was Crowned at *Kingston*, by *Odo* Archbishop of *Canterbury*.

cleop. D. 7.

H. Huntington and *Mat. Westminster* give us the Particulars of this War against the *Northumbrians* and *Scots* more at large; *viz.* That he subdued the *Northumbrians* with a powerful Army, they refusing to submit to his Dominion; and that the *Scots* thereupon being afraid, submitted themselves to him without any War at all; and that the King of the *Scots* swore *Fidelity* to him.

It seems here by *Ingulph*, that this Submission of the *Northumbrians* was wrought by the means of *Turketule*, Chancellor to King *Edred*, and afterwards Abbot of *Croyland*, who was now sent Ambassador to the *Northumbrians*, to reduce them to their Duty; which he upon his Arrival at *Tork* performed with that Prudence and Diligence, that he brought back the Archbishop and all the People of that City to their former Allegiance.

But *R. Hoveden* places the Oath taken by the *Northumbrians*, under this year; and that *Wulfstan* Archbishop of *Tork*, and all the *Northumbrian* Lords, swore Fealty to King *Edred*, in a Town called *Tadencliff*, though they did not long observe it.

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Dcccclvii.

Under this year most of the *Welsh* Chronicles place the death of that Worthy Prince *Howel Dha*; and say, That he left his four Sons, *Owen, Run, Roderic*, and *Edwin*, his Heirs of all his Territories in *South-Wales*: But as for *North-Wales*, it returned to the two Sons of *Edwal Voel*, called *Jevaf* and *Jago*, (because *Meyric* their Elder Brother was not thought fit to govern): These, as being of the Elder House, would have had the Supreme Government of all *Wales*, which, being denied them by the Sons of *Howel*, caused great and long Wars between them.

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Dcccclviii.

Yet notwithstanding, other of the *Welsh* Chronicles place the death of *Howel Dha* much later, for they make him Contemporary with our King *Edgar*, as shall be shewn when we come to the History of his Reign in the next Book.

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Anno Dom.
Dcccclviii.

Also the same year (according to *R. Hoveden*) King *Edred* being much provoked by the Treachery of the *Northumbers*, laid all *Northumberland* waste; in which devastation the Monastery of *Ripon* which had been built by Bishop *Wilfrid*, was burnt: But our Annals defer this Rebellion of the *Northumbers* to the year following; 'When *Anlaf* again returned into the Countrey of the *Northumbers*.

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Dcccclix.

This is also confirmed by *Florence of Worcester*, and *H. Huntington*; viz. That King *Edred* being returned into the *Southern* parts of the Kingdom, *Anlaf* who had been formerly expell'd the Kingdom of *Northumberland*, returned thither with a great Navy, and being received with joy by the people, was again restored to his Kingdom.

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About this time, *Jago* and *Jewaf*, Princes of *North-Wales*, entred *South-Wales* with a great and powerful Army, against whom came over the Eldest Son of *Howel* with his Brethren, and fought a Battel at the Hills of *Carne*, where *Jewaf* and *Jago* obtained the Victory. And the year following, the same Princes twice invaded *South-Wales*, and spoiled *Dyver*, and slew *Dunvallon*, Lord thereof. And, to place these *Welsh* Wars together, in the year 922. the said Sons of *Howel* gathered their Forces together against *Jewaf* and *Jago*, and entred their Countrey as far as the River *Conwy*; where they fought a cruel bloody Battel, at a place called *Gwynhysu*, or *Llanrwst*. Multitudes being slain on both sides; as *Edwin* the Son of *Howel* Dha, with other *Welsh* Princes; and the Sons of *Howel* being vanquish'd, *Jewaf* and *Jago* pursued them as far as *Cardigan*, destroying their Countrey with Fire and Sword.

Anno Dom.
Dccccli.

'This year (according to the Annals) *Elseag* Bishop of *Winchester* deceased at the Feast of *St. Gregory*.

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Dcccclii.

'The *Northumbers* again expelled King *Anlaf*, and set up *Eric* the Son of *Harold* for their King.

This is the same with *Eric* mentioned by *Hoveden*, who yet did not immediately enter upon the Throne (as that Author supposes) till *Anlaf* had been expell'd; but *Florence of Worcester* and the Chronicle of *Mailross*, place the expulsion of *Anlaf*, and the setting up of *Eric*, two years sooner, and perhaps with better reason: For the same year, according to *Hoveden*, King *Edred* made *Wulstan* Archbishop of *Tork*, close Prisoner at *Witharbirig*, because he had been often accused to him upon divers accounts; Yet *Will. Malmesbury* tells us expressly, it was for favouring or conniving at his Countrymen in their late Rebellion. But after he had kept him a long time in Prison, he thought fit to pardon him, out of reverence to his Function: And the year following, the Chronicle of *Mailross* relates, that Archbishop *Wulstan* being set free, was restored to his Episcopal Function at *Dorchester*. But this is certain, King *Edred* could not have done this till after *Eric* had been driven out (as this Author more truly reckons), tho' our Annals do it the next year; saying, That

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'The *Northumbers* drove out King *Eric*, and King *Eadred* again possessed himself of that Kingdom. With which also *H. Huntington* agrees, tho' he places it a year sooner, relating, That then the *Northumbers* being weary of the Government of this *Eric*, did as easily cast him off, as they had before lightly received him; and calling in *Edred*, they again placed him on the Throne; though this does not accord with *William of Malmesbury* his Account, that King *Edred* expell'd *Eric* by force,

force, and waited all that Kingdom with fire and sword. After which the *Northumbrians* being wholly subdued, were no more governed by Kings but Earls; a Catalogue of which *Roger Hoveden* hath there given us, as far as the Conquest.

King *Edred* having been (as *Malmesbury* informs us) long tormented with frequent Convulsions in several parts of his Body, being admonished by Archbishop *Dunstan* of his approaching death, did not only bear that affliction with Patience, but spending his time in acts of Devotion, made his Palace a School of all Vertues, and being at length consumed by a tedious long sickness, he (according to the Annals) departed this life at the Feast of *St. Clement*, in the very flower of his Age, to the great grief of all his Subjects, after having Reigned Nine Years and an half.

But the Manuscript life of *St. Dunstan* (already cited) is much more particular as to the Disease he died of, viz. that not being able to swallow his Meat, he could only eat Broth, so that being waited away, he died.

This Relation of King *Edred*'s not being able to swallow his Meat, gave occasion to *John of Wallingford* absurdly to tell us in his Chronicle (not long since Printed) that King *Edred* having his Teeth fallen out by reason of Old Age, could not Chew his Meat, and the Broths they made for him were not sufficient to keep him alive, and so he died of Hunger.

But this is altogether as true as the story that follows, not only in this Author, but in most other Monkish Writers of the History of those times (from the Relation of the above-cited Author of *St. Dunstan*'s Life) that *St. Dunstan* hearing how dangerously Ill the King was, and making haste to Visit him before he died, as he rode on the way thither, there came a Voice from Heaven, which cried aloud to him, *King Edred is now dead*; at which all present being astonished, the poor Horse, upon which *St. Dunstan* was then Mounted, immediately fell down dead. But *William of Malmesbury*, though he mentions this story of the Voice, yet is so wise as to pass by the death of the Horse, being sensible it was a Pill too large to be easily swallowed.

As for the Character of this King, the Monkish Writers of those times, give him that of a most Vertuous and Pious Prince; and as to his Valour, *William of Malmesbury* saith, he was not inferior in Magnanimity to either of his Brothers; he was also the first King of *England* who (as I can find) stiled himself *Rex Magna Britannie*, King of *Great Britain*, in a Charter to the Abbey of *Croyland* recited by *Inghulphus*; as also in another Charter to the Abbey of *Reculver*; in *Monast. Anglic.* he stiles himself *Totius Albionis Monarchus*, i. e. Monarch of all *England*; In which Stile he was also followed by his Nephew King *Edgar*; from whence we may observe, That King *James* was not the first who took upon him the Title of King of *Great Britain*, though as being also King of *Scotland*, he did much better deserve it than the former.

But as for King *Edred*, he could not fail of the good will of the Monks, since the same Manuscript Author of *St. Dunstan*'s Life relates, That he put such great confidence in that Holy Abbot, that he committed the chief Muniments and Treasures of his Kingdom to his Care, to be kept at his Abby of *Glastenbury*; and that as the King lay on his Death.

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Death-bed, St. *Dunstan* was then carrying them back to him to be disposed of as he should think fit, but he just before received the News of his death, as you have already heard.

Nor did this King die without Issue (as many believe) for Mr. *Speed* proves the contrary from certain ancient Charters Cited by him at the end of this King's Life; wherein you will find that his Two Sons *Elfrid* and *Bevfrid* were Witnesses to them, tho they did not Succeed their Father, but *Edwi* Son to his Elder Brother *Edmund*.

King E D W I.

Immediately after King *Edmund*'s decease, our Annals tell us, *Anno Dom. Dcccclv.*
Edwig, Son to the late King *Edmund* and *Elgiva*, began his Reign; and he banisht St. *Dunstan* out of England.] This King, as all our Historians agree, was crowned at *Kingston* by *Odo* Archbishop of *Canterbury*; but *William* of *Malmesbury* gives us the cause of this Disgrace of St. *Dunstan*, to this effect: That this King being a Youth of great Beauty, and amorous above his years, was mightily in love with a young Lady, his near Kinswoman, whom he fain would have married, but the Bishops and Nobles of his Kingdom were utterly averse to it, not only because of the nearness of their Relation, but because she had none of the best Reputation, as to her Chastity.

But though *William* of *Malmesbury* gives us all the rest of this Story, yet I shall rather chuse to take it from the * Manuscript Life of St. *Dunstan*, who lived about the same time, and out of which that Author borrowed it; and it is thus: That on the very day, that by the common Election of all the chief Men of England, *Edwig* was anointed King; after the Coronation-Dinner was over, he and the chief Bishops and Nobility being retired into a private Room, there treating of the Great Affairs of the Kingdom, the King (perhaps at that Critical Juncture being weary of their company) stole into the Apartment of this Beautiful Lady, to enjoy some pleasurable moments with her; which the Nobility hearing of; they highly resented it, but none would adventure to bring him back; only Abbot *Dunstan*, and a Bishop whose Name was *Cynesius*, the King's Cousin, went boldly into the Chamber, where they found him with his Crown off his head, lying between the Mother of this Lady, and her Daughter, upon which they not only reproved him, but putting on his Crown again, and taking him by the hand, they pulled him away from them, and carried him back by force into the Room where his Nobles were; but *Athelgiva* (for it seems so was this Lady sometimes called) being highly provoked at this Affront; did not fail to exasperate the King against *Dunstan*; so that in revenge he banished him the Kingdom; who thereupon (as R. *Hoveden* relates) retired to a Monastery in *Flanders*.

Nor did the King's Resentments stop here, but out of hatred to *Dunstan*, he not only turned the Monks out of *Glastenbury*, but out of divers of the greatest Monasteries in England; where also, as *William* of *Malmesbury* words it, his own Abbey was turned into a Stable for Clerks; that is, Secular Chanons were put in their places, not only there, but in all other Abbeys where the Monks were expelled.

But tho the King's violence to Abbot *Dunstan*, and the Monks, is by no means to be justified, yet this rudeness to the King, and pressing upon his privacy, and carrying him by force out of the Room from his Mistress, or Wife, (for some Historians tell us that he had been privately married to her) can as little be excused: So that no wonder if a young

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King, and an enraged Woman, did all they could to revenge so great an Affront.

Yet it seems by the same Author of *St. Dunstan's Life*, that Archbishop *Odo* was severely revenged on this Lady; for he not only sent Armed men, to take her out of the Court by force, but also branded her with a hot Iron on the Cheeks, to take off the King's Affections from her, and then caused her to be sent into *Ireland*; but whether this was done by the Great Council of the Kingdom, or by his own Authority, I do not find: But it seems, upon her return thence again, being on her way to the King, the said Archbishop's Officers met her, and cut her Hamstrings; so that not being able to stir, she is supposed to have died not long after, of this cruel Treatment. But however, this did not happen immediately, but some time after; for this Year all the People North of *Humber*, together with the *Mercians*, as far as the River *Thames*, rose against King *Edwi*, with an intention to expel him the Kingdom, for his violence done to the Monks; so that, as * *Osborne* in the *Life of Dunstan* relates, he was forced to fly with his Adulterers to the City of *Glocester*: But *Florence of Worcester*, and *Simoon of Durham*, are more particular in this Relation, saying, that the *Mercians* and *Northumbrians* hating and despising King *Edwi* for his Evil Government, deserted him, and having deposed him, they elected his Brother Prince *Edgar* King over them; which it seems was also confirmed by the Common Council of the Kingdom; for the above-cited Author of the *Life of St. Dunstan*, saith it was done by the Common Consent of all the Wise men of the Kingdom. So that *Edwi* having no more left him than the Kingdom of the *West Saxons* for his share, the River *Thames* was made the Boundary between their two Kingdoms.

Henry de Knighton, out of some Ancient Chronicles then preserved in the Abbey of *Lecester*, here farther relates, That after the Expulsion of King *Edwi* for his Evil Life, and the Enormous Deeds which he committed against the Church, the Throne was vacant for above a year, and many Murthers and Robberies, and other Mischiefs were committed in the Kingdom, for want of Government, till some Good men of the Clergy and Laity, seeking God by frequent Prayers, heard at last a Voice from Heaven, commanding them to Crown Prince *Edgar* (being yet a Youth) their King, which they immediately obeyed.

But this sounds like a Monkish Legend, only to enhance the Excellency of King *Edgar's* Reign, which with them must owe its Original to no less an Author than Heaven it self; but no other Historians mention any such thing, but agree that King *Edwi* was never deprived of more than the Kingdoms of *Mercia* and *Northumberland*, and there was no Vacancy of the Throne, that Division being made presently upon the aforesaid Defection of the People of these Kingdoms, and immediately confirmed by an Act of the *Witena Gemote*, as hath been already related.

But however it happened, King *Edwi* was forced to rest contented with this unequal division, since not having the good-will of his Subjects, it was well he could keep what he had. From whence we may observe, how dangerous a thing it was, for Princes to provoke the Ruling Part of the Priests and People of those times, who could so easily turn the hearts of their Subjects against them.

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Our Annals, though they are very short in this Relation, yet confirm the deposing of King *Edwi*; viz. That this Year *Edgar Atheling* took upon him the Kingdom of the *Mercians*; and also adds, That not long before, *Wulfstan*, Archbishop of *York*, deceased.

Although the printed Copy of the *Saxon Annals* place the Death of King *Edwi* under the year 957, yet it appears by the *Manuscript Laudan* Copy of these Annals, as also by *Florence of Worcester*, that he died not till this very year; for we cannot otherwise make up the space of near four years, which all our Historians allow to this King's Reign: Of whom they give us this Character, That though he was extraordinary Handsome, yet he abused that Comeliness of his Person by his excessive Lust; and yet we do not hear of above one Mistress he kept, and that too whom he was either married to, or else lived withal like a Wife. But it is no wonder if he have a very bad Character of them, when the Monks, his Enemies, are the only persons that have given it to us: But *H. Huntington*, who was a Secular Priest, and no Monk, is more moderate, by telling us that this King did not uncommendably hold the Scepter. But when in the beginning of his Reign his Kingdom began to flourish, an Untimely Death put a stop to those happy Expectations from him. His Body was buried at *Winchester*, with his Uncle's.

And with this King's Reign I shall also put a Period to this Book, lest it should swell beyond a due proportion.

The End of the Fifth Book.

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T H E
General History
O F
BRITAIN,
NOW CALLED
ENGLAND:

As well Ecclesiastical, as Civil.

BOOK VI.

*Containing the General History of England from the
Reign of King EDGAR, to the Death of King
HAROLD; being One hundred and seventeen Years.*

King EDGAR.

I Have begun this Period with this Prince's Reign; for though it does not exactly divide the Space of Time between King *Egbert* and the coming in of King *William*, surnamed the *Conqueror*, into two equal parts, yet will it much better suit with the Proportion of the Books into which we have divided this Period: Besides, King *Edgar* by again reuniting the Kingdom, and enjoying by his Valour as well as his good Fortune, a happy and peaceable Reign, though he was not the first Prince who took upon him the Title of Monarch of all *Albion* or *England*, as hath been already shewn, yet since all the Kings of this Island did willingly submit themselves to his Dominion, he seems to have best deserved that Title, of any I can find.

King *Edwy* being now dead, as our Annals have related, King *Edgar* his Brother began to reign, not only over the *Mercians* and *Northumbers*, but also over all the *West-Saxon* Kingdom; that is, (as the Manuscript Author of *St. Dunstan's* Life relates) he succeeded in his Brother's Kingdom as Heir, and was elected by the Clergy as well as Laity, over both Kingdoms: Which is also confirmed by *Florence* of *Worcester*.

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and *R. Hoveden*, who expressly tells us he was elected King by the whole *English* Nation, in the Sixteenth Year of his Age: So that (as the Annals observe) "In his days all things succeeded prosperously, God giving him Peace as long as he lived, because he loved his Law, and consulted the Good and Peace of his People, beyond all the Princes that had been in the memory of man before him; and therefore that he had greater Honour in all Nations round him, as well as in his own; and he was by a peculiar Blessing from above so assisted, that Kings and Princes every where submitted themselves to him; insomuch that he disposed of all things as he pleased, without fighting."

But one of the first things (that we find in the said Author of *St. Dunstan's* Life) he did, was, That a great Council being held at a place called *Bradford* (now *Bradford* in *Wiltshire*) Abbot *Dunstan* was by the general consent of all there present, chosen Bishop of *Worcester*, for his great Piety and Prudence. And also King *Edgar* being now well instructed by the said Bishop and other Wise Men of the Kingdom, in the Arts of Government, began to discountenance the Wicked and Vicious, and to favour and advance the Good; as also to repair the decay'd and ruined Monasteries, and then to replenish them with God's Servants, (*i. e.* the Monks); and in short, to undo whatsoever his Brother had done before.

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DCCCCLXI.

This year, according to our Annals, *Odo*, Archbishop of *Canterbury*, dying, *Dunstan*, Bishop of *Worcester*, succeeded in the Archbishoprick: But in this the Author of these Annals is mistaken; for *William* of *Malmesbury*, as well as other Authors, assure us, That it was not *Dunstan*, but *Elfin*, Bishop of *Winchester*, who by the means of some Courtiers whom he had gained over to him by the prevailing Power of his Presents, procured King *Edgar's* Precept to make him Archbishop. From whence we may observe, That notwithstanding the former Decrees of Synods and Councils in *England*, yet those Elections which were called Canonical, were neither then nor a long time after this observed.

But as for Bishop *Elfin*, he is said by our Authors to have trampled upon the Tombstone of that Pious Archbishop, *Odo*, his Predecessor, and to have uttered opprobrious Language against his Memory; which his Ghost (it seems) so far resented, that appearing to the new Archbishop in a Vision, it threatened him with a speedy destruction; but he looking upon it only as a Dream, made what haste he could to *Rome*, to get the Pope's Confirmation, by receiving of his Pall; but in his Journey over the *Alpes* he was frozen to death, being found with his Feet in his Horse's belly, which had been killed and opened, to restore heat to them.

But no sooner did the News arrive of *Elfin's* death, when (according to *Florence*) *Brythelm*, Bishop of *Wells*, was made Archbishop; But because neither of these last Archbishops ever received their Palls from *Rome*, which was then counted essential to that Dignity, I suppose these two last were omitted in our Annals: But this *Brythelm* being not found sufficiently qualified for so great a Charge, he was (as *Osborn* relates) commanded by the King and the whole Nation to retire; whereupon he quietly submitted, and returning again to his former Church, *Dunstan*, now Bishop of *London*, (who also held the See of *Worcester* in Commendam) was by the general Consent of the King and all his Wise Men in the great Council of the Kingdom, elected Archbishop of

of *Canterbury*, for his supposed great Sanctity: Of which the Monks of that Age relate so many Miracles, that it is tedious to read; much more to repeat such stuff; insomuch, that one would admire, (were it not for the extreme Ignorance of that Age) how men could ever hope they should be believed in so short a time after they were supposed to be done.

Such are those of this Bishop's Harp being hung against the Wall, and playing a whole Psalm without any hands touching it; nay, the Monks can tell us, not only the Tune, but the very Words too. Then the stopping of King *Edmund's* Horse, when he was just ready to run down a Precipice, at that King's only pronouncing of *St. Dunstan's* Name to himself. Next, his often driving away the Devil with a Staff, troubling him at Prayers sometimes in the shape of a Fox, sometimes of a Wolf or a Bear. But above all, his taking the Devil by the Nose with a Pair of red hot Tongs; who (being, it seems, an excellent Smith) was once at work in his Forge, when the Devil appeared in the shape of a Handsome Woman, but met with very rough entertainment; for going about to tempt his Chastity, he took his Devilship by the Nose with a Pair of red hot Tongs, till he made him roar. Now if such Grave Authors as *William* of *Malmesbury* are guilty of relating such Fictions, what can we expect from those of less Judgment and Honesty?

But this must be acknowledged, that this Archbishop was a great Propagator of Monks; many Monasteries being either new built or new founded in his time; and the Clerks or Secular Canons of divers Churches being now to be turned out, were put to their choice, either to quit their Habits or their Places; most of whom rather chose the former, and so gave place to those who being of *William* of *Malmesbury's* own Order, our Author calls their *Betters*.

Archbishop *Dunstan* also exercised Ecclesiastical Discipline, without respect of persons, imposing upon King *Edgar* himself a Seven Years Penance, part of which was, to forbear wearing his Crown during all that time; and this was for taking a Nun out of a Cloyster at *Wilton*, and then debauching her. From all which we may observe, how necessary it was in those days for a Prince's Quiet as well as Reputation, to be blindly obedient to that which was then called the Church-Discipline; since King *Edwin* having to do but with one Woman whom they did not like, is branded as one excessively given to Women; whilst King *Edgar*, who gave many more Instances of his Failings in this kind, is reckon'd for a Saint. But as for this Nun, whom they call *Wilfride*, *William* of *Malmesbury* tells us, that tho she were bred in that Monastery, yet was she not then professed, but took upon her the Veil, only to avoid the King's Lust, which yet, it seems, could not secure her from it; for he begot on her that beautiful Lady *Editha*, who became also a Nun in the same Monastery of *Wilton*, where her Mother had been professed before; and of which this Young and Virtuous Lady being made Abbess, died in the flower of her Age, as *William* of *Malmesbury* informs us.

The same Year also, according to the *Welsh* Chronicle, *North Wales* was sorely harass'd by the Forces of King *Edgar*: The Cause of which War, was the Non-Payment of the Tribute due from the King of *Aberfron* to the King of *London*: But in the end, as *John Beaver* informs

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us, a Peace was concluded on this condition, That King *Edgar* hearing the great Mischief which both *England* and *Wales* then received by the vast multitude of Wolves which then abounded, especially in *Wales*, released the Tribute in Money, which the King of *North-Wales* was hitherto obliged to pay, and instead thereof engaged the Prince of *Wales* to send him a Yearly Tribute of so many Wolves Heads, in lieu of that Tribute; which the said Prince performed, till within some Years, there being no more Wolves to be found either in *England* or *Wales*, that Tribute ceased.

But to proceed with our Annals: 'This Year deceased *Ælfgar*, Cousin to the King, (and Earl also of *Devonshire*) whose Body lies buried at *Wilton*. *Sigeferth* likewise (here called a King, though he was indeed no more than Vice-King, or Earl of some Province) now made himself away, and was buried at *Winborne*. The same Year was a great Mortality of Men, and a very Malignant Feaver raged at *London*: Also the Church of *St. Pauls* (at *London*) was this Year burnt; and soon after rebuilt; and *Athelmod* the Priest went to *Rome*, and there died.

I have nothing else to add that is remarkable, under this Year, but the Foundation of the Abby of *Tavistock*, by *Ordgar* Earl of *Devonshire*, afterwards Father-in-law to King *Edgar*; though it was within less than fifty years after its foundation burnt down by the *Danes* in the Reign of King *Ethelred*; but was afterwards rebuilt more stately than before.

'This Year *Wolffstan* the Deacon deceased, and afterwards *Gyril* the Priest. These, I suppose, were some men of remarkable Sanctity, in that Monastery, to which this Copy of these Annals did once belong.

'The same Year also, Abbot *Athelwald* received the Bishoprick of *Winchester*, and was consecrated on a Sunday, being the *Vigil* of *St. Andrew*: The second year after his Consecration, he repaired divers Monasteries, and drove the Clerks (*i. e.* Canons) from that Bishoprick, because they would observe no Rule; and placed Monks in their stead. He also founded two Abbies, the one of Monks, and the other of Nuns; and afterwards going to King *Edgar*, he desired him to bestow upon him all the Monasteries the *Danes* had before destroyed, because he intended to rebuild them; which the King willingly granted: Then the Bishop went to *Elig*, where *St. Etheldrith* lieth buried, and caused that Monastery to be rebuilt, and then gave it to the care of one of his Monks, named *Brightnoth*, and afterwards made him Abbot of the Monks of that Monastery, where there had been Nuns before: Then Bishop *Athelwald* went to the Monastery which is called *Medeshamstead*, which had also been destroyed by the *Danes*; where he found nothing but old Walls, with Trees and Bushes growing among them; but at last he spied hidden in one of these Walls, that Charter which Abbot *Headda* had formerly wrote; in which it appeared, that King *Wulfher*, and *Ethelred* his Brother, had founded this Monastery; and that the King with the Bishop had freed it from all secular servitude; and Pope *Agatho* had confirmed it by his Bull, as also the Archbishop *Deus Dedit*.

Which Charter, I suppose, is that, the Substance of which is already recited in the Fourth Book, *Anno* 656. and which I have there proved to be forged; for the Monks had then a very fair opportunity to forge

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forge that Charter, and afterwards to pretend they found it in an old Wall: But letting that pass, thus much is certain from the *Peterburgh* Copy of these Annals, 'That the said Bishop then caused this Monastery to be rebuilt, placing a new Set of Monks therein; over whom he appointed an Abbot called *Aldulf*: Then went the Bishop to the King, and shewed him the Charter he had lately found; whereby he not only obtained a new Charter of Confirmation of all the Lands and Privileges formerly granted by the *Mercian* Kings, but also many other Townships and Lands there recited; as particularly *Undale*, with the Hundred adjoining, in *Northamptonshire*, which had formerly been a Monastery of it self, as may be observed in the account we have already given of the Life of the Archbishop *Wilfrid*.

'The King likewise granted, That the Lands belonging to that Monastery, should be a distinct Shire, having *Sac* and *Soc*, *Tol* and *Team*, and *Infangentheof*, (* which terms I shall explain in another place); the King there also grants them a Market, with the Toll thereof; and that there should be no other Market between *Stamford* and *Huntington*; and to the former of these the King also granted the Abbot a Mint. But as for the Names of the Lands given, together with the Limits and the Tolls of the Market there mentioned, I refer the Reader to the Charter it self. Then follows the Subscription of the King with the Sign of the Cross, and next the Confirmation of the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, with a dreadful Curse on those that should violate it; as also the Confirmation of *Oswald* Archbishop of *York*, *Athelwald* Bishop of *Winchester*, with several other Bishops, Abbots, *Ealdormen*, and *Wifemen*, who all confirmed it, and signed it with the Cross: This was done *Anno Dom.* 972. of our Lord's Nativity, and in the sixteenth year of the King's Reign; which shews this Copy of the Annals to be written divers years after these things were done; as does also more particularly that short History concerning the Affairs of this Abby, and the Succession of its Abbots for many years after this time. As how Abbot *Aldulf* bought many more Lands, wherewith he highly enriched that Monastery, where he continued Abbot, till *Oswald* Archbishop of *York* deceased, and he succeeded him in the Archbishoprick; and then there was another chosen Abbot of the said Monastery, named *Kenulph*, who was afterwards Bishop of *Winchester*; he first built a Wall round the Monastery, and gave it the name of *Burgh*, which was before called *Medeshamested*; but he being sometime after made Bishop of *Winchester*, another Abbot was chosen from the same Abby, called *Ælfi*, who continued Abbot fifty years: He removed the Bodies of *St. Kyneburge*, and *St. Cynesuith*, which lay buried at *Castra*; and *St. Tibba*, which lay entomb'd at *Rehala*, (*i. e.* *Ryal* in *Rutlandshire*) and brought them to *Burgh*, and dedicated them to *St. Peter*, keeping them there as long as he continued Abbot. I have been the more particular in the Account of this so Ancient and Famous Monastery, as having been the Episcopal Sec of the Bishops of *Peterburgh* almost ever since the Dissolution of that Abby in the Reign of King *Henry* the Eighth.

This Year also (according to *Siméon* of *Durham*) King *Edgar* married *Ethelfreda*, the Daughter of *Ordgar* Earl of *Devonshire*, after the Death of her Husband *Ethelwald*, Earl of the *East-Angles*: Of her he begot two Sons, *Edwald* and *Ethelred*, the former of whom died in his Infancy;

* Vid. the Introduction.

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Infancy, but the latter lived to be King of *England*. But before he married this Lady, it is certain he had an Elder Son by *Elfreda*, firnamed *The Fair* Daughter of Earl *Eodmar*; of whom he begot King *Edward*, called the *Martyr*: But whether King *Edgar* was ever lawfully married to her, may also be doubted; since *Osbern*, in his Life of St. *Dunstan*, says, That this Saint baptized the Child begotten on *Ethelfleda* the King's Concubine; with whom also agrees *Nicholas Trevet*, in his Chronicle; though, I confess, the Major part of our Historians do make her to have been his Lawful Wife. And it was upon this Pretence of Illegitimacy, that Queen *Elfreda*, and those of her Party, would have afterwards put by Prince *Edward* her Son, from being chosen King; as shall be further related in its proper place. But *Florence of Worcester*, and *R. Hoveden*, place King *Edgar's* Marriage with this Lady, under the next year.

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This Year King *Edgar* expelled the Priests (or Chanons) both from the old and new Monastery of *Winchester*; as also from *Coertsege*, (or *Cherisy*) and *Middeltune*, and put Monks in their rooms; he also ordained *Ethelgar* Abbot of the new Monastery, and *Ordbryght* Abbot of *Coertsege*, and *Cyneheard* of *Middeltune*. But as soon as *Dunstan* was made Archbishop, he went to *Rome*, and there obtained his Pall of the Pope.

This Year also, the *Irishmen* (according to the *Welsh* Chronicles) landed in *Anglesey*, and destroyed *Aberfraw*, and also slew *Rodoric*, one of the Sons of *Edwal Voel*, late Prince of *Wales*.

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King *Edgar* (according to *R. Hoveden*, and *Simeon of Durham*) placed Nuns in the Monastery of *Rumsey* in *Hampshire*, which his Grandfather King *Edward* had founded, and made his Daughter *Mervina* Abbess over them.

About this time (as *Caradoc's* Chronicle relates) there arose a great Quarrel between the two Brothers, Princes of *North-Wales*, *Jevaf* and *Jago*, who had governed jointly ever since the death of *Howel Dha*, till then; when *Jago* seizing upon his Brother *Jevaf* by force, kept him cruelly in Prison for near six years; about which time also *Eneon* the Son of *Owen*, Prince of *South Wales*, taking advantage of these Civil Diffentions, made War upon *North-Wales*, and subdued all the Country of *Gwyn*: So that it is no wonder if the *English* were too hard for these *British* Princes, since they never could agree amongst themselves.

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King *Edgar* this year commanded all the Country of *Thanet* to be laid waste.

As *Bromton's* Chronicle informs us, the King did not do as an Insulting Enemy, but as a King, who punished one Evil with another, because the Inhabitants of that Island had despised his Royal Laws. But *Matthew Westminster's* account of the reason of the King's severe proceeding with them, seems far more satisfactory; viz. That it was because certain Merchants coming with Goods from *Tork*, and touching upon this Island, the Inhabitants seized the men, and plunder'd them of what they brought.

This Year also, (according to the History of the Abby of *Ramsay*) *Aybin* the *Ealdorman*, by the persuasion of *Oswald* Archbishop of *Tork*, and with the consent of King *Edgar*, founded the Abby of *Ramsay*, to the Honour of St. *Mary* and St. *Benedict*, as appears by the Charter of King

King *Edgar*, which you will find at large in * *Monast. Anglican.* Also King *Edgar*, at the persuasion of Bishop *Athelwald*, now caused the Chanons to be driven out of all the greater Monasteries in *Mercia*, and Monks to be put in their places.

This Year Archbishop *Oskitel* deceased, who was first consecrated Bishop of *Dorchester*, and afterwards by the consent of King *Edward* and all his *Wife-Men*, consecrated Archbishop of *Tork*. He was Two and twenty years Bishop, and deceased on the Vigils of *All-Saints*, at *Thame*; but *Thurkytel* being his Kinsman, carried the Bishop's Body to *Bedford*, because he was Abbot there at that time.

But there is certainly a mistake in the King's Name; and instead of *Edward*, it should be *Edred*; for King *Edward* the Elder was dead long before this Bishop's Consecration.

Eadmund Etheling, Son to King *Edgar*, died this year, whose Body lies buried at *Rumseig*, i.e. *Rumsey* in *Hampshire*.

Oskytel Archbishop of *Tork* deceasing, his Kinsman *Oswald*, Bishop of *Worcester* succeeded him, (as *Florence of Worcester* relates.)

About this time also, *Godfred*, the Son of *Harold* the *Dane*, subdued the whole Isle of *Anglesey*; which yet he enjoyed not long.

This year, *Edgar*, Ruler of the *English*, was with great Honour crowned King, in the Ancient City called *Akmancester*, which the Inhabitants called *Bathan*; so that there was great Joy among all men that happy Day, being that which is commonly called *Pentecost*; where was a frequent Assembly of Priests and Monks, as also a great Council of the *Wites*, or *Wisemen*. This happen'd in the Thousandth Year of Christ, wanting but 27; and in the Thirtieth Year of this King's Age.

Also about this time, (according to *Caradoc's* Chronicle) *Howel* the Son of *Jevaf*, having raised great Forces against his Uncle *Jago* above-mentioned, to deliver his Father out of Prison, and having vanquish'd his Uncle, and driven him out of the Country, restor'd his Father to his Liberty, though not to his Dominion; for he took upon himself the sole Government of all *North Wales*.

But Mr. *Vaughan*, in his Additional Notes to this Chronicle, farther relates from some other *Welsh* Annals, That *Jago* being thus expelled, fled to King *Edgar*, and prevailed so far, that he brought an Army into *North Wales*, to restore him; but coming as far as *Bangor*, *Howel* met him, and at the King's request consented that his Uncle *Jago* should enjoy that part of the Country which he had in his Father *Jevaf's* time; so King *Edgar* having founded a new Church at *Bangor*, and dedicated it to the Virgin *Mary*, returned with great Honour to *Chester*, having these two *Welsh* Princes in his Company; where also met him by his appointment, Six other Princes; as shall be farther related by and by.

It hath been much questioned, what should be the reason that this King should thus long defer his Coronation: Some of the Monks impute it to the Penance imposed upon him by Archbishop *Dunstan*, for debauching the Nun above mentioned; but that is not at all likely, since that Penance was but for Seven Years, whereas he had now reigned twice as long since that Sin was committed. But I do rather suppose, that he was Crowned long before, in the very beginning of his Reign, though our *Monkish* Chroniclers have either forgot to mention it, or else have omitted it on purpose, to add the greater Lustre to Archbishop

Dunstan:

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Dunstan: For it is very certain, that neither in this King's time, nor long after the Conquest, was it ever known, that the King Elect took the Title of King, till after his Coronation.

Now that our Kings did upon some great occasion repeat the Ceremony of their Coronation, I shall prove from the Examples both of King *Ethelred*, as well as of King *Richard* the First, and *Henry* the Third; and why it might not be so in the Reign of this King, as well as in either of them, I can see no reason; though the occasion of it is not any where expressed, as I know of.

But to return to our Annals: 'After this the King sail'd with all his Fleet to *Legancester*, (i. e. *West-Chester*) where met him Six Kings, who all making a League with him, promised to be his Assistants both by Sea and Land.

And now we have spoke of this King's Fleet, it is fit we give a larger Relation of it, as also of these Princes that here met him, from *William* of *Malmesbury*, *Florence* of *Worcester*, and other Authors, who increase their Number to Eight Thousand; which being so glorious for our Nation, I shall here set down at large.

This King was the first who was truly Lord of our Seas; for every Summer (saith *William* of *Malmesbury*) immediately after *Easter*, commanding his Ships from every Shore to be brought into one collected Body, he sail'd usually with the *Eastern Fleet* to the *Western* part of the Island; and then sending it back, sail'd with the *Western Fleet* unto the *Northern*; and thence with the *Northern* he returned to the *Eastern* Coasts; sailing in this manner quite round the Island; being exceeding diligent to prevent the Incursions of Pyrates, and courageous in the defence of his Kingdom against Foreigners, and diligent in the training up of himself and his People for Military Employments.

Each of these Fleets (as we are told) consisted of One thousand and two hundred Ships, and these also very stout ones for those times: So that the number of all must have amounted to Three thousand and six hundred Sail, as some of our Authors expressly relate, but others, Four thousand Vessels; and there are some also that add to these Three, a Fourth Fleet; by which means the Number will be increased to Four thousand and eight hundred Sail; as may be seen in *Mathew Westminster*. To sustain which Charge, besides the private Contributions of his Subjects, he had also (in the latter end of his Reign) Six Petty Kings under him, who were bound by Oath to be ready at his Command, to serve him both by Sea and Land; which Oath they took at *Chester*, (as the Annals relate) where he had given them order to meet him, as he sail'd about the *North* of *Britain* with a great Navy. Their Names are, *Kened* or *Kineth*, King of the *Scots*; *Malcolm* King of *Cumberland*, (who at this time, it seems, were so called, though, as we said, the *Cumbrians* had now thrown off that Title, and taken that of Earls); *Macuse*, Lord of the *Isles*; with five Princes of *Wales*, the Names of whom were, *Dufnal*, *Griffyth*, *Hunald*, *Jacob*, and *Judethil*; who all meeting him at his Court at *Chester*, to set forth the Splendor and Greatness of his Dominion, one day he went into a Galley, and caused himself to be rowed by these Petty Princes, he himself holding the Stern, and steering the Vessel along the River *Dee*, was waited on by all his Nobles in another Barge; so he sail'd to the Monastery of *St. John Baptist*; where an Oration being made to him, in the same State and

Pomp

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Pomp he returned to his Palace: Where when he arrived, he is said to have told his Nobles about him, That then his Successors might boast themselves to be truly Kings of *England*, when they should be (like him) attended by so many Princes his Vassals; as *Florence* of *Worcester*, and *William* of *Malmesbury* relate it. As for these Petty Kings above-mentioned, *Macuse*, by the said *Florence*, *Matthew* of *Westminster*, and *R. Hoveden*, is called a King of *Man*, and many other Islands; but *William* of *Malmesbury* styles him an Arch-pirate; by which word a Robber is not to be understood, but (as *Affer*, and others of that Age use that Appellation) one skilled in Sea Affairs, or a Seaman; so called from *Pira*, which in the *Attique* Tongue, signifies a Craft or Art; but afterward it came to be applicable only to such as without any Right infested the Seas.

Another of the Kings, and that of *Wales*, was *Hunual* or *Hewal*, who tho he be not placed the first in order, yet if we follow the account of some Authors, must have been the chief of them all, the Prince to whom all the rest performed Obedience: The Book of *Landaff* bids us take notice, that at the same time with *Edgar* lived *Howel Dha*, and *Morgan Flen*, (which two yet were the Subjects of King *Edgar*.) But in this, either that Author, or the Chronicle of *Caradoc* must be mistaken, who places the Death of *Howel Dha* under the year 948: And therefore it is more likely that the *Howel* here mentioned, was not *Howel Dha*, but *Howel* the Son of *Jewaf*, who had the year before expell'd his Uncle, and taken upon himself the Principality of *Wales*, notwithstanding his Father was then alive.

But as for all the rest of these *Welsh* Princes, I do not know how to make them out from their Chronicles, (which give no account of this Action); only I take *Dufnal* to be the Son of *Howel Dha*, and as *Matthew* of *Westminster* says, was then Prince of *South-Wales*. As for *Jacob* and *Judethil*, I suppose they must have been the same with *Jewaf* and *Jago*, as they are called in the *Welsh* Chronicles: But as for this Prince *Griffith*, I can find none such among any of the *Welsh* Princes ruling at that time. But to return to our Annals.

'This year *Eadgar* King of the *English*, changed this frail Life, for another more Glorious, on the 18th. day of *July*: But his Body was buried with great Solemnity at the Abby of *Glastenbury*, to which he himself had been a great Benefactor; as appears by his Charter, recited at large by *William* of *Malmesbury* in his Treatise of the Antiquity of that Monastery; in which Charter he also styles himself, *Totius Britannie Basileus*, i. e. King of all *Britain*.

But since our Historians are so very large and full in their Commendations of this Prince, as that he was most Religious, Valiant, and Wise, and exceeded all his Predecessors (except King *Alfred*, and King *Athelstan*) it will not, I hope, be amiss to shew you how partial these Monks were to the Memory of this Prince; who though they will needs have to be a Saint, because he either built or repaired so many Monasteries, yet was certainly (if the same *Monkish* Writers are to be believed) guilty of as great Excesses of Lust and Cruelty, as any of his Predecessors; for *William* of *Malmesbury* tells us, that *Ordgar* Duke of *Devonshire* had a Daughter named *Elfreda*, fam'd for an extraordinary Beauty, which caus'd the King to have great Inclinations for her, upon the bare Report made of her to him; but to be more certain, he sent a

B

Knight

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Knight called *Athelwold*, his Confident to see her, resolving to marry her, if she were found to be so handsome as she was reported. *Athelwold* made haste, and got a sight of her, wherewith he was so smitten, that he concealed the Errand on which he came, and resolved to obtain her for himself; which being easily done, he lessened her to the King, as a Woman but very ordinary, and of so small a Stature, as would misbecome his Royal Bed; so that he married her with the King's consent, whose Thoughts were now diverted to other Objects: But at last, the Earl's Enemies discovered the Intrigue, and told the King how he had deceived him; and whom the more to enrage, they omitted no words whereby to set out and enhance the extraordinary Beauty of the Lady: Upon which, the King concealed his Anger, but was resolved by another Stratagem to over-reach him. And the better to effect what he intended, he one day told him pleasantly, that at such a time he would come and see whether his Wife was so fair as she was represented to be. This unexpected Surprize so exceedingly struck him, that he earnestly begg'd of her to consult his Preservation, by putting on her worst Cloaths, and deforming her self by what other means she thought best; for she had now perceived, that instead of a King she had married a Subject, though an Earl; which raised such a Female Indignation in her, that against the coming of King *Edgar* she dressed her self in the most Gay and Charming manner her Pride and Resentment to be thus cheated, could devise; which had such powerful effects upon him, that, his Love being so much the more inflamed, as it had been so long defrauded, he for a Blind appointed a day of hunting in the Forest called *Warewell*, (now *Harwood* Forest) and there slew *Athelwold* with a Dart. The Earl's Son coming by when the Fact was just committed, and looking upon his Father's dead Body, the King asked him, How he liked this *Game*? To which he answered, That whatsoever pleased the King, ought not to displease him: With which flattering Reply, the King's angry Mind was so appeased, that he ever after highly favoured the Youth; and expiated the Crime committed upon the Father, by the great kindness he shewed to the Son. But an Ancient Manuscript called *Erutus* (now in the Archbishop's Library at *Lambeth*) relates the latter end of this Story somewhat more for King *Edgar*'s Reputation; which since I meet with no where else, I shall here give you: It is, That King *Edgar*, not long after, sending this *Athelwold* (now made an Earl) to secure the Coast of *Northumberland* against the *Danes*, then like to invade it, as he was in his way thither he was set upon by certain unknown Soldiers, who there slew him, but whether by the King's Order, or no, is not said. As soon as the Earl was dead, the King made Love to his fair Widow, and marrying her, caused her to be crowned Queen, though it much displeased Archbishop *Dunstan*, who could never after this endure her: But *William* of *Malmesbury* adds, that to expiate the Murder of her first Husband, she built a Nunnery in the place where he was slain.

Another thing laid to his charge, and which shews him to have been more constant in his Love, than could be expected from a Young Prince, so universally addicted as he was to the Fair Sex, of which you have several Instances in Story; one of them here shall suffice. It seems, coming one time to *Andover*, (a Town not far from *Winchester*) he would have had the enjoyment of a certain Ealdorman's Daughter, mightily

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mightily celebrated for her Beauty, and commanded her to be brought to his Bed: The Mother of the Virgin not daring flatly to deny, yet abhorring to be a Bawd to her own Daughter, resolved to put a Trick on him by the favour of the Night, and so sent a Waiting-Maid she had, in her room, one that was Handsome enough, and not Unwitty, as she quickly made to appear; for as soon as it was morning she offering to get up, the King asked her, Why she would make such haste from him? She replied, she could no longer have the Happiness of his Company, because her Lady had set her some Work to do. He starting at this, wonder'd what she meant (for he did not in the least question, but that his Bedfellow had been the Earl's real Daughter); she then most passionately besought him to set her free from the hard and cruel Service of her Lady, as a Reward for her lost Virginity: But the King being confounded at his disappointment, was for some time divided between Compassion for the poor Maid, and Anger at his being thus abused; but at last he put it off with a Jest, and setting her free, carried her along with him, and loved her to that degree, that he kept himself to her alone, until such time as he married *Elfreda* above-mentioned.

These were the Stories commonly told in those days of King *Edgar*, and of which more noise had been made by the Monks, if he had not built so many Monasteries, which stopp'd their mouths from saying much ill of one so devoted to their Order, and who perhaps admired Chastity in others, though he could not practise it himself.

But it's certain *England* highly flourished under his Government, being a Man so truly answering *Homer*'s Description of a King, that not only secured his people from Foreign Enemies, but Savage Beasts, by laying a Yearly Tribute of Three hundred Wolves' Heads on the Prince of *Wales*, as hath been already related.

What his Employment was in Summer, we have already seen; in Winter he hunted, but in the Spring he usually rode a kind of Circuit round the Kingdom, to administer Justice to his People, and take care that his Officers did the like. He was small of Stature, and Slender, yet of such mighty Courage and Strength, that he would challenge the most Robust to wrestle with him, forbidding them to spare him out of respect to his Person.

It happen'd one time, that *Kened* King of the *Scots*, came to his Court, to whom (as *Matthew Westminster* relates) he gave Rich Presents, with the whole Countrey of *Lothian*, on condition that he and his Successors at his Festivals should come and attend on the Kings of *England* when they sat Crowned; besides, he assign'd certain Lodgings for them by the way, which to ease them in their Journey, were till the time of King *Henry* the Second, held by the Kings of *Scotland*.

This *Kened*, as he once sat at his Cups with his Courtiers, said jestingly to them, It was very strange that so many Provinces should obey such a Little, Contemptible Figure of a Man, as this *Edgar* was. These Words soon reach'd the King's ears; upon which he presently sends for *Kened*, and as if he had a mind to consult him about some Important Affair, carries him into a Wood, where none being present besides themselves, he delivers into his hands one of the two Swords he had brought along with him, and then tells him, That as they were now alone, so they had a very good opportunity to try their Strength and Skill; and therefore he was resolved to have it forthwith

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determined which of them ought to Rule, and which to Obey, commanding him not to stir a foot, but decide the Controversy with him; for it was a base and pitiful thing for a King to vapour loud at a Feast, and not to be as forward to shew his Courage at a Fray. *Kened* being struck out of countenance at these words, fell down at his feet, and earnestly begged his Pardon for what he had spoken in Jest, without any design of Malice in the least. Upon which the King being as Generous as he was Courageous, freely forgave him.

But though this King *Edgar* was certainly a very Great and Heroick Prince, yet questionless that Charter which makes him to have subdued the greatest part of *Ireland*, with the City of *Dublin*, and to be Lord of all the Isles as far as *Norway*, is fictitious, and nothing but a piece of Monkish Forgery, no Author of that Age making mention of any such thing; and instead of a Great Warrior, he is usually stiled *Edgar* the Peaccable; for he never made any Foreign Wars, that we can learn. However, such was his mighty Fame, that if he did not go himself to Foreigners, they came to him, out of *Saxony*, *Flanders*, *Denmark*, and other places: Though *William* of *Malmesbury* observes, their coming over did much detriment to the Natives; who from the *Saxons*, learned Rudeness; from the *Flemings*, Effeminacy; and from the *Danes*, Drunkenness; the *English* being before free from those gross Vices, and contented themselves to defend their own with a natural Simplicity, and not given to admire the Customs and Fashions of other Nations: Hereupon the Monk tells us he is deservedly blamed in Story for his too great Indulgence to Strangers.

This Noble Prince died when he had Reigned about Sixteen Years, in the very flower of his Age, being scarce Two and thirty years old, and with him fell all the Glory of the *English* Nation; scarce any thing henceforth being to be heard of among them, but Misery and Disorder.

He had by *Egelfleda*, surnamed the Fair, the Daughter of Earl *Ordmer*, (it's uncertain whether his Wife or Concubine) a Son named *Edward*, who succeeded him: By *Wilfrida* the Nun he had a Daughter named *Editba*, who was also a Nun, as hath been already related: And by *Elfreda* the Daughter of Duke *Ordgar*, a Son called *Edmund*, who died five years before his Father; and another, called *Ethelrede*, who reigned after him; but was wholly unlike him in Prudence and Courage.

I have nothing else to add that is considerable, under this year, but the death of the Noble *Turketule*, Abbot of *Croyland*, who from Chancellor to King *Edred*, was (at his own desire) by him made Abbot. He repaired and much enriched that Abby, after its being ruined by the *Danes*; and was the first that by adding to the Two Great Bells of that Monastery, Six more, made the first Tuneable Ring of Bells in *England*; as *Ingulph* at the end of the account he gives of his Life, informs us.

But before I dismiss this King's Reign, it is fit I give you a short account of the chief Laws he made; which since neither the time nor place of their enacting are any where mention'd, I refer to this place.

The Preface to these Laws is thus; 'This is the Decree or Law which King *Edgar* made, with the counsel (or consent) of his *Wives* or *Wisemen*, for the Honour of God, the Confirmation of his Royal Dignity, and for the Good of his People.

The

'The Laws themselves begin with some Ecclesiastical Canons, the first of which is concerning the Immunities of the Church, and about paying Tythes out of the Lands of the *Thanes*, as well as of those of *Georles*, or Countrey-men.

'The Second is concerning payment of Tythes and First fruits, as well where a *Thane* had a Church with a Burying-place, as also where he had not.

'The Third appoints the times the Tythes should be paid at; and what Remedy was to be had, in case they were not paid at the time when they were due.

'The Fourth ordains at what time of the year *Peter pence* should be paid; and the Penalty that should be incurred by those that should neglect to pay them in accordingly.

'The last ordains every *Sunday* to be kept holy, and to begin at Three a Clock in the Afternoon on *Saturday*, and to end at break of day on *Monday*, upon the penalty appointed by the Judiciary Book.

From which last Law you may observe, how early keeping the *Sunday* like the *Jewish* Sabbath, began in *England*.

Then follow the Secular, or Temporal Laws.

'The First of which enjoins, that every man poor or rich enjoy the benefit of the Law, and have equal Justice done him; and for Punishments he would have them so moderated, that being accommodated to the Divine Clemency, they may be the more tolerable unto men.

'The Second forbids Appeals to the King in Suits, except Justice cannot otherwise be obtained. And if a man be oppressed he may betake himself to the King for relief; and in case a Pecuniary Mulct be inflicted for a fault, it must not exceed the value of the man's head.

'The Third imposes a Mulct of an Hundred and twenty Shillings to the King, upon a Judge that passes an unjust Sentence against any man, except such Judge will take his Oath that he did it not out of any malice, but only from Unskilfulness, and Mistake in Judgment; and in such case he is to be removed from his Place, except he can obtain favour of the King longer to retain it; and then the Bishop of the Diocese is to send the Mulct imposed upon him to the King's Treasure.

'The Fourth commands, That whosoever maliciously shall defame another man, whereby he receives any damage either in his Body or Estate, so that the defam'd Party can clear himself of those Reports, and prove them false, then the Defamer's Tongue shall either be cut out, or he shall redeem it with the value of his Head.

'The Fifth is to the same effect as in another Law we have formerly cited, commanding every one to be present at the *Gemote*, or Assembly of the Hundred; and further ordains, That the *Burghmotes*, or Assemblies of the great Towns or Cities, be held thrice a year, and the *Shiregemotes*, or general Meeting of the whole County twice, whereat were to be present the Bishop and the Ealdormen, the one to teach the people God's Law, and the other Man's.

From whence you may observe the Antiquity of our Charges at our Assizes and Sessions, which no doubt do succeed those Discourses which the Ealdorman and Bishop then made to the people upon the subjects above-mentioned.

'The

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From whence we may gather, that fines at this time were not Arbitrary, nor could be set above a known constant Rate; such as a man, according to his Equality, was able to pay, without the loss of his Life or Liberty.

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'The Sixth requires, that every man find Sureties for his Good Behaviour; and in case any one commit a Crime, and fly for it, the Sureties should undergo what should be laid upon him. If he stole any thing, and be taken within a Twelvemonth, he should be brought to Justice, and then the Sureties should receive back what they had paid on his account.

Hence we may also take notice, not only of the Antiquity of *Frank-Pledges*, which had been long before instituted by King *Alfred*, but also the continuation of this Law by King *Edgar*; from whence it appears, that it was no *Norman* invention, introduced to keep under the *English* Commonalty, as some men have without any just cause imagined.

'The Seventh ordains, That when any one of evil report is again accused of a Crime, and absents himself from the *Gemotes*, or publick Meetings, some of the Court shall go where he dwells, and take Sureties for his Appearance, if they may be had; but if they cannot get them, then they should take him alive or dead, and seize on all his Estate; whereof the Complaining Party having received such a share as should satisfy him, the one half of the remainder shall go to the Lord of the Soil, and the other half to the Hundred: And if any of that Court (being either akin to the Party, or a stranger to his Blood) refuse to go to put this in execution, he should forfeit 120 shillings to the King: And farther, That such as are taken in the very act of stealing, or betraying their Masters, should not be pardoned during life.

'The Eighth and last ordains, That one and the same Money should be current throughout the King's Dominions, which no man must refuse; and that the measure of *Winchester* should be the Standard; and that a *W'eigh* of Wool should be sold for half a Pound of Money, and no more. The former of these is the first Law whereby the Private Mints to the Archbishops and several Abbots being forbid, the King's Coin was only to pass.

But to return to our Annals: 'Ten days before the Death of King *Edgar*, Bishop *Cyneward* departed this life.

King

King EDWARD, surnamed the Martyr.

KING *Edgar* being dead, (as you have now heard) Prince *Edward* succeeded his Father, though not without some difficulty, for (as *William of Malmesbury*, and *R. Hoveden* relate) the Great Men of the Kingdom were then divided, Archbishop *Dunstan*, and all the rest of the Bishops, being for Prince *Edward*, the Eldest Son of King *Edgar*; whilst Queen *Ælfreda*, Widow to the King, and many of her Faction, were for setting up her Son *Ethelred*, being then about Seven Years of Age, that so she might govern under his Name: But besides, the pretence was, (which how well they made out, I know not) That King *Edgar* had never been lawfully married to Prince *Edward's* Mother. Whereupon the Archbishops, *Dunstan* and *Oswald*, with the Bishops, Abbots, and many of the Ealdormen of the Kingdom, met together in a Great Council, and chose Prince *Edward* King, as his Father before his Death had ordained; and being thus *Elected*, they presently Anointed him, being then but a Youth of about Fifteen Years of Age.

But it seems, not long after the Death of King *Edgar*, though before the Coronation of King *Edward*, *Roger Hoveden*, and *Simcon of Durham*, tell us, that *Elfer* Earl of the *Mercians*, being lustily bribed by large Presents, drove the Abbots and Monks out of the Monasteries, in which they had been settled by King *Edgar*, and in their places brought in the *Clerks* (i.e. Secular Chanons) with their Wives; but *Ethelwin*, Ealdorman of the *East-Angles*, and his Brother *Elfwold*, and Earl *Brythnoth*, opposed it; and being in the Common Council or Synod, plainly said, They would never endure that the Monks should be cast out of the Kingdom, who contributed so much to the Maintenance of Religion; and for rising an Army, they bravely defended the Monasteries of the *East-Angles*: So it seems that during this *Interregnum*, arose this Civil War about the Monks, and the above-mentioned Disfention amongst the Nobility, concerning the Election of a new King.

But this serves to explain that Passage in our Annals, which would have been otherwise very obscure; viz. 'That then there was (viz. upon the Death of King *Edgar*) great Grief and trouble in *Mercia*, among those that loved God, because many of his Servants, (that is, the Monks) were turned out, till God being slighted, shewed Miracles on their behalf; and that then also Duke *Oslack* was unjustly banished beyond the Seas; a Nobleman, who for his Long Head of Hair, but more for his Wisdom, was very remarkable: And that then also strange Prodigies were seen in the Heavens, such as *Astrologers* call *Comets*; and as a Punishment from God upon this Nation, there followed a great Famine.

Which shews this Copy of the Annals was written about this very time: And then the Author concludes with *Ælfer* the Ealdorman's commanding many Monasteries to be spoiled, which King *Edgar* had

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'commanded Bishop *Athelwold* to repair. All which being in the *Cottonian* Copy, serves to explain what has been already related. But the next year

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'Was the great Famine in *England*, as just now mentioned. About the same time, (according to *Caradoc's* Chronicle) *Ancon*, the Son of *Owen* Prince of *South Wales*, destroyed the Land of *Gnyr* the second time.

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This year, after *Easter*, was that great Synod at *Kjrtlington*, which *Florence* of *Worcester*, and *R. Hoveden*, call *Kyrleing*; but where that place was is very uncertain; *Florence* places it in *East-England*, but *Sir H. Spelman* acknowledges, that he does not know any place in those parts, that ever bore that name, but supposes it to have been the same with *Carlage*, (now the Seat of the Lord *North*): But had not *Florence* placed it in *East-England*, that Town whose name comes nearest to it, is *Kjrtlington* in *Oxfordshire*; which is also the more confirmed by that which follows in these Annals, viz. That *Sydean* the Bishop of *Devonshire* (i. e. of *Wells*) died here suddenly, who desired his Body might be buried at *Krydeanton*, his Episcopal See; but King *Edward* and Archbishop *Dunstan* order'd it to be carried to *St. Maries* in *Abingdon*, where he was honourably Interr'd in the *North* Isle of *St. Paul's* Church: Therefore it is highly probable, that the place where this Bishop died, was not far from *Abingdon*, where he was buried, as *Kjrtlington* indeed is: But what was done in this Council can we no where find; only it is to be supposed that it was concerning this great Difference between the Monks and the Secular Chanons, as the former Council was.

The same year also were great Commotions in *Wales*; for *Howel* ap *Jewaf* Prince of *North-Wales*, with a great Army both of *Welsh* and *Englishmen*, made War upon all who defended or succoured his Uncle *Jago*, and spoiled the Countries of *Llyn*, *Kelynnoc*, *Vawr*; so that *Jago* was shortly after taken Prisoner by Prince *Howel's* men, who after that enjoyed his part of the Countrey in peace.

Nor can I here omit what some of our *Monkish* Writers, and particularly *John Pike* in his compendious Supplement of the Kings of *England*, (now in Manuscript in the * *Cottonian* Library) relates, That there being this year a Great Council held at *Winchester* again to debate this great Affair concerning the turning out of the Monks, and restoring the Secular Chanons, and it being like to be carried in their favour, a Crucifix which then stood in the room, spoke thus, *God forbid it should be so*; This amazing them, they resolved to leave the Monks in the condition they then were. But whether these words were ever spoke at all, or if they were, whether it might not be by some person that stood unseen behind the Crucifix, I shall leave to the Reader to determine as he pleases.

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'Next year all the Grave and Wise Men of the *English* Nation being met about the same Affair, at *Calne* (in *Wiltshire*) fell down together from a certain Upper Room, (where they were assembled in Council) unless it were *St. Dunstan* the Archbishop, who fixed his foot upon a certain Beam; but some were sadly bruised and hurt, whilst others were killed outright.

But since *William* of *Malmesbury* hath given us a larger account of this Council, and what was done in it, I shall give it you in his words:
But

But mens minds being not yet settled, another Council was summoned at *Calne* in *Wiltshire*, (but the King was absent by reason of his Youth) where the same Affair was again debated with great Heat and Contention: But when many Reproaches were cast upon Archbishop *Dunstan*, that Bulwark of the Church, who could by no means be shaken, upon a sudden the Floor of the Chamber fell down, all there present being very much bruised, except *Dunstan*, who escaped upon a Beam; all the rest being either hurt or killed. This Miracle, says he, obtained quiet for the Archbishop and all the Monks of *England*, who were for ever after of his opinion.

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This Accident is also related by *Mat. Westminster*, and copied by Cardinal *Baronius* into his Annals, and is likewise mentioned by other Authors. But it is very probable, that this Misfortune did not happen without the fore-knowledge (if not the Contrivance) of Archbishop *Dunstan*, since he had now persuaded the King not to be there, though he was present at the last Council. But *H. Huntington* would have it be a sign from Heaven, that they should fall from God's love, and be oppress'd by Foreign Nations; as followed not long after.

And (according to *Florence* of *Worcester*) there was a Third Synod at *Ambresbury*; but what was done there, he does not tell us.

But to return to our Annals; 'The same year King *Edward* was killed at *Corfegeate*, now *Corfe-Castle* in the Isle of *Purbeck*, on the 15th of the Kalends of *April*, and was buried at *Werham*, without any Royal Pomp. There was not since the time that the *English* Nation came into *Britain*, any thing done more wickedly than this: But though men murdered him, yet God exalted him; and he that was an Earthly King, is now a Saint in Heaven; and though his Relations would not revenge his Death, yet God perform'd it severely. The rest to the same effect in these Annals I omit, because I would not be tedious. But I shall give you a more particular account of the manner of this Prince's Death, from *William* of *Malmesbury*, and the Chronicle called *Bromton's*; the former of which relates it thus; That as for King *Edward*, he was of so extraordinary Religious and Mild a Nature, that for quietness sake, he let his Mother-in-Law order all things as she pleased, giving her all Respects, as to his own Mother, and regarding his Younger Brother with all the tenderness imaginable: She on the contrary, from his Kindness and Love, conceives greater and more implacable Malice against him; and with the Sovereignty she already enjoyed, was so ill satisfied, that she must needs take from him the very Title also: This Design she covered with notable dissimulation, till a convenient opportunity presented it self for the execution of it: At length the poor Innocent Prince being one day wearied with hunting, and being very thirsty, (while his Companions followed the Game, and minded not what became of him) knowing that the Queen's House was not far off, rode thither all alone, fearing nothing, because of his own Innocence, and supposing every one meant as honestly as himself.

Whereupon the Queen receives him with all the seeming kindness imaginable, and fain would have had him to light from his Horse, but he refusing that, and only asking to see his Brother, she caused some Drink to be presently brought him; but whilst the Cup was at his mouth, one of her Servants, privately before instructed, stabbed him

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with a Dagger in the Back. He, exceedingly astonished at this unexpected ill treatment, clapp'd Spurs to his Horse, and fled away as fast as he could towards his Company; but the Wound being Mortal, and he spent with loss of blood, fell to the ground, and having one foot in the Stirrup, was dragged through By-ways; but being trac'd by his Blood by those he sent after him, they brought back the Dead Corps, which they buried privately at *Werham*, where they imagin'd they had also buried his Memory as well as his Body; but the place of his Sepulture (as it's said) soon grew famous for Miracles.

Queen *Elfreda* was upon this so convinced of her Wickedness, that from her Courtly and Delicate Way of Living, she betook her self to very severe Penances, as wearing Hair-cloath, sleeping on the ground without a Pillow, with such other Austerities as were used in that Age; and herein she continued all her life.

So fell this good King *Edward*, after he had only born the Name of King Three years and an half; who for his Innocence, and the Miracles suppos'd to be wrought after his Death, obtained the Sirname of *Martyr*: Which opinion of his Sanctity was the more confirmed by other great Miseries which shortly after beset the Land; which the people did verily believe were inflicted on them for his Murther.

This year (according to *Florence*) a strange Cloud appeared about Midnight all over *England*, being first seen of the Colour of Blood, then of Fire, and then like a Rainbow of divers Colours.

King

King ETHELRED.

Immediately after the unfortunate Murther of King *Edward*, there being no other Male Issue of King *Edgar* left alive, *Ethelred* his Brother was without any difficulty Elected, as the Ancient Annals of *Thorney* Abby, preserved in the * *Cottonian* Library, relate; and was also Crowned King by the Archbishops *Dunstan* and *Oswald*, and ten other Bishops, at *Kingston*, the 8th Kal. May; he being (as *R. Hoveden* describes him) a Youth of a most Comely Aspect, but not being above Twelve Years of Age, *William* of *Malmesbury* gives us this short Character of Him and his Reign: That he rather distressed than governed the Kingdom for Seven and thirty years; that the course of his Life was cruel at the beginning, miserable in the middle, and dishonourable in the conclusion: To Cruelty he attributes the Death of his Brother, which he seem'd to approve of, because he did not punish; he was remarkable for his Cowardice and Laziness; and miserable in respect of his Death. His Sluggishness was predicted by Archbishop *Dunstan*, when at his Christening he superadded his own Water to that of the Font; and thereupon *Mat. Westminster* makes him to swear, *By God and St. Mary*, this Boy will prove a Lazy Fellow: But all this looks like a Monkish Story, invented by those who did not love his Memory; since the same thing, though of somewhat a grosser nature is likewise related of the Emperor *Constantine*, from thence named *Copronymus*.

Yet sure it was no sign of ill nature, if what *William* of *Malmesbury*, and *Bromton's* Chronicle relate, be true, That when he wept at the News of his Brother's Death, it put his Mother into such a violent Passion, that having not a Rod by her, she beat him so unmercifully with a Wax Taper which she then light upon, that he was almost dead; which caus'd in him such an aversion to Wax Lights ever after, that he could never endure any such to be brought before him. But this sounds too Romantick, and therefore I leave it to the Reader's discretion what credit to give it.

But to come to somewhat more certain and material; all Authors agree, that Archbishop *Dunstan* crown'd this King with great reluctance; yet he was forced to do it, as not having any of the Blood Royal fit to set up: But because the Monks will have their St. *Dunstan* to have had the Spirit of Prophecy (like the Prophets in the Old Testament) they relate, that denouncing God's Judgments against this King at his Coronation, he said thus, *Because thou hast aspired to the Kingdom by the Death of thy Brother, thus saith the Lord God, The Sin of thine Ignominious Mother shall not be expiated, neither the Sin of those that were her Counsellors, but by great Bloodshed of thy miserable People; for such Miseries shall come upon England, as it never underwent since it had that name.* But this Doom was very unjust; for it is certain that the King never knew of, nor desired his Brother's Death; and it was very hard to denounce God's Judgments upon the whole Nation, for the Contrivance of one wicked Woman, and which was put in execution by but a few of her Accomplices: So that if the Nation was guilty of any fault,

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it was only in so far conniving at the Crime, as out of fear or partiality, to permit the Authors of it to pass unpunished; and for this the Bishops, they having then so great a sway in the whole Council of the Nation, had as much to answer for, as any of the *Laitie*: but passing by God's Judgments, which are too deep for us to fathom, About this time (as the *Welsh* Chronicles relate) *Custennyn Dhu* (i. e. *Constantine* the Black) Son to Prince *Jago* (then a Prisoner) hired *Godfryd* the *Lane* to bring his men against his Cousin *Howel ap Jevaf*, Prince of *North-Wales*; so joining their Forces together, they destroyed *Anglesey* and *Llyn*: Whereupon Prince *Howel* gathered an Army, and setting upon the *Danes* and *Welshmen* (who assisted them), at a place called *Gwayth Herborth*, routed them, and *Constantine* was slain. I shall now return to our Annals, which under the next year relate, That

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'Archbishop *Dunstan* and *Elfer* the Ealdorman, having taken up the Body of King *Edward*, which lay buried at *Werham*, they carried and buried it at *Sceftesbyrig*, (i. e. *Shaftsbury*) with great Funeral Pomp. The occasion of which Removal by *Elfer*, Earl of the *Mercians* (according to *Bronton's* Chronicle) was that old sign of an *English Saxon* Saint (so often repeated in this History) whether true or false, I shall not affirm; viz. a Column of Light streaming down from Heaven, over the place where his Body lay buried; as also, that when it was taken up out of the Grave, it was as whole and uncorrupt as when it was first buried three years before; whereupon having washed and dressed it in new Cloathes, they buried it with great Solemnity at the Monastery above mentioned, where his Sister *Edith*, the Daughter of King *Edgar* by *Wulfritha* the Nun, was then her self professed. But as for the strange Miracles which are here related to have been done at his Tomb, I willingly omit them. But *William* of *Malmesbury* further adds about this Queen *Elfreda*, That she took upon her the Habit of a Nun at *Werewell*, a Nunnery which she lately founded, and there passed the rest of her days in great Austerities and Devotions: She also about the same time built another Nunnery at *Ambresbury* in *Wiltshire*; this being the usual way to expiate the most horrid Murders in those dark times.

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'This year came seven *Danish* Ships (full of Pyrates) and destroyed *Southampton*; and (as *Florence* adds, though under the year before) plundered the Town, and either killed or carried away the Townsmen Prisoners. *William* of *Malmesbury* also takes notice of this, because they were so much talked of, as being the first that had invaded *England* after above 60 years intermission, and were only the forerunners of many more that follow'd: To which we may also refer that which is added by *Simcon* of *Durham* under the year before, but should be put under this; That the same Fleet also wasted *Tanetland*, (that is, the Isle of *Tanet*); and the same year also the Province of *Chester* was much spoiled by the *Norwegian* Pyrates.

The same year the *Danish* Pyrates landed in *Cornwal*, and burnt the Church and Monastery of *St. Petroc*. Also *Godfryd* the Son of *Harold* the *Dane*, landed with a great Army of his Countrymen in *West-Wales*, where spoiling all the Land of *Dyvet*, with the Church of *St. Davids*, he fought the Battel of *Lhanwanoc*; though who had the Victory, the *Welshmen* or the *Danes*, *Caradoc's* Chronicle (which gives us this relation) does not tell us.

This

This year, according to *R. Hoveden*, Three Ships of these Pyrates landed in *Dorsetshire*, and spoiled the Isle of *Portland*: The same year also the City of *London* was miserably destroyed by Fire.

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About this time also, according to the same Author, *Alfred* an Ealdorman, or *English* Earl, joining (as the *Welsh* Manuscript Annals relate) with *Howel* the Son of *Edwal*, destroyed *Brecknock*, and spoiled a great part of the Lands of *Owen* Prince of *South-Wales*; against whom *Eneon* the Son of the said *Owen*, and *Howel* King of *North-Wales*, raising an Army, met with them, and totally defeated them; so that the greatest part of Earl *Alfred's* Army was slain, and the rest put to flight.

Also about this time the Churches of *Wales* began first to acknowledge the Superiority of the Archbishops of *Canterbury*, *Gacon* Bishop of *Landaffe* being now consecrated by *Dunstan* Archbishop of *Canterbury*.

This year *Elfer* the Ealdorman deceased, and *Elfric* his Son took his Government; some of the Monks further add, That he was eaten up with Lice; the reason I plain, for this *Elfer* had not long before turn'd the Monks out of their Cloysters (as you have heard), and they seldom fail'd to revenge such an Affront upon those that did so, either alive or dead.

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And the same year the Gentlemen of *Gwentland* in *South-Wales* rebelled against their Prince, and cruelly slew *Eneon* the Son of Prince *Owen*, though he came only to appease them: This *Eneon* was a Gallant Young Prince, that did many brave Actions for the Defence of his Countrey in his Father's life time; he left behind him Two Sons, *Edwyn* and *Theodore*, from whom descended the Princes of *South-Wales*.

'This year deceased *Athelwald* that good Bishop of *Winchester*, who 'was the Father of the Monks. And well might they call him so; for he rebuilt or repaired above a dozen great Monasteries; so that (as *William* of *Malmesbury* observes) it is a great wonder how a Bishop's Purse could afford to do that in those days, which a King could scarce perform when he wrote; but the wonder will be much abated when we consider that he had the King's Purse at his command, besides those of other people, who then looked upon such Works as meritorious. But to return to our Annals.

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'*Elfeage*, whose surname was *Goodwin*, succeeded *Athelwald*, and 'was consecrated 14. Kal. Novemb. but was enthron'd at *Winchester*, at the Feast of *St. Simon* and *Jude*. *R. Hoveden* tells us, he was first Abbot of *Bathe*, and then Archbishop of *Canterbury*; but at last was killed by the *Danes*, being a man of great Sanctity of Life.

Also the same year *Howel ap Jevaf*, Prince of *North-Wales*, came into *England* with an Army, where he was fought with and slain in *Bartel*; but the place is not mentioned. This *Howel* having no Issue, his Brother *Cadwalhan* succeeded him.

'This year, according to the *Saxon* Annals, *Elfric* the Ealdorman 'was banish'd the Land. *Mat. Westminster* styles him Earl of *Mercia*, and says he was Son to Earl *Alfred*; but neither of them inform us of the Crime for which he suffered that Punishment.

Ann. Dom.
Dcccclxxv.

'King *Ethelred* laid waste the Bishoprick of *Rocheſter*; and also there 'was a great Mortality of Cattel in *England*. *William* of *Malmesbury*, and *R. Hoveden*, do here add much light to our Annals; That the King because

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because of some Dissentions between him and the Bishop of *Rocheſter*, beſieged that City, but not being able to take it, went and waſted the Lands of *St. Andrew*, (*i.e.* thoſe belonging to that Biſhoprick); but being commanded by the Archbiſhop to deſiſt from his Fury, and not provoke the Saint to whom that Church is dedicated, the King deſpiſed his Admonition, till ſuch time as he had an Hundred Pounds ſent to him, and then he drew off his Forces; but the Archbiſhop abhorring his ſordid Coverouſneſs, is there ſaid to have denounced fearful Judgments againſt him, though they were not to be inflicted till after the Archbiſhop's death.

This year, as the *Welſh* Chronicles relate, *Meredyth*, Son to *Owen* Prince of *South-Wales*, entred *North-Wales* with what Forces he could raiſe, and ſlew *Cadwalbon ap Jevaf* in a Fight, together with *Meyric* his Brother, and conquered the whole Countrey to himſelf: Wherein we may obſerve how God puniſhed the wrong which *Jevaf* and *Jago* did to their eldeſt Brother *Meyric*, who being diſinherited, had his eyes put out; for firſt *Jevaf* was impriſoned by *Jago*, as *Jago* himſelf was by *Howel* the Son of *Jevaf*, and then this *Howel*, and his Brethren *Cadwalbon* and *Meyric* were ſlain, and loſt their Dominions.

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'This year *Weedport* (that is, *Watchet* in *Somerſetſhire*) was deſtroyed by the *Danes*.

About this time (as appears by the Charter in the *Monast. Angl. p. 284.*) the Abby of *Cerne* in *Dorſetſhire*, was founded by *Ailmer* Earl of *Cornwall*, near to a Fountain, where it was ſaid that *St. Auſtine* had formerly baptized many Pagans. And where alſo long after, Prince *Edwald*, Brother to *St. Edmund* the Martyr, quitting his Countrey, then over run by the *Danes*, lived and died an Hermit. But it ſeems from the Manuſcript History of *Walter of Coventry*, this Abby was only enlarged by this Earl *Ailmer*, having been built ſome years before by one *Alward*, his Father, a Rich and Powerful Perſon in thoſe Parts.

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'*Goda* a *Thane* was killed, and there was a great Slaughter. But the ſame Author laſt mentioned, writing from ſome other Copy of *Annals*, relates this Story another way; That this *Goda* being Earl of *Devonſhire*, together with one *Strenwald* a valiant Knight, marching out to fight the *Danes*, they were both there killed; but there being more of them deſtroyed than of the *Engliſh*, the latter kept the field. But to return to our *Annals*;

'This year *Dunſtan*, that Holy Archbiſhop, exchanged this Terreſtrial Life for a Heavenly one; and *Ethelgar* (Biſhop of *ſeſey*) ſucceeded him, but lived not long after, (*viz.*) only One Year and Three Months.

This iſt that Great Archbiſhop, called *St. Dunſtan*, who was the Reſtorer of the Monkiſh Diſcipline in *England*; and who made a Collection of Ordinances for the *Benedictine* Order, by which he thought the Rule of that Order might be more ſtriſtly obſerved in all the Monafteries of *England*.

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Dcccclxxix.

'*Edwin* the Abbot (I ſuppoſe, of *Peterborough*) deſeased; and *Wulfgar* ſucceeded him. The ſame year alſo Biſhop *Syric* was conſecrated Archbiſhop, in the room of *Ethelgar* abovementioned; and afterwards he went to *Rome*, to obtain his Pall.

This man is commonly written *Siricins*; but his Name in *Engliſh* Saxon was *Syric*, or *Sigeric*.

About

About this time, according to the *Welſh* Chronicle, *Meredyth*, Prince of *North Wales*, deſtroyed the Town of *Radnor*; whiſt his Nephew *Edwin*, (or, as ſome Copies call him, *Owen*) the Son of *Eneon*, aſſiſted by a great Army of *Engliſh*, under Earl *Adelf*, ſpoiled all the Lands of Prince *Meredyth* in *South-Wales*, as *Cardigan*, &c. as far as *St. David's*, taking Pledges of all the Chief Men of thoſe Countries; whiſt in the mean time Prince *Meredyth* with his Forces ſpoiled the Countrey of *Glamorgan*: So that no place in thoſe parts was free from Fire and Sword: Yet at laſt, Prince *Meredyth* and *Edwin* his Nephew, coming to an agreement, were made Friends. But whiſt *Meredyth* was thus taken up in *South-Wales*, *North-Wales* lay open to the *Danes*, who about this time arriving in *Angleſey*, deſtroyed the whole Iſle.

'This year *Gipiſwic* was waſted by the *Danes* (this was *Iſpwich* in *Suffolk*); and ſhortly after *Brightnoth* the Ealdorman was ſlain at *Mal-dune*. All which miſchief *Florence* of *Worceſter* tells us was done by the *Danes*, whoſe Captains were *Juſtin* and *Guthmund*, when the Perſon abovementioned, fighting with them at *Maldon*, there was a great multitude ſlain on both ſides, and the ſaid Earl or Ealdorman was ſlain there; ſo that the *Danes* had the Victory.

'The ſame year alſo (according to the *Annals*) it was firſt decreed, that Tribute ſhould be paid to the *Danes*, becauſe of the great Terror which they gave the Inhabitants of the Sea-Coaſt: The firſt Payment was Ten thouſand Pounds; and it is ſaid Archbiſhop *Syric* firſt gave this Counſel.

To which alſo *R. Hoveden* adds, That *Adwald* and *Alfric* the Ealdormen, join'd with him in it; but which (as *William* of *Malmesbury* well obſerves) ſerved only to ſatisfy for a time the Covetouſneſs of the *Danes*; and being a thing of infamous example, a generous Mind would never have been prevailed upon by any violence to have ſubmitted to; for when the *Danes* had once taſted the ſweetneſs of this Money, they never left off exacting ſtill more, ſo long as there was any left; but they now met with a weak and unwarlike Prince, moſt of whoſe Nobility were no better than himſelf; and ſo, as the ſame Author farther obſerves, they were fain to buy off thoſe with Silver, who ought to have been repell'd with Iron.

'This year *Oſwald*, that bleſſed Archbiſhop of *York*, departed this life; as alſo did *Eſhelwin* the Ealdorman.

The former of them, *Simeon* of *Durham* tells us had the year before conſecrated the Abby Church of *Ramſey*, which the latter had newly founded; and as *Florence* adds, was buried in the Church of *St. Mary* in *Worceſter*, which he had newly built.

'The ſame year alſo the King and all his Wife and Great Men decreed, That all the ſtronger Ships ſhould be got together at *Londn*; and the King made *Ealfric* and *Thorod* the Ealdormen, Admirals of this Fleet; as alſo *Elſtan* and *Eſtwig*, Biſhops; commanding them that they ſhould endeavour, if it were poſſible, to encompass the *Daniſh* Fleet; but *Ealfric* ſent to them underhand, to take care of themſelves; and the Night before they were to give Battel, he (to his perpetual Infamy) ſecretly withdrew himſelf from the King's to the *Daniſh* Fleet; ſo that all the *Danes* eſcaped by flight. But *Florence* is more plain than the *Annals* in the Relation of this Flight; and tells us, that the King's Fleet immediately purſued them, and took one of their Ships,

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all the rest escaping; only the *Londoners* meeting with the Ships of the *East-Angles* by chance, and fighting with them, killed many Thousands of the *Danes*, and took the Ship wherein Earl *Ealfric* was, with all the men, himself hardly escaping.

The same year the Inhabitants of the Isle of *Anglesey*, having been cruelly harass'd by the *Danes*, and finding no Protection or Defence from *Meredyth* their Prince, then employed in other Wars (as you have already heard) they cast him off, and received *Edwal ap Meyric*, the right Heir of *North-Wales*, for their Prince, who better defended his Subjects from Foreign Invasions; for not long after, *Meredyth*, Prince of *North-Wales*, resolving again to recover so considerable a part of his Dominion, entering *Anglesey*, Prince *Edwal* with his Forces met him at *Lhangwin*, and routed him in a set Battle; so *Theodor*, or *Tewdor Mawr*, Nephew to Prince *Meredyth*, was there slain, and he himself forced to fly.

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Dcccxciii.

This year also (according to our Annals) *Unlaf*, (or *Anlaf*) the *Dane*, came with Ninety three Ships as far as *Stane*, (now *Staines* upon the River *Thames*), and there wasted the Countrey round about; and from thence they went to *Sandwic*, and from thence to *Gyppwic*, and spoiled all that Countrey.

But I suppose this is a Mistake in the *Cambridge* Copy of these Annals; which repeat that Action of the *Danes*, together with the Death of Duke *Bryghtnoth*, which had been already said in the *Laudean* and *Cottonian* Copies to have happened Anno 991; and therefore what follows, seems likewise misplaced in this Copy, concerning the Receiving and Baptizing of this King *Anlaf*, which it makes to be the effect of the Victory now obtain'd; for *Anlaf* was not baptized till the year following; as will by and by appear.

But this is more certain which comes after; viz. That this year the Town of *Bebanburgh* (i.e. *Banborow* in *Northumberland*) was destroyed by the *Danes*, and a great Prey there taken; after which the *Danes* came up the River *Humber*, and did much mischief as well to those of *Lindsey*, as the *Northumbers*: Then were muster'd together a great number of Soldiers, but when they were going to give them Battle, they fled, the first Encouragers of their flight being their own Captains, *Frena*, *Godwin*, and *Frithegift*; (all Three of the *Danish* Race.)

This year also (according to the same Copy) King *Ethelred* commanded the Eyes of *Ealfric* the Ealdorman's Son, to be put out: But it does not tell us for what: But *William* of *Malmesbury* is more express, and says it was a Punishment for his Father's Perfidiousness; which if done now, was not only very unjust, to punish the Son for the Father's faults, but also ill tim'd, to do it so long after the Crime had been committed: But he further tells us, that he not only revolted once, but again; and so perhaps it was for this last Rebellion, that the King inflicted this cruel Punishment upon his Son; for had the Father been in his power, it is most likely he would have made him to have suffer'd himself: But this being so much in the dark, I shall leave it to the Reader to make what he please on't.

There having been for some time great Enmity between *Richard* Duke of *Normandy*, which it seems had broke out into open War, Pope *John* sent *Leo* Bishop of *Treves*, as his Nuncio, first to the King of *England*; who having received the Pope's Letters, called a Council of all

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the Great and Wise Men of the Nation; who agreed, That upon the Pope's Admonition, Ambassadors should be sent to the Marquess of *Normandy*, (for so he is called) to treat of a Peace; and when they were there, the said Marquess agreed to a lasting Peace, upon the Pope's Admonition; so that none for the future should receive each other's Enemies: All which appears in the Epistle of the said Pope *John* concerning this affair; which is recited at large in *William* of *Malmesbury*, in his Reign of this King, to which I refer the Reader.

About this time, according to the *Welsh* Chronicles, *Sweyn*, the Son of *Harold* the *Dane*, having destroyed the Isle of *Man*, enter'd *North-Wales*, and slew *Edwal ap Meyric* in Battle: This Prince left behind him one Son, an Infant, who at last came to be Prince of *Wales*: So that it seems there was an Anarchy in *North-Wales* for some time; unless *Owen*, formerly expell'd, now recover'd his Principality; which my Author does not mention.

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This year *Sigeric* (or *Syric*) Archbishop of *Canterbury*, deceased, and *Ealfric* Bishop of *Winchester* was elected in his stead, on *Easter-Day*, at *Ambresbyrig*, by King *Ethelred* and all his Wife Men. This same year also, *Anlaf* and *Sweyn* came to *London*, on the Nativity of *St. Mary*, with Ninety four Ships, and assaulted the City very sharply, endeavouring to burn it; but here they received much more damage than they believed it to be in the power of the Citizens ever to have done them; for the Holy Mother of God out of her great mercy took care of the Citizens, and delivered them from their Enemies: Or, as *William* of *Malmesbury* more plainly tells us, the Besiegers despairing of taking the City, (because the Citizens made so vigorous a defence) were forced to march away.

But as they went off, they did as much mischief as any Army ever did, by burning and wasting the whole Countrey thereabouts, and killing all the Inhabitants in *Essex*, *Kent*, and *Sussex*, as also in *Hampshire*: And, as *Florence* relates, sparing neither Man, Woman, nor Child.

But at last they provided themselves with Horses, and riding wherever they pleased, did unspeakable Mischief: Whereupon it was ordained by the King and his Wife Men, That Messengers should be sent to them, promising them both Tribute and Provisions, if they would desist from their Spoil and Rapine: To which request they consented; and so the whole Army came to *Hamtune*, and there took up their Winter-Quarters; and in the mean time the *West-Saxon* Kingdom was forced to maintain them; and sixteen thousand Pounds were given to them, besides their maintenance.

Then the King sent Bishop *Elfeage* to King *Anlaf*, as also *Ethelward* the Ealdorman; and leaving Hostages at the Ships, they brought *Anlaf* with great Honour to the King to *Andefer*, (that is, *Andover* in *Hampshire*); then King *Ethelred* received him at his Confirmation, from the Bishop's hand; whereupon *Anlaf* promised him (which he also performed) that he would never again infest the *English* Nation. And as *Florence* farther adds, he now returned into his own Countrey.

So it seems the Kingdom was rid of *Anlaf*; but what became of him *Sweyn* or *Sweyn*, the Annals do not tell us; for we hear no more of him till Anno 1004, as you will find by and by: So that whether he went away with *Anlaf*, or commanded those who infested the Kingdom the

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next

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next year, is uncertain. But perhaps we may to this time refer that which *Adam of Bremen* relates of this King *Sweyn*, who having made "War upon his Father *Harbold* the Great, whom he outed of his Kingdom and Life together, was afterwards himself overcome, and expelled his Kingdom by *Erick* King of *Sweden*; thus justly rewarded "for his horrid Crimes, he wander'd up and down without relief. "*Thrucco* the Son of *Haco*, then Prince of the *Normans*, rejected him "as a Pagan; and *Ethelred* the Son of *Edgar* (he calls him *Aðalred*) "remembring what mischiefs the *Danes* had brought on *England*, with "scorn repell'd him: So that at length he was entertained by the King of "the *Scots*, who taking compassion on him, gave him free Quarter for "Fourteen years together. But so enraged was he at the repulse "given him by the King of *England*, that ever after he studied "all he could how to plague and afflict that Countrey, one while "by his own particular Forces, and another by the assistance of "others.

How true this Story is, we cannot affirm; the Affairs of the *Northern* Nations, as to those Times, being involved in so great an obscurity: However, we thought it not amiss to give it you, as suiting with the Fortunes and Inclinations of this man, which proved so great a Plague to this our Countrey, that he seems to have been acted by some extraordinary Passion, whether of Ambition or Revenge, or both together. But to return to our Annals.

This year also *Richard* the Elder (Duke of *Normandy*) died; and *Richard* his Son succeeded him, and reigned One and thirty years.

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This year appeared a Comet. Also the same year, as *Simeon* of *Durham* relates, *Aldune* Bishop of *Lindisfarne*, removed the Body of *St. Cuthbert*, which had for above an Hundred years remained at *Cunecaster*, that is, *Chester*, in the Bishoprick of *Durham*, to the place where the City of *Durham* was afterwards built, it being then altogether uninhabited. Here Bishop *Aldune* built a small Church of *Stone*, dedicating it to *St. Cuthbert*; and a Town being here shortly after built, it was called *Durham*.

The Kingdom had rest this year, as also the next; but

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The *Danes* sail'd round about *Devonshire*, to the mouth of the River *Severne*, and there took much Plunder, as well among the *North Welsh*, as in *Cornwall* and *Devonshire*.

Yet here it seems that *North-Wales* was mis-put in these Annals, instead of the *South*; for no part of the *Severn* Sea borders upon *North-Wales*.

But after this, the *Danes* going up as far as *Wecedport*, (or *Watchet*) they did much hurt, both by burning the Houses, and killing the Inhabitants wherever they came. After this they sail'd round *Pennwith-seort*, (i. e. the Point called the *Land's-End*) toward the *South Coast*, and sailing up the River *Thames*, went with their Ships as far as *Hildaford* (now *Lideford*) burning and killing whatever they met, as they passed along: They also burnt the Monastery of *Ordulph*, which had been lately built by him at *Aetefingstoece* (now *Tavistock* in *Devonshire*) and carried a very great deal of Plunder along with them to their Ships. This year also *Ælfrie* the Archbishop went to *Rome* to obtain his Pall.

Then

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Then the *Danes* turned toward the *East* up the mouth of the River *Frome*, and there marched as far as they would into *Dorseta*, (i. e. *Dorsetshire*) where an Army got together against them; but as often as the *English* fought with them, so often were they by some misfortune or other put to flight; so that the *Danes* still obtain'd the Victory: After this they quarter'd in the Isle of *Wight*, but fetch'd their Provisions from *Hamptunseire* and *Southseax*.

Also this year, according to *Caradoc's* Chronicle, the *Danes* landing again in *South-Wales*, destroyed *St. Davids*, and slew *Urgeney* Bishop of that See: And now *Meredyth ap Owen*, Prince of *North-Wales*, deceased, leaving one only Daughter, who was married to *Lewelyn ap Sitfyllt*, afterward in her Right Prince of *North-Wales*: But after the death of this Prince *Owen*, *Edwin* his Nephew, above-mentioned (as the Manuscript Chronicle relates) possessed himself of *South-Wales*, and reigned there some years.

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This year the *Danes* sail'd up the River *Thames*, and from thence went into the *Medway* to *Rosceaster*, where the *Kentish* Forces met them, and there was a very sharp Dispute; but alas! they presently gave place to their Enemies, and fled, because they had not assistance enough; so that the *Danes* kept the field; and then getting Horses, rode wherever they pleased, spoiling and laying waste all the *Western* part of *Kent*: Then it was ordained by the King and his Wife Men, that an Army should be forthwith raised against them both by Sea and Land; but when the Ships were ready, they delayed the time from day to day, oppressing the poor people that served on board; and if at any time the Fleet was ready to sail, it was still put off from one time to another, so that they suffered the Enemies Forces to increase; and when the *Danes* retired from the Sea-Coast, then our Fleet was wont to go out; so that at the last these Naval Forces served for no other end, but to harass the People, spend their Money, and provoke the Enemy.

This year (as *Simeon* of *Durham* relates) *Malcolm* King of the *Scots* with a great Army wasted the Province of the *Northumbers*, and besieged *Durham*: At that time *Waltheof* Earl of the *Northumbers*, being very old, and unable to fight with the Enemies, enclosed himself in *Bebbanburgh*; whilst *Uthred* his Son, a Valiant Young Man, assembling an Army out of *Northumberland* and *Torkshire*, fought with the *Scots*, and destroyed in a manner their whole Army, insomuch that the King himself very hardly escaped: After this he made choice of a certain number of slain *Scotchmen's* Heads, the best adorn'd with Hair he could get, and gave them to an Old Woman to wash, allowing her for each Head a Cow for her pains; these Heads when wash'd, he set upon high Poles round about the Walls of *Durham*.

King *Ethelred* being informed of this Action, sent for the Young Man, and as a Reward for his Valour, not only gave him his Father's Countrey, but added to it that of *Torkshire*: Upon this *Uthred* returning home, dismissed his Wife the Daughter of *Ældhure* Bishop of *Durham*; but because he cast her off contrary to his Promise, he surrender'd up to her Six Mannors which the Bishop her Father had given him with her. Then *Uthred* married *Siga*, the Daughter of *Styre*, the Son of *Ulfelme*.

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'The King marched into *Cumberland*, (i. e. *Cumberland*) and laid it 'almost waste; but neither our Annals, nor any other Author, tell us wherefore he made this War, nor upon whom it was made; but *John Fordon* in his *Scotch History* gives us this Account of it; That King *Ethelred* having paid great Tributes to the *Danes*, sent to *Malcolm* then Prince of *Cumberland*, under *Gryme* King of the *Scots*, commanding him that he should make his Subjects of *Cumberland* pay part of this Tribute, as well as the rest of the People of *England*; which he denying, sent the King word, That neither he nor his Subjects ought to pay any Tribute, but only were obliged to be ready at the King's Command, to make War, together with the rest of the Kingdom, whenever he pleased; for he said it was much better to fight manfully, than only to buy Liberty with Money: For this cause, as well as for that the King affirmed that the Prince of *Cumberland* favoured the *Danes*, King *Ethelred* invaded that Countrey, and carried away great spoils from thence; but presently after, the two Princes being reconciled, they entered into a firm Peace for ever after.

But to proceed with our Annals: 'After the King had thus wasted *Cumberland*, he commanded his Ships to sail round by *Legceaster* (i. e. *Chester*) to meet him there; but they could not do it, by reason of the contrary Winds; so they wasted the Island *Manige* (now called *Anglesey*); for the *Danish* Fleet was turned this Summer upon the Duke-dom of *Normandy*. But the next year,

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'Their Fleet being now returned into *England*, there arose great 'Troubles in this Island, by reason of this Fleet, which every where 'spoiled the Countries, and burnt the Towns; and landing, they 'marched in one day as far as *Etheling-gadene* (which is supposed to be *Alton* in *Hampshire*); but there the Forces of that County marched 'against, and fought with them; and there *Ethelweard* the King's 'High Sheriff, and *Leofric*, Gerif of *Whitchurch*, (i. e. *Whitchurch* in *Hampshire*) and *Leofwin* the King's High-Sheriff, and *Wulfer* the 'Bishop's Thane, and *Godwin* the Gerif, were all slain at *Weorhige*, (the place is now unknown); as also *Elfsige* the Bishop's God-son, 'and of all sorts of men, Eighty one; yet many more of the *Danes* 'were slain there, though indeed they kept the Field of Battel: But 'from thence their Fleet sail'd toward the *West*, until they came to *Devonshire*, where met him *Pallig* with what Ships he could gather 'together: He had revolted from King *Ethelred* divers times, notwithstanding his Faith plighted to him, and though the King had largely 'rewarded him both with Lands and Money. Then they burnt *Teng-ton* (i. e. *Taunton*) and many other good Towns, more than we can 'now name; which being done, there was a League clapt up with 'them: After this they went to *Exanmuthan* (i. e. *Exmouth*) from 'whence they marched in one day to *Peanhoe* (now *Pen* in *Somersetshire*), where *Cola* the King's High-Sheriff, and *Eadfig* the King's 'Gerif, met them with what Forces they could; but they were put to 'flight, and many of them slain, and the *Danes* kept the Field; so the next morning they burnt the Towns of *Peanho*, and *Cliffunc*, (or *Clifton*) and several other good Towns. Then the *Danes* returned 'to the Isle of *Wight*, and there one morning burnt the Town of *Wetham*, with divers other Villages; and presently after a League was 'made with them, and they hearken'd to Terms of Peace.

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But the *Laudean* and *Cottonian* Copies differ very much from that of *Cambridge*, in the telling of this story; for they make the *Danes* to have first failed up the River *Ese*, as far as *Excester*, and to have besieged the City, but not being able to take it, they raised the Siege, and then marched all over the Countrey, killing and destroying whatever they met with; and that then a strong Army of the *Devonshire* and *Somersetshire* men fought with them at *Peanho*, with the success above-mentioned. The rest differs but little from the Printed Copy; but this last relation seems most likely to be true.

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'The year following it was decreed by the King and his Wife 'Men, That a Tribute should be paid to the *Danish* Fleet, and Peace 'should be concluded with them, upon condition that they would cease 'from doing mischief: Then the King sent *Leofsig* the Ealdorman to 'the Fleet, who treated with them on the behalf of the King and his 'Council of Wise Men, proposing that they would be content with 'Provisions and Money, which they agreed to: Then, not long after, 'they paid them Four and twenty thousand Pounds. In the mean time 'Leofsig the Ealdorman killed *Ælfric* the King's High Sheriff; upon 'which the King banished the other the Kingdom. And the Lent after- 'wards came hither *Ælgiva*, Daughter of *Richard* Duke of *Normandy*, 'to be married to the King.

'The same Summer *Eadulf* Archbishop of *Tork* deceased: And this 'year also the King commanded all the *Danes* in *England* to be slain at 'the Feast of *St. Brice*, because it was told the King that they endeavoured to deprive him and all his Great and Wise Men of their lives, 'and to seize the Kingdom to themselves without any opposition.

Matthew of *Westminster* casts the Odium of this Action from the King, and lays it upon one of his Evil Counsellors, whom he calls *Huena*, General of the King's Forces, to manage the chief Affairs of the Kingdom: He seeing the Insolencies of the *Danes*, and that after the late Agreement they were grown insupportable to the Kingdom; for they violated the Wives and Daughters of Persons of Quality, and committed divers other Injuries not to be endured: Thereupon he came in great seeming trouble to the King, making most dismal Complaints of these unspeakable Outrages; at which the King was so incensed, that by the Counsel of the said *Huena* he sent private Letters into all parts of the Kingdom, commanding all his Subjects without exception, That upon a certain Day they should every where privately set upon the *Danes*, and without mercy cut them off. In these Letters was also signified, that the *Danes* had a design to deprive him of his Life and Kingdom, and to destroy all the Nobility, in order to bring the whole Island under their subjection. And thus the *Danes*, who a little before by a League solemnly sworn on both sides, had been admitted quietly to inhabit among the *English*, were most treacherously and barbarously murdered, not many of them escaping; even the very Women were put to death, and their Children's Brains dash'd out against the Walls; particularly at *London*, when this Bloody Decree was to be executed, many of the *Danes* fled into a certain Church of that City, but for all that it proved no Sanctuary to them, for they were all there cruelly murdered even at the very Altar.

H. Huntington moreover adds, That he himself being a Child, had heard it from certain Old Men, that by the King's Command Letters were

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were privately dispatch'd all over *England*, to make away the *Danes* in one Night.

But so much Innocent Blood being thus perfidiously shed, cry'd aloud to Heaven for Vengeance, and the Clamours of it likewise quickly reached as far as *Denmark*: And *Walsingham* hath given us in his History a particular Account of the manner of it; for on the day when this barbarous Decree was executed at *London*, certain young men of the *Danish* Nation being too nimble for their Pursuers, got into a small Vessel then in the *Thames*, and by that means escaped and fled to *Denmark*; where they certified King *Sweyn* of what had passed in *England*; who being moved with indignation at this treatment, thereupon called a great Council of all the Chief Men of his Kingdom, and declaring to them this Cruel Massacre, desired their Advice what was best to be done: and they being inflamed with Rage and Grief for the loss of so many of their Friends and Kindred, decreed with one consent, That they ought to revenge it with all the Forces of their Nation: Upon which, great Preparations were made in the several Provinces, and Messengers sent to other Nations, to desire their Alliance with him, promising them their share in the Spoils of that Countrey which they were going to conquer: So King *Sweyn* having got ready a vast Fleet of above Three hundred Sail, arrived in *England*: But as *Bromton's* Chronicle relates,

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The year following, *Sweyn* King of *Denmark*, hearing of the Death of his Subjects, sail'd with a mighty Fleet to the Coast of *Cornwall*, where he landed, and marched up to *Excester*, which, (as our Annals tell us) 'by the Carelessness or Cowardise of a certain *Norman*, one Count *Hugh*, whom the Queen had made Governor there, the *Pagans* took, and quite destroyed the City, and carried thence a great Booty. Then a Numerous Army was raised from *Wiltshire* and *Hampshire*, and being very unanimous, they all marched briskly against the *Danes*; but *Ælfric* the Ealdorman, who commanded in chief, here shewed his wonted tricks; for as soon as both Armies were in sight of each other, he feigned himself sick, and began to vomit, pretending he had got some violent Distemper, and by that means betray'd those whom he ought to have led to Victory; according to the Proverb, If the General's heart fails, the Army flies.

But though this was very ill done of *Ælfric* thus to betray his trust, yet certainly the King was no less to be blamed himself, for trusting a man that had so often betray'd him, and whom he had already sufficiently provoked, by putting out the Eyes of his Son, as you have already heard.

But to return to our Annals: '*Sweyn* now finding the Cowardise or Inconstancy of the *English*, marched with his Forces to *Wiltune*, which Town he burnt; from thence he marched to *Syrbirig*, (i. e. *Old Sarum*) which they also burnt; and from thence to the Sea-side to their Ships.

After the death of *Edwal ap Meyric*, and *Meredyth ap Owen*, Princes of *North-Wales*, as you have already heard, *North-Wales* having for some years continued under a sort of Anarchy, without any Prince, *Meredyth* leaving behind him no Issue Male, and *Edwal* but one Son an Infant, it gave occasion (as the *Welsh* Chronicles relate) to great disturbances; for one *Aedan ap Eilegored* (or *Bledhemeyd*, as the *Cottonian*

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Copy of the *Welsh* Annals call him) tho an absolute stranger to the *British* Blood-Royal, about this time possessed himself of the Principality of *North-Wales*, and held it about twelve years; but whether he came in by Election, or Force, is not said; only that one *Conan ap Howel*, who fought with this *Aedan* for the Dominion, was this year slain in Battel: So that *Aedan* for a time held that Countrey peaceably, since we do not read of any other Wars he had, till the last year of his Reign.

'This year *Sweyn* came with his Fleet to *Northwick*, i. e. *Normich*, (the River it seems being navigable up to it in those days) and wholly destroyed and burnt that City; then *Ulfkytel* the Ealdorman consulted with the Wife and Great Men of *East-England*, and by them it was judged most expedient to buy Peace of the *Danish* Army, to prevent their doing any more mischief; for the *Danes* had taken them unprovided, before they had time to draw their Forces together: But these *Danes* not valuing the Peace which they had newly made, stole away with all their Ships, and sailed to *Theatford*; which as soon as *Ulfkytel* had learnt, he sent a Messenger with Commands to break or burn all their Ships (which notwithstanding, the *English* neglected to do), whilst he in the mean time tried to get together his Forces with what speed he could: But the *Danes* coming to *Theodford* three Weeks after the destruction of *Norwich*, stayed within the Town of *Theodford* only one night, and then burnt and laid it in ashes: But the next morning as they returned to their Ships, *Ulfkytel* met with them, and there began a very sharp Fight, which ended in a very great slaughter on both sides, and abundance of the *English* Nobility were there killed; but if all the *English* Forces had been there, the *Danes* had never reached their Ships.

But notwithstanding these cruel Wars in the Eastern and Southern Parts of *England*, *Wulfic Spot*, an Officer in the Court of King *Ethelred*, now built the Monastery of *Burton* in *Staffordshire*, and endowed it with all his Paternal Inheritance, which was very great, and gave that King Three hundred *Mancuses* of Gold, to purchase his Confirmation of what he had done. This Monastery, though its Rents at the Dissolution were somewhat below the Value of Five hundred Pounds per Annum, yet being an Abby of great Note in those Parts, and also render'd more famous from its Annals publish'd at *Oxford*, I thought good to take particular notice of it.

'This year *Ælfric* Archbishop of *Canterbury* deceased; and *Ælfeag* (Bishop of *Winchester*) was made Archbishop. But the *Laudean* and *Cottonian* Copies place this under the next year.

'So cruel a Famine also raged here, as *England* never suffer'd a worse. *Florence* relates the Famine to be so great, that *England* was not able to subsist.

'The same year also King *Sweyn* with the *Danish* Fleet sail'd into *Denmark*; but in a short time return'd hither again.

'This year *Ælfeag* was now consecrated Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and *Brightwald* took the Bishoprick of *Wiltshire*; as also *Wulfgeat* was deprived of all his Honours, and *Wulfgeat* had his Eyes put out. (These were Noblemen who suffered under the King's displeasure; but what the cause of it was, I find not.) And this year Bishop *Kenwulph* deceased: Then after *Midsummer*, the *Danish* Fleet

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'Fleet came to *Sandwic*, and did as they used to do, killing, waisting, and plundering whatever they met with: Therefore the King commanded all the *West Saxon* and *Mercian* Nations to be assembled, who kept watch all the Autumn by Companies, against the *Danes*; but all this signified no more than what they had done often before; for the *Danes* made no less Incurfions, but went wherever they pleased, and this Expedition did the people more damage than any Army could do.

'Winter coming on, the *English* Forces return'd home, and the *Danes* about *Martinmas* retired to their old Sanctuary, the *Isle of Wight*, whither they carried whatever they had need of; and afterwards about *Christmas* they marched out to seek for fresh Provisions in *Hampshire* and *Berrocshire*, as far as *Reading*; and havocking according to their usual custom, burnt the Beacons wherever they found them; and from thence they marched to *Wealingaford*, (i. e. *Wallingford*) which Town they wholly destroyed: Then marching to *Aescedune*, (now *Aston*, near *Wallingford*) they came to *Cwicchelmeflam*, (now *Cuckamsley-hill* in *Berkshire*) without ever touching near the Sea; and at last return'd home another way.

'About the same time an *English* Army was mustered at *Cynet*, (i. e. *Kennet* in *Wiltshire*) where a Battel was fought, but the *English* Troops were immediately worsted; after which the *Danes* carried off all their Booty to the Sea-side. There might one have seen the *Wiltshire* men (like a Cowardly sort of people) suffer the *Danes* to return to the Sea-side, even just by their doors, with their Provisions and Spoils. In the mean time the King marched over *Thames* into *Scrobesbyrigshire*, (i. e. *Shropshire*) and there kept his *Christmas*. At that time the *Danes* struck so great a Terror into the *English* Nation, that no man could devise how to get them out of the Kingdom, nor how well to maintain it against them, because they had destroyed all the Countries of the *West-Saxons* with Burnings and Devastations. Then the King often consulted with his *Wise Men* about what was best to be done in this case, whereby they might save the Countrey before it was quite ruined; and after mature deliberation, it was at length decreed by them all, for the Common Good of the Nation, (though much against their wills) That Tribute should be again paid to the *Danes*. Then the King sent to their Army, to let them know, that he was contented to enter into a Peace with them, and to pay them Tribute, and also find them Provisions during their stay: To which Terms all the *Danes* assented: So it seems the whole *English* Nation was forced to maintain them. And the beginning of the year following,

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'This Tribute was again paid to them; to wit, Thirty thousand Pounds. Also the same year *Edric* was made Ealdorman over all the Kingdom of *Mercia*.

This *Edric*, though he had married the King's Daughter, is characterized by all our Historians, for a Proud, False, and Unconstant Man; and who by his Treachery proved the Ruin of his Countrey, as well as of many particular Persons of great Worth: For not long before, (as *Florence* relates) he made away *Athelme* that Noble Ealdorman at *Shrewsbury*, inviting him to a Feast, and afterwards carrying him out a hunting, where he hired the City-Hangman to set his Dog upon him, called *Porthund*, which tore him to pieces: And not long after his two Sons *Walsheage* and *Ufgeat* had their Eyes put out by the King's Order at *Cotham*, where he then resided.

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But we may hence observe, to how sad a state the Nation was reduced under a Voluptuous and Cowardly King, and a Degenerate Nobility: And the reason why the Annals say, *That the People's being kept in Arms all the Winter, did them as much harm as the Enemy*; was, because having then no standing Forces, the Countrey Militia were fain to be kept upon Duty at their own Charges, whilst their Families were ready to starve at home: So impossible a thing it is to maintain any long War either at home or abroad, without a Standing Army.

But now the King having too late perceived his Error, viz. That the greatest Cause of his Ruin proceeded from the want of a good Fleet,

'He then commanded Ships to be built all over *England*; (to wit) to every Hundred and ten Hides of Land, one Ship; and of every Eight Hides a Helmet and Breast-plate: And so by the next year,

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'His Ships were all finished, and they were both so many and withal so good, that (as our Histories affirm) *England* never saw the like before: Then after they were all well mann'd and victual'd, they were brought to *Sandwic*, and there remain'd, in order to defend the Kingdom against the Invasion of Strangers; yet notwithstanding all those Preparatives, the *English* Nation was so unhappy, that this great Fleet met with no better success than often before; for it happen'd about this time, or a little sooner, that *Brightric* (a false and ambitious man) the Brother of *Edric* above mentioned, accused *Wulfnoth* a Thane of the *South Saxons*, (and Father of Earl *Godwin*) to the King; upon which *Wulfnoth* saving himself by flight, got together twenty Ships, and with them turning Pyrate, took Prizes all round the *Southern Coast*, and did a world of mischief; but as soon as it was told the King's Fleet, that they might easily surprize him if they would but cruise about that place, *Brightric* upon this taking Eighty Sail along with him, had mighty hopes by seizing of him either alive or dead, to make himself signally famous; but as he was sailing thither, so great a Tempest arose, as never had been in the memory of man, by which all his Fleet was shipwrack'd, or stranded on the shore; and *Wulfnoth* coming thither presently after, burnt all the rest that were left. Now when this News came to that part of the Fleet where the King was in Person, the whole Action seem'd to be undertaken very precipitately, without any good Advice at all. And thereupon the King with all his Ealdormen and Great Men return'd home, leaving both the Ships and Men to shift for themselves: But those that were in them, carried them up to *London*. And thus did all the Labour and Expence of the whole Nation come to nothing, without in the least diminishing the Power of their Enemies as the people hoped they would have done.

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'When all these Naval Preparations were thus defeated, there arrived presently after Harvest a mighty Fleet of *Danes* at *Sandwic*; and after they were landed they immediately marched to *Canterbury*, which City they would forthwith have destroyed, had they not humbly besought a Peace of them: Upon which all the *East Kentish* men came and clapt up a Peace with the *Danes*, and purchased it at the Price of Three thousand Pounds: But these Heathens presently afterwards fail'd round again, till they came to *Witland*, (i. e. the *Isle of Wight*) and there, as also in *Southseax*, *Hamtunshire*, and *Bearroscire*, they plunder'd and burnt Towns as they used to do: Hereupon the King

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‘commanded the whole Nation to be summoned, that every Province should defend it self against them: But for all this, they still marched whereever they pleased, without any body’s disturbing them: But one time when the King had hemm’d them in with his whole Army, as they were going to their Ships, and all his Forces were just ready to fall upon them, *Ædric* the Ealdorman hinder’d them, as he always did.

For, as *R. Hoveden* relates, he over persuaded the King, by his cunning and plausible reasons, not to run the hazard of a Battel, but to let them go off if they would; and so they return’d to their Ships with a great deal of joy that they had so well got themselves out of that Toil.

‘Then after *Martmas* they return’d again into *Kent*, and took up their Winter-Quarters near the *Thames*, fetching their Provisions from *Essex*, and those Provinces that lay nearest, on each side the River; and they frequently threatned the City of *London*, but (thanks be to God it had hitherto kept it self safe), there they met with always but an ill reception.

‘After *Christmas* they made an excursion through *Cyrtorn*, (that is, the *Chiltern*, or Woody Countrey of *Bucks*, and *Oxfordshire*) and so to *Oxford*, and burnt that City, and having plunder’d on both sides the *Thames*, they return’d to their ships; but when they heard that an Army was prepared ready against them at *London*, they again pass’d over the River at *Stanes*, and thus rambled about the Countrey all this Winter; yet about Spring they came again into *Kent*, and there resisted their ships.

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‘But presently after *Easter* the *Danish* Army marched out against the *English*, and going on shore at *Gyppswic* (i. e. *Ipswich*) went directly thither, where they knew *Earl Ulfcytel* was encamp’d with his Forces; this happen’d on *Ascension day* in the morning; so the *East English* presently fled, and there were on the spot slain *Ethelstan* the King’s Son-in-Law, as also *Oswi* and his Son, and *Wulfrie* the Son of *Leofwin*, with many other Noble *Thanes*, and common Soldiers not to be number’d: One *Thurkytel*, surnamed *Myranbeafod*, (that is, in our present Language, *Ant’s head*) first began to fly, whereby the *Danes* kept the field; and having provided themselves with Horses, they subdued all *East-England*, spoiling and burning for three Months together, where they went; then marching into the *Fens*, they there destroyed both Men and Cattel, and burnt the Towns of *Theodford* and *Grantabyrig*, (i. e. *Cambridge*): Then turning Southward toward the *Thames*, they rode on Horseback to their ships; and presently coming out of them again, they marched towards the *West* into *Oxfordshire*, and from thence into *Buckinghamshire*, and so along the River *Omse*, till they got as far as *Bedanford*; and thence to *Temefanford* (now *Tenxford*), burning all the Towns in their way.

‘Then again they returned to their ships with all their Plunder, and there divided it amongst them. But as for the King’s Forces, when they should have stopp’d their passage, they e’en returned home; and when the *Danes* were in the *East*, they were taken up in the *West*; and whilst they were in the *South*, the others were in the *North*.

And *Florence* farther adds, That in this Expedition into *Oxfordshire*, the *Danes* not only took, but burnt the City of *Oxford*.

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All which Destructions must needs have proceeded from hence, that the *Danes* making War by Sea as well as by Land, could upon the approach of the King’s Army sail away to any other part of the Kingdom, and from thence march off again before the King’s Army could ever come at them; which proves how absolutely necessary it is for an Island to maintain a powerful Fleet, if ever they mean to be safe. But to return to our Annals.

‘At last all the *Wise Men* of the Kingdom were again summoned by the King, to consult how they might better defend the Kingdom; but, it seems, whatsoever was there resolv’d on, did not continue a month without alteration, till at last there were no Commanders that would raise any Forces, but every one fled away as fast as they could, neither would any one Shire help its Neighbours: Insomuch that before the Feast of *St. Andrew*, the *Danish* Army came to *Hamtune*, which Sea-Town they burnt, and took what Plunder they pleas’d in the Neighbourhood, and from thence again pass’d over the *Thames* into *West-Seax*, and thence into the Marshes of *Kent*, all which they wholly burnt and destroyed: And when they had thus march’d whereever they would, about *Midsummer* they returned again to their Ships.

Oxford and *Cambridge* being both burnt this year by the *Danes*, all Studies ceased at each of these Places, till long after, as *Thomas Rudburn* relates, one *Robert Bolean* began to read his Lectures on the Scriptures, Anno 1133. From which time (says he) the Scholars have still continued both at *Oxford* and *Cambridge*.

But no wonder that things succeeded no better, if what *Caxton* in his Chronicle relates, were true concerning those Times; That when the Nobles met in the Great Council of the Kingdom, instead of consulting for the good of it, they fell to impeaching one another, and spent their whole time in their own private Quarrels; the Church-men standing upon their Privileges, refused to assist the King, or to contribute any thing considerable to the Publick Necessities: To all which mischiefs were likewise added Robberies, and Scarcity of Bread; which still encouraged the *Danes*, as they perceived the Kingdom grow weaker and weaker, to demand greater Tribute to buy their Peace; till at last the Kingdom was quite exhausted of all its Treasure.

‘This year the King and his *Wise Men* sent again to the *Danish* Army with desires of Peace, promising them both Provisions and Money; for they had then subjected to them all *East-England*, *East-Seax*, *Middle-Seax*, *Oxford*, *Grantebyrige*, *Heortford*, *Buckingham*, *Bedanford*, and *Huntandun Scyres*, and on the South-side of *Thames*; and all the *Kentish men*, and *South-Saxons*, with the Town of *Hestings*; and besides all these, *Suthrig*, (i. e. *Surrey*) *Bearruc*, and *Hamtune Scires*, and great part of *Wiltunscire*; all which miseries happen’d to us through evil Council, because the Tribute was not paid them time enough, and not till they had done all the mischiefs they could. Then was a Peace clapp’d up with them: Yet nevertheless this League being soon broken, they march’d about every where in Troops, carrying off a world of Booty with them, either taking these poor people Prisoners, or else slaying them outright.

‘Also this year, between the Nativity of the Virgin *Mary* and *Michaelmas*, they besieged *Canterbury*, and took it by Treachery; for one *Ælmer* (an Archdeacon) whose Father Archbishop *Ælfeage* had formerly

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merly saved, betrayed it to them (after twenty days Siege); then they took Prisoners Archbishop *Ælfeage*, and *Ælswold* the King's Sheriff, and *Leofwin* the Abbot, and *Godwin* the Bishop of *Rocheſter*; but *Ælmer*, Abbot of *St. Auguſtine's* they let go.

They likewise took all in Holy Orders, both Men and Women; nor can it be told how many theſe were; after which they remain'd in the City as long as they pleaſed: But as ſoon as they had plunder'd it, they went back again to their Ships, carrying the Archbishop along with them; and he was now become a Captive, who but a little before was the Spiritual Head of the *Engliſh* Nation: One might there have ſeen Miſery at its full ſtretch, where uſed to be Joy and Proſperity; even in that City from whence was firſt brought to us the joyful Tidings of the Goſpel: But they detain'd the Archbishop Priſoner (near Seven Months) till ſuch time as they martyr'd him.

Osbern in his Life of *St. Elfeage*, relates, That this Archbishop ſent to the *Danes* when they came before the Town, deſiring them to ſpare ſo many innocent Chriſtians lives; but they deſpiſing his requeſt, ſet to battering the Walls, and ſo throwing Firebrands into the City, ſet it on fire; ſo that whiſt the Citizens ran to ſave their Houſes, *Ælmer* the Archdeacon let the *Danes* into the City.

Florence here adds, That the Monks and Laity were decimated after a ſtrange manner; ſo that out of every Ten Perſons, only the Tenth was to be kept alive; and that only Four Monks and about Eight hundred Laymen remain'd after this Decimation: And that not long after, above Two thouſand *Danes* periſhed by divers inward Torments; and the reſt were admoniſh'd to make ſatisfaction to the Biſhop, but yet they obſtinately reſuſed it.

Florence of *Worceſter*, and *R. Hoveden* alſo relate, That the *Danes* deſtroyed many of the Priſoners they had taken, with cruel Torments, and various Deaths.

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This year *Eadric* the Ealdorman (ſirnamed *Streon*), and all the Wife and Chief Men, both Clerks and Laicks of the *Engliſh* Nation, came to *London* before *Eaſter* (which fell out then the day before the *Ides of April*) and there ſtayed until ſuch time as the above-mentioned Tribute could be paid, which was not done till after *Eaſter*, and was then Eight thouſand Pounds: In the mean time (being about Six Months after) upon a *Saturday* the *Daniſh* Army being highly incenſed againſt Archbishop *Ælfeage*, becauſe he would neither promiſe them Money himſelf, nor yet would ſuffer any body elſe to give them any thing for his Ranſom; for which, as *Osbern* in his Life relates, they demanded no leſs than Three thouſand Pounds in Silver, (a vaſt Sum in thoſe days); which being denied them, and many of them being got drunk, they laid hold on the Archbishop, and led him to their Council on the *Saturday* after *Eaſter*, and there knocked him on the head (as the Annals relate) with Stones and Cows Horns, till at laſt one of them ſtriking him with an Axe on the Head, he fell down dead with the Blow.

Florence ſays, that this was done by one *Thruma Dane*, whom he had the day before confirmed, being thereunto moved by an Impious Piety. But *John* of *Tinmouth* in his Manuſcript Hiſtory of Saints, called *Hiſtoria Aurea* now in the Library at *Lambeth*, relates that when Archbishop *Elfeage* was thus killed, the *Danes* threw his Body into the River,

River, which was ſoon taken out again by thoſe whom he had converted.

But our Annals here farther relate, 'That the Biſhops *Eadnoth* and *Ælfhune*, (the former of *Lincoln*, and the latter of *London*) took away his ſacred Body early the next morning, and buried it in *St. Paul's* Miniſter, (where God now ſhews the power of this Holy Martyr.) But as ſoon as the Tribute was paid, and the Peace confirmed by Oath, the *Daniſh* Army was looſely diſperſed abroad, being before cloſely compacted together; then Five and forty of their Ships ſubmitted to the King, and promiſed him to defend the Kingdom, provided he would allow them Viſtuals and Apparel.

The year after Archbishop *Ælfeage* was thus martyr'd, the King made one *Liſing* Archbishop of *Canterbury*: Alſo the ſame year, before the Month of *Auguſt*, King *Sweyn* came with his Fleet to *Sandwich*, and ſoon after ſailing about *East-England*, arrived in the Mouth of *Humber*; and from thence up the River *Trent*, till they came to *Gegneſburgh* (now *Gainsborough* in *Lincolnſhire*.)

Which miſchief, according to *William* of *Malmesbury*, proceeded from *Turkil* a *Dane*, who was the great Inciter of the Death of the Archbishop, and who had then the *East-Engliſh* ſubjected to his will. This man ſent Meſſengers into his own Countrey to King *Sweyn*, letting him know, that he ſhould come again into *England*; for the King was given ſo much to Wine and Women, that he minded nothing elſe; wherefore he was hated by his Subjects, and contemned by Strangers; that his Commanders were Cowards, the Natives weak, and who would run away at the firſt ſound of his Trumpets. Though this ſeems not very probable, for Earl *Turkil* was then of King *Ethelred's* ſide, as you will ſee by and by.

King *Sweyn* being prone enough to ſlaughter, needed no great Intreaties to bring him over; he had been here eight years before, and why he ſtayed away ſo long, I wiſh our Authors would have told us: But *William* of *Malmesbury* further adds, That one chief end of his coming over, was to revenge the death of his Siſter *Gunhildis*, who being a Beautiful Young Lady, had come over into *England* with *Palling* her Husband, a powerful *Daniſh* Earl, and receiving the Chriſtian Religion, became her ſelf a Hoſtage of the Peace that had been formerly concluded: But tho the unhappy Fury of *Edric* had commanded her to be beheaded together with ſome other of her Countrey men, yet ſhe bore her Death with an undaunted Spirit, having ſeen her Husband, and a Son, a Youth of great and promiſing hopes, ſlain before her face. But to come again to our Annals:

So ſoon as King *Sweyn* arrived in the North, Earl *Obtred* and all the Countrey of the *Northumbers*, with all the people in *Lindſeje*, and the people of the five *Burghs* or Towns (but what theſe were we now know not) lying on the other ſide *Watlingaſtreet*, ſubmitted themſelves to him. There were alſo Hoſtages given him out of every Shire; but when he found that all the people were now become ſubject to him, he commanded them to provide his Forces both with Horſes and Proviſions, whiſt he in the mean time marched toward the South with great expedition; committing the Ships and Hoſtages to *Knut* his Son: And after he had paſſed *Watlingaſtreet*, they did as much miſchief as any Army could do: Then they turn'd to *Oxnaſford*, whoſe

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whose Citizens presently submitted themselves to him; from thence he went to *Winchester*, where the Inhabitants did the same; and from thence they marched *Eastward* towards *London*, near which many of his men were drown'd in the *Thames*, because they would not stay to find a Bridge; but when they came thither, the Citizens would not submit, but sallying out, had a sharp Engagement with them, because King *Ethelred* was there, and Earl *Turkil* with him: Wherefore King *Sweyn* departed thence to *Wealingaford*, and then over *Thames* *Westward* to *Bathe*, and there sat down with his whole Army, whither came to him *Aethelmar* the Ealdorman of *Devonshire*, with all the *Western* *Thanes*, who all submitted themselves to him, and gave him Hostages.

When he had subdued all these places, he marched *Northwards* to his Ships, and then almost the whole Nation received and acknowledged him for their real King: And after this the Citizens of *London* became subject to him, and gave him Hostages, because otherwise they fear'd they should be utterly destroy'd; for *Sweyn* demanded that they should give full Pay and Victuals to his Army; and that Winter *Thurkil* demanded the same for King *Ethelred's* Forces, which lay at *Grenawic*, (i. e. *Greenwich*). But both the Armies refrain'd not a jot the less from plundering where they pleased; so that the Nation both as well in the *North* as in the *South*, was no longer able to bear it.

After this the King stay'd some time with his Fleet which lay then in the *Thames*, whilst the Queen retired beyond Sea to her Brother Earl *Richard* (in *Normandy*); and *Elfga* Abbot of *Burgh* went along with her; the King also sent thither the Princes *Eadward* and *Alfred*, with Bishop *Aelfune* to be their Governor. Then the King went with his Fleet about *Christmas* into *Wiheland*, and there kept the Festival; and afterwards passed over to Earl *Richard*, and there stay'd with him till *Sweyn* died.

There is in the *Peterburgh* Copy of these Annals, this following Relation; That whilst the Queen thus remained beyond Sea, *Elfga* Abbot of *Burgh*, who was then with her, went to the Monastery called *Boneval*, where the Body of Saint *Florentine* lay buried: This place he found almost wholly deserted, and the poor Abbot and Monks in a miserable condition, having been robbed of all they had; then he bought of the Abbot and Monks the whole Body, except the Head, for Five thousand Pounds, and at his return into *England* dedicated it to *Christ* and *St. Peter*, that is, he placed it in the Church of *Peterburgh*, of which he was then Abbot.

This was a vast Sum of Money in those days, to be given for the Bones of one dead Carcase, and not entire neither; but such was the Superstition of that Age.

This year King *Sweyn* ended his Life about *Candlemas*: Then all the Danish Fleet and Army chose *Cnute* his Son to be their King: But all the Wise or Chief Men of the *English* Nation, as well of the Clergy as *Laity*, sent to King *Ethelred*, to let him know that there was no Prince dearer to them than their own Natural Lord, provided he would govern them better than he had hitherto done. Upon this the King sent Prince *Edward* his Son, and several others, Attendants, into this Kingdom, with Orders to recommend him to the whole Nation in his Name, promising them to be a faithful and kind Lord to them; and that he would redress whatever Grievances they had suffer'd, and would

also

also pardon whatsoever had been done against him either by Words or Deeds, provided they would all sincerely return to their Allegiance.

Then a full and firm Amity being concluded on both by Words and Deeds, and Hostages being given on both sides, they decreed the Danish King for ever banished *England*: After which King *Ethelred* return'd about *Lent* into his own Countrey, and was cheerfully received by all men.

The *Bodleian* Copy of *Florence* here adds, That Queen *Elfgiva* (or *Emma*) with the Two Young Princes her Sons, remained still in *Normandy*, until she was (after the Death of her Husband) sent for over by King *Cnute*, and the Common Council of the Kingdom, and being married to him, was solemnly crowned at *Westminster*, in the presence of all the Bishops and Great Men of *England*.

After *Sweyn* was dead, *Cnute* his Son staid with his Army at *Gegnesburgh* until *Easter*, and there agreed with the people of *Lindesfige*, that they should provide his Army with Horses, and then that all of them should march out together to plunder; but King *Ethelred* came thither with a strong Army before they were ready to execute their Design, and spoiled and burnt all places, killing all the men they could meet with; therefore King *Cnute* departed thence with his Fleet, leaving the poor miserable people to shift for themselves, and sail'd *Southward* till he came to *Sandwic*, and there put the Hostages on shore which had been given to his Father, having first cut off their Hands and Noses. But for an addition to all these Calamities, the King commanded Twenty one thousand Pounds to be paid to the Army that then lay at *Grenawic*.

Also this year on the Vigil of *St. Michael*, happen'd a great Inundation of the Sea all along this Coast, insomuch that it spread further than ever it had yet done, so that it drowned many Towns, and an innumerable company of men.

We have nothing further to add under this year, more than to observe the various Relations of our Monkish Writers concerning the sudden death of King *Sweyn*, which they will needs have to be a Judgment upon him for waisting the Lands belonging to the Monastery of *Badricsworth*, and for giving opprobrious language against the Memory of *St. Edmund*, who was then enshrined. But because their Relation of this matter is very remarkable, I shall give you both *Florence* of *Worcester*, and *Simon* of *Durham*, their Account of it; which is thus, That King *Sweyn* lying then at *Gainsborough*, there held a General Assembly of his Great Officers; and when it grew toward evening, being encircled with his Armed Men, he cast out Threats, that he would send and spoil that Monastery; whereupon he presently thought he saw *St. Edmund* coming all Armed toward him, which made him cry out vehemently, *Help, help, Fellow-soldiers, look here, King Edmund comes to kill me*; and as he uttered these words, he received a Mortal Blow by the Saint's hands, and so fell from his Horse, and lying till the dusk of the evening in great torment, he expired on the second of *February*, and was carried to *Tork*, and there buried: So these Writers report from the Legend of *St. Edmund*: Yet *John* of *Tinmouth* makes *St. Edmund's* Ghost to have stabbed him with his Dagger as he sat in his Chair. But *William* of *Malmesbury* tells us, That *St. Edmund* appeared to him in his sleep, and smote him whilst he was in bed, because he answered him

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rudely: But they all agree that he died of the Blow which St. Edmund had given him: But I do believe that there may be so much Truth in this story, that King *Sweyn* being mortally wounded by some unknown hand, who had the good fortune to make his escape, gave occasion to the Monks of St. *Edmundsbury* to invent this Legend for the Honour of their Saint, and also to deter others from daring to violate that place, which was then accounted sacred.

But it seems King *Ethelred* was not much better'd by Affliction, nor did he long observe his Promise of governing according to Law; for the next year,

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'A *Mycel Gemot* (or Great Council) being now held at *Osnaford*, 'Earl *Eadric* there betray'd *Sigeferth* and *Morcar*, two (*Danish*) Thanes, 'of the *Seafenburghs* (that is, the Seven Towns, but where they lay, 'we know not) and inviting them all into his Chamber, they were 'there treacherously slain: Then the King seized upon all their Goods, and commanded the Widow of *Sigeferth* to be secured, and carried to '*Niea'delnesbyrig*, (i. e. *Malmesbury*): But some short time after, *Edmund Etheling* coming thither, married this Woman against his Father's will: For the Prince going (as *William* of *Malmesbury* relates) to see her, upon the great fame of her Beauty and Virtue, having seen her, and presently falling in Love with her, he there married her. *Florence*, and *Mat. Westminster*, do also farther relate, that not only these two Noblemen, but also divers of the Nobility appeared there, who though they were of *Danish* Blood, yet stood firm to King *Ethelred's* Interest; the chief of these were *Sigefert* and *Morchar*, (above-mentioned) men of great Riches and Power in the Northern Parts, and that perfidious Earl *Eadric*, who gaping after their Estates, accused them secretly of Treason to King *Ethelred*, by whose Order the Earl invited them all with great shew of kindness to a Feast, where he caused them to be treacherously murder'd. But their Dependants, who went about to revenge their Lords death, were repulsed, and forced to fly into the Tower of St. *Frideswide's* Church in *Oxford*, from whence, when they could not easily be driven, the Tower was set on fire, and they consumed with it: But presently after, the King repenting of his Cruelty, caused the Church to be cleansed and repaired.

This year also *Llewelyn ap Ithfyllt*, who was married to *Angharat*, only Daughter to *Meredyth* Prince of *Wales*, (as you have already heard) raised great Forces against *Aedan ap Blegored*, the usurping Prince of *North Wales*, and fighting a bloody Battel with him, there slew him with his four Sons; but the place is not mentioned where this Fight was: After which, *Llewelyn* took upon him the Principality of *North Wales* (for one *Kynan*, or *Conan*, then held *South Wales*); but though this *Llewelyn* was descended by his Mother's side from *Froel Dha*, yet notwithstanding he was not the Lawful Heir of *North Wales*, but *Jago* Son to Prince *Edwal* above-mentioned, who after the death of this *Llewelyn* succeeded him, as you will hear in due time.

'After this, about the Feast of the Nativity of the Virgin *Mary*, 'Edmund *Etheling* marched toward the *Five Burghs* (places in 'the North of England to us unknown) and presently invading the 'Lands of the said *Sigeferth* and *Morchar*, subdued all that Country. 'About the same time King *Cnute* arrived at *Sandwic*, and forthwith 'sail'd round about *Kent*, to the *West-Saxons*, till he came to the mouth

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'of the River *Frome*, and there landing, plunder'd all about *Wiltshire*, '*Dorsetshire*, and *Summersetshire*. At the same time King *Ethelred* lay 'sick at *Colham* (in *Wiltshire*) and then Earl *Eadric* got together an 'Army, and Edmund *Etheling* another in the Northern parts; but 'when they came near one another, the Ealdorman lay in wait to entrap Prince *Edward*, and cut him off, but was not able to effect it, (for 'his Design was discovered); whereupon they shied off without fighting at all, and by that means yielded the field to their Enemies. Then 'Eadric having first gained over to him Forry of the King's Royal 'Navy, submitted to *Cnute*, as did also the *West Saxons*, and gave 'him Hostages, and provided Horses for his Army, and there he stay'd 'among them till *Christmas*.

'This year King *Cnute* came with his Fleet of a Hundred and sixty 'Sail, and with him *Eadric* the Ealdorman, over the *Thames* into *Mercia*, as far as *Crecilade* (on the North-side of *Wiltshire*); and then 'towards *Christmas* they turned about to *Waringshire*, (i. e. *Warwickshire*), where they plunder'd without mercy, burning Towns, and 'killing all that came in their way. Upon this *Edmund Etheling* began to raise an Army against them; but when his Forces were got together, they were but of little service to him, because that neither the 'King was present there, nor did the Citizens of *London* come up to 'his assistance; so that that Expedition was utterly lost, and every man 'went home again about his own business.

'But after the Holidays were over, another Expedition was appointed, under a great Penalty upon every one that should not appear at the 'Mustel, though he lived never so far off: And a Messenger was sent 'to the King at *London*, humbly beseeching him to come and meet the 'Prince's Army with all the Forces he could raise; but (it seems) when 'they were all got together, they signified no more than what they had 'often done formerly; for it was told the King that some in the Army 'conspired against him, whereupon he dismissed his Forces, and so return'd to *London*.

So that whoever reads this History, may perceive that this King through his own Cowardise or Ill Fortune, was constantly attended with ill success where ever he went.

'Then Prince *Edmund* rode down to the *Northumbers* to Earl *Uhtred*, 'and all men thought they were about to raise another Army against 'King *Cnute*, but they went into *Stafford*, and *Scrobbsbyrig*, and *Legacester* 'shires, plundering in all places where they came; whilst *Cnute* did the 'like in his Quarters, marching through *Buckinghamshire*, and from thence 'into *Bedfordshire*, and so through *Huntingtonshire* over the Fens to *Stanford*, and from thence into *Lincolneshire*, and afterwards into *Nottinghamshire*, and so into *Northumberland*, towards *Eosforwic* (i. e. *York*); which 'when *Uhtred* had heard, he desisted from spoiling the Northern Parts; 'and so being compell'd through necessity, submitted himself, together 'with all the *Northumbers*; and tho he gave Hostages, yet he was shortly after slain (by King *Cnute's* Orders), as was also *Thurkytel* the Son 'of *Nafan* (as *Florence* relates) by *Thorebrand* a certain Noble Dane; but, 'according to *Malmesbury*, it was done at the Command of *Cnute* himself.

'After this, *Cnute* appointed *Trie* to be Earl of the *Northumbers*, instead of *Uhtred*, and then returned Southward another way by the *Western* Coasts, so that his whole Army arrived at their Ships before

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'Easter; but *Edmund Etheling* returned to *London* to his Father. After the Holidays King *Cnut* with all his Ships sail'd towards *London*; but it happened that before the *Danish* Fleet arrived there, King *Ethelred* deceased on the Feast of *St. George*, after he had suffer'd many Afflictions and Miseries in this life.] And was buried at *St. Pauls* in *London*.

This Prince has the Ill Character from *William* of *Malmesbury*, and the rest of our Historians, of being given to Wine and Women; and that neglecting the Company of the Queen his Wife, he debased the Royal Majesty by frequenting Mistresses of mean Quality, which very much alienated his Consort's Affections from him; though she had two Children by him, viz. *Elfred* and *Edward*. He is also said to have been Tyrannical to his own Subjects, taking away their Lives and Estates only for pretended Crimes. That he was also both Cowardly and Cruel, appears by that Barbarous Massacre of the *Danes* in time of Peace. But *William* of *Malmesbury* says it was a wretched and miserable time; for every one was obliged to give up or murder his dearest Guests; nay, those whom a nearer Relation had yet render'd dearer to him. That this King was likewise Timorous and Unfortunate in all his Undertakings, appears through the whole course of his Reign; from whence he has the Title among our *English* Historians, of *Ethelred the Unready*, because his Preparations were always either ill-tim'd or unsuccessful; but as he was a mean-spirited Prince succeeding a Magnanimous Father, so Prince *Edmund* his Son and Successor equal'd his Grandfather King *Edgar* in Courage, tho not in good Fortune.

But though King *Ethelred* was no Great or Worthy Prince in his own Person, yet with the Assistance of his Wives or Wife Men of his Great Council, he made divers excellent Laws and Constitutions. There are in *Bromton's* Chronicle four several Bodics of these Laws, made at as many several times, and in divers places, whereof there are only two extant among the *Saxon* Laws published by Mr. *Lambard*.

The Laws comprized in the first Division are Six, there said to have been made at *Woodstock* in *Mercia*, for the restoration of Peace according to the Law of *England*.

The first is, That every Freeman shall find Sureties to be bound for him, that he shall do right in case he be accused.

The second I shall omit, since it hath been already mentioned in the Laws of King *Edgar*; only the latter end of it is very remarkable; to wit, The Lord shall answer for his whole Family, and be Surety for the appearance of every Person in it. And if any of his Servants after they are accused, run away, the Lord or Master shall pay his man's *Were* to the King; And if the Master be accused as the Adviser to, or Promoter of his Escape, he shall purge himself by five *Thanes*; and if he do it not, he shall pay to the King his *Were*, and his man shall be an Outlaw.

The Third ordains, That a Bondman being cast by the *Ordeal*, shall be marked with a Hot Iron for the first Offence; and being cast in the same manner the second time, shall be put to Death. Which Law bears some resemblance to our present Law or Custom, whereby *Clergy* is allowed for the first Crime committed.

By the fifth the King's Reeve or Officer is obliged to require Sureties for the good behaviour of such as are of ill fame amongst all men; which

which if such a one obstinately refuses to give, he is to be put to death, and to be buried in an unhallowed place with Malefactors: And if any use force in his behalf to further his Escape, he is to undergo the same Punishment.

As for the next Set of Laws, they are said to have been made at *Venning*, or *Wanating* (now *Wantage* in *Berkshire*), and for the increase of common Peace and Happiness by King *Ethelred* and his Wife Men.

The first of them is concerning the keeping of the King's Peace, as it was in the days of his Predecessors, and for the punishment of the breach of it, in case of Manslaughter: If it were in a *Gemot* or Assembly of five Boroughs, with the forfeiture of five Pounds weight in Silver: If in an Assembly of a Borough or Town, by a Mulct of Seven hundred (Shillings). [But how much this was, is not known; for we have not now any true account of the Standard of Money at that time.] If in a *Wapentake*, by One hundred; and if in an Ale-house a man be killed, with six half Marks; if he be not killed, with twelve *Ores*; for the Value of which, *Vid. Sir Hen. Spelman's* Gloss.

From hence (but especially from the Laws of King *Ina*) we may observe, how Ancient the Liquor of Ale, and Ale-houses, have been in *England*, as also (what commonly follows it) quarrelling, and breaking of the Peace in such places.

The fourth commands, That Publick Meetings be observed in every Hundred or Wapentake; and that Twelve *Thanes*, (says *Bromton*) or Twelve men of free condition, (as *Lambard* reads it) being Elderly Men, together with their *Præpositus* (or Chief) shall swear upon the Gospels or Holy Reliques, That they will neither condemn an Innocent Person, nor acquit a Guilty One.

From whence we may observe the Antiquity of Trials by a Grand Inquest of more than Twelve Men, even in the *English Saxon* times, and was not introduced by *William* the Conqueror, as *Polydore Virgil*, an *Italian*, not much skill'd in the Antiquities of this Island, hath delivered in his History.

And to confirm what we have here said, the Third Chapter of the League betwixt King *Alfred*, and *Guthrun* the *Dane*, very much maketh out, which orders, That if the King's Thane or Servant be accused of Homicide, he shall purge himself (if he dare) by twelve other *Thanes*: Which you may see at large in those Laws themselves; and besides these the Reader throughout the whole Collection of *Saxon* Laws may observe, there is frequent mention made of clearing and purging by so many men summoned for that purpose, as sometimes by twelve, sometimes by fewer, and sometimes by more.

As for the Trial by *Ordeal*, it grew more in request in the Reign of King *Cnut*, and his Successors, being indeed originally a *Danish* Custom.

The rest of the Laws of King *Ethelred* made at *Wantage*, having many of them relation to this way of Trial by *Ordeal*, and containing many obscure terms, I omit. But since several of them may very well be referred to other former Laws, I shall only select from amongst them, such as are most worthy to be taken notice of here.

The twenty third appoints what Custom should be paid by Ships and Vessels of all sorts that unladed at *Billingessgate*; from whence it appears that this was the Ancient Port of *London*, Wines and all other Commodities being here unladed.

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The twenty sixth imposes the same Punishment upon such as wittingly receive, as well as on those that make Bad Money.

Whereby we may observe, That though the Coining of Bad Money was not as yet made Treason, yet it was punishable at the King's discretion, either by Fine or Death, as you will see in the following Law.

The twenty eighth puts it into the King's power, whether to fine or put to death such Merchants as import Counterfeit Money: And further imposeth upon all Port-reeves that shall be necessary, the same Punishment as upon those that coin false Money, except the King think fit to pardon them.

There are also other Laws which we cannot certainly affirm to have been made in his time, though the general Conjecture is that they were. These are comprised in an Agreement or Act which the *Wise Men* of *England* and the Counsellors of *Wales* made, concerning the Inhabitants of the Mountains of that Countrey: But as for the particular Laws made in this Common-Council of both Nations, since they only concern Cattel or other Goods taken away on either side, or else the manner of giving Testimony both by *Welsh* and *English* Witnesses in such cases, I refer the Reader to the Laws themselves; and shall only desire him to take notice, That Justice was to be equally administered by Twelve Judges, Six *Welsh* and Six *English* men, much after the same manner as the Commission for the Borders of *England* and *Scotland* is now executed.

But that we may see how great a distance there was then between these two Nations (which, God be thanked, are now united into one) the sixth Article of these Laws expressly forbids the *Welsh* to come into *England*, or the *English* to enter *Wales*, except received at either Bank by the Borderers, who shall take care for their safe conduct and return: And in case any Borderer be accused of false dealing herein, and cannot by witness disprove it, he should be fined.

King

King EDMUND, surnamed Ironside.

After the Death of King *Ethelred*, all the Wise and Great Men who were then at *London*, together with the Citizens of that place, elected *Eadmund* the Eldest Son of that King to reign over them, who held it but a short time, and that with great difficulty. *William* of *Malmesbury* says he was born of a Woman whose name he did not know; but * *Ethelred* Abbot de *Rievallis*, saith she was the only Daughter of *Toret* a Noble Earl, whom the Chronicle of *John* of *Wallingford* calls *Ethelred's* first Wife: But *Mat. Westminster* relates otherwise, that he was not born of Queen *Emma*, who was his only Wife, but of a certain Ignoble Woman; yet besides the Obscurity of his Birth, he was a Man without all exception, both for Strength of Body and Mind, and therefore called by the *English*, *Ironside*. He would have made amends both for his Father's Cowardise, and his Mother's want of Birth, had he been but allowed some longer time to have lived. So that it appears by these Authors, that this King *Edmund* was born of a Concubine.

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But to come to our History: When King *Edmund* was thus declared King at *London* (as *Simcon* of *Durham* tells us) with great Acclamations of Joy, he also relates, That many of the Bishops, Abbots, and Noblemen of *England* coming to *Southampton*, abjuring the Progeny of King *Ethelred*, at the same time chose *Cnut* for their King; who (according to our Annals) 'immediately came with his Fleet to *Grenawic*, 'about *Lent*, and within a short time after marched up to *London*, where 'they dug a great Trench on the South-side of the River, and drew 'their Ships to the West side of the Bridge, and besieged the City, insomuch that none could go in or out, making such frequent Assaults upon 'it; yet the Citizens resisted them vigorously: But King *Eadmund* was 'marched out before into *West-Saxony*, where all that Nation willingly 'submitted themselves to him. Not long after, he fought with the 'Danes at *Peonnan* (now *Pen*) near *Gillingam* (in *Somersetshire*.)

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But *Cnut* not being there, they do not tell us who commanded in his stead, for he was then with his Fleet at the Siege of *London*.

'After *Midsummer* King *Eadmund* fought another Battel at *Scorstan* (which place is supposed to be a Stone that now parts the four Counties of *Oxfordshire*, *Gloucestershire*, *Worcestershire*, and *Warwickshire*): But our Annals do not mention who had the Victory; only, 'That there 'were many kill'd on both sides, and that the two Armies marched off 'from each other of their own accord; for *Eadric* the *Ealdorman*, and 'Elmer, then joined with the Danes against King *Edmund*.

But as *William* of *Malmesbury* tells us, *Eadric* the Traytor was the cause of the King's Soldiers running away; for holding up his Sword dipped in the Blood of some mean person, (or as *Simcon* says, his Head, which was very like King *Edmund's*) whom he had newly killed, he cried out to the *English*, to fly, for their King was dead: Yet *R. Hoveden* adds, That the Fight was very bloody, and both Parties were forced to leave off, being quite tired.

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Our Annals do then thus proceed, That King *Edmund* having gathered an Army the third time, march'd to *London*, and raised the Siege, driving the *Danes* to their Ships, and within two days after the King pass'd over at *Brentford*, and there fought the *Danes*, and put them to flight; but many of the *English* were drown'd by their own negligence, as they ran before the Army, being greedy of spoil.

After this the King marched down toward the *West-Saxons*, and there reinforced his Army; whilst in the mean time the *Danish* Forces returned to *London*, and besieged that City, assailing it both by Land and Water, but God at that time also delivered it; whereupon the *Danes* departed from *London* with their Ships into *Arman*, and there landing marched up into *Mercia*, killing and burning all they met with, according to their old custom, and there furnished themselves with Provisions, and then drew all their Ships with their Spoil up the *Medway*.

But where this *Arman* abovementioned lay, is very uncertain; That it could not be the River *Arrow* in *Warwickshire* (as some fancy) is plain, that being no where Navigable: Therefore the *Ingenious* Editor of these *Annals*, in the explication of the Proper Names of Places at the end of the Book, does very probably guess, that this River was either that which we now call *Orwell*, which divides *Essex* from *Suffolk*; or else that there is an Error in the *Saxon Copy*, and instead of *into Arman*, it should be read to *Waran*, that is, they went up the River *Lee* as far as *Ware*: But this I leave to the Reader's Judgment, and shall again return to the *Annals* themselves.

Then King *Eadmund* assembled the whole *English* Nation a fourth time, and passed the *Thames* again at *Brentford*, and from thence went into *Kent*, and there put the *Danish* Horse to flight in *Seapige*, and killed as many of them as they could meet with: But *Eadric* the Ealdorman by his subtle Artifices persuaded the King to stay at *Eglesford*, which was the most perfidious advice that could be given him.

Florence of Worcester, and *William of Malmesbury* are more particular in this Transaction; and say, That the Traitorous Earl above-mentioned so over-persuaded the King by his plausible Insinuations, that he did not pursue the *Danes*, when almost routed, or else he might have obtained an absolute Victory.

Then (according to our *Annals*) the *Danes* turned against the *West-Saxons*, and marched into *Mercia*, killing all before them; but when the King understood that the *Danes* were gone thither, he drew all the *English* Forces together the fifth time, and following them himself in the Rear, overtook them near a Hill called *Assandun* (now *Asbdown* in *Essex*), where they had a very sharp Engagement; but there *Eadric* the Ealdorman playing his old pranks, first of all began the flight with the *Magesatons*, by *Cambden* supposed to be the *Radnorshire* men; and so once more deceived his Natural Lord, and the whole Nation.

But here, though I cannot but admire the wonderful Courage and Constancy of this Brave Prince, yet can I not commend his Prudence, who could thus trust a known Traytor, that had not only betrayed himself, but his Father before him: But I need make no long reflections upon this, since we find few Princes guilty of the like Baseness in later Ages.

But

But this is certain from our *Annals*, That *Cnut* now obtained the Victory against the greatest part of the *English* Nation; and there were slain on the spot *Eadnoth* the Bishop, and *Wilfrige* the Abbot, *Alfric* and *Godwin* the Ealdormen, and *Wulfkytel* Earl of *East-England*, and most of the *English* Nobility.

William of Malmesbury highly commends this *Wulfkytel*, and says that he deserved perpetual Honour, because he was the first in the time of *Sweyn*, who set upon the *Danish* Pirates, and gave some hopes that they might be conquered. But as for *Eadnoth* Bishop of *Lincoln*, and the Abbot above-mentioned, they came not to fight, but as *Simon* says, to pray to God for those that did; so that the *English* Nation never yet received a greater Blow.

But King *Edmund* being left almost alone, got to *Gloucester*, and there rallied and recruited his shatter'd Troops; but thither (according to our *Annals*) King *Cnut* with all his Army pursued him: Then *Eadric* the Ealdorman, and all the Great Men on both sides advised the Two Kings to come to Terms of Peace: Whereupon they both met together at *Olanege* (an Island in the River *Severn*, now called the *Eighth*) and there concluded a League between them (Hostages and Oaths being mutually exchanged) and agreed, That the *Danish* Army should be paid.

A Peace being thus concluded, the two Kings parted from each other, *Eadmund* going into *West-Saxony*, and *Cnut* to the *Mercians*.

But since other Authors have more particularly related the Cause and Manner of making this Peace, I shall give you a larger account of it from *Simon of Durham*, and *R. Hoveden*; the first of whom says, That the Traytor *Eadric* and some others, when King *Edmund* would have fought again with *Cnut*, would by no means suffer him to do it; but advised him rather to make a Peace, and divide the Kingdom with him; to whose Persuasions the King at last (though unwillingly) consented; and Messengers passing between them, and Hostages being interchanged, the two Kings (or rather, their Commissioners, as *Bromton's Chronicle* relates it) met at a place called *Peorburst*, on the *Severne*, and there concluded a Truce. Then King *Edmund* with his men being on the *West* side of *Severne*, and *Cnut* with his Followers sitting down on the *East* side thereof, they passed over in Ferry-boats to the Island above-mentioned, where they met, and agreed upon the Terms of Peace.

But *Ethelred* Abbot of *Rievall*, tells the Story somewhat different, viz. That both Armies growing weary of the War at last, compelled the Great Men on each side to come to a Conference, where one of the most Elderly among them is brought in making a long Speech, (I suppose to shew the Wit of those Authors); and therein he very pathetically represents the Mischiefs the Soldiers lay under, in thus exposing their Lives and Fortunes for Two Princes of equal Courage; and so advised them before it was too late, That since King *Edmund* could not endure a Superior, nor *Cnut* an Equal, they should leave it to them two to fight by themselves for that Crown which they both so much desired to wear; lest by this desperate way of fighting, the Soldiers should be all kill'd, and then there would be none left to defend the Nation against Foreign Invaders. Which Speech being highly approved of by all there present, both Armies cried out with one voice,

Let

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Let them either Fight, or Agree: This Sentence of the Chief Commanders and Soldiers being brought to both the Kings, pleased them so well, that they met in the Island above-mentioned, and there fought singly in the fight of both Armies; where having broken their Spears, and then drawn their Swords, there follows in these Authors a long and Tragical Relation of this mighty Combat, which yet it seems happened without any Wounds on either side; but *Cnut* beginning at last to be out of breath, and fearing the greater Strength and Youth of King *Edmund*, proposed a Peace to be made by division of the Kingdom between them; and they give us also the fine Speech made by King *Cnut* upon this Subject; which Proposal being willingly received by King *Edmund*, they kissed and embraced each other, both Armies wondering and weeping for joy at this so happy and unexpected agreement. So mutually changing both their Arms and Apparel in token of Friendship, they each return'd to their own men, and there drew up the Conditions of the League; *viz.* That King *Edmund* should enjoy *West-Saxony*, and *Cnut* the Kingdom of *Mercia*; but what was to become of the rest of *England*, they do not speak one word.

But tho' so many of our Writers seem pleas'd with this Romantick Story, yet I rather assent to the Testimony of our *Annals*, and the *Encomium Emmae*, as also *William* of *Malmesbury*, *Florence* of *Worcester*, and several Manuscript Authors in the *Cottonian* Library, who all agree this Peace to have been made at the place aforesaid, without any Combat at all between the two Kings: Only *William* of *Malmesbury* relates, that when King *Edmund* had challenged *Cnut* to fight with him single, to save the further Effusion of their Subjects Blood, this Challenge being carried to King *Cnut*, he utterly declined it, saying, Though he had as great a Courage as his Antagonist, yet he would not venture his own small Body against a man of so great Strength and Stature; but since both their Fathers had enjoyed a share of the Kingdom, it was more agreeable to prudence to divide it between them: Which Proposal being joyfully received by both Armies, as a thing most just and equal in itself, and which most tended to the good of both Nations, now harass'd out by long and cruel Wars, King *Edmund* accepted of, and agreed (though with some reluctancy) to a Peace, upon the terms above-mentioned. Thus we find what a great uncertainty there is in most of the Relations of those times. But to proceed with our *Annals*:

'The *Danes* as soon as this Peace was concluded, went to their Ships with all the Plunder they had taken, and from thence sail'd to *London*, and there took up their Winter-Quarters.

For that City, as being part of the *Mercian* Kingdom, had now submitted it self to them.

'Not long after this, *viz.* at the Feast of St. *Andrew*, King *Eadmund* departed this life, and was buried with his Grandfather King *Eadgar* at *Gleastingabyrig*. The same year also deceased *Wulfgar* in *Abbandune*, whereof he was Abbot, and *Ethelsgif* succeeded him.

But since our *Annals* tell us only of the sudden Death of this Prince, without relating the manner of it, we shall give it you more at large from other Authors, who almost generally agree, that he was murdered by that Traytor *Edric*, though they differ somewhat in the Actors or Instruments by whom it was committed; some will have him to be taken off by Poyson; others, with an Arrow shot by an Image made on purpose,

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pose, which discharged it self upon the King as soon as he touched it; but this is too improbable to beget any credit: And therefore what *William* of *Malmesbury*, and *Bromton*, relate, is most likely to be true, *viz.* That this *Edric* above-mentioned suborned two of this King's Servants to lye under the House-of-Office, and to thrust up a sharp piece of Iron into his Fundament, as one night he sat down to ease himself. Tho' the Chronicle last-mentioned says this Murther was committed at *Oxford* by one of *Edric's* Sons, who at the command of his Father stabbed him in the hinder Parts with a long sharp Knife, and left the Weapon sticking in his Body. But *H. Huntington*, and *Alfred* Abbot of *Rievale*, say that *Edric* was the first who saluted *Cnut* Sole King of all *England*; to whom when he had told all the matter, the King answer'd, *Well, for so great a Good Turn, I will advance thy Head above all the Lords in England*; and thereupon commanding him to be beheaded, order'd his Head to be set upon the Tower of *London*: But this being related by no other Author besides *Mat. Westminster*, is not probable; for all others make him to have been alive some time after this. But *Si-meon* of *Durham* and *R. Hoveden*, do with greater certainty relate, That as soon as he received the News of *Edmund's* Death, he order'd all the Bishops, Ealdormen, and Chief Men throughout *England*; to be summoned to *London*, and when they appeared before him, he cunningly asked them, If they were Witnesses of the Agreement which had been made between him and King *Edmund*, concerning the Division of the Kingdom; and whether there was any Condition inserted, That either his Sons or his Brethren should succeed him in the Kingdom of the *West-Saxons*? Then they all began with one accord to say, They did not know that King *Edmund* had left any part of the Kingdom to his Brethren, either living or dying; but as for his Sons, they knew very well that *Edmund* would have left him to be the Protector of his Children, till they should come of fitting age to reign: But they likewise add, that they bore false witness, and lied grossly, because they hop'd to make King *Cnut* the more favourable to them, and should thereby receive the greater Rewards for their pains: But some of them had a just Recompence for their Perjury, by being not long after put to death. Hereupon King *Cnut* after he had thus taken their Testimonies, received the Oaths of Fidelity from the said Great Men and Bishops, who all swore that they would chuse him for their King, and willingly raise Taxes to pay his Army; and at the same time also they renounced the Sons of King *Edmund*, (*Edward* and *Edmund*) from ever being Kings of this Nation.

But King *Cnut* growing jealous of these Young Princes, sent them to the King of *Sweden*, that they might by him be made away; which he out of compassion not only refused, but generously sent them to *Solomon* King of *Hungary*, to be educated; and being there kindly received for some time, *Edmund* the elder of them died, but *Edward* the younger marrying *Agatha* the Queen's Sister, had by her *Edgar*, surnamed *Etheling*, *Christina* a Nun, and *Margaret*, afterwards married to *Malcolme* King of *Scotland*; of whom we shall have occasion to speak further, before we come to the end of this Book.

King C N U T E.

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THis year (according to our *Annals*) *Cnute* King of Denmark began to reign over all *England*, which he divided into four Parts or Governments, reserving *West Saxony* to himself, committing *East-England* to Earl *Thurkyl*, *Mercia* to *Eadric*, and the *Northumbers* to *Tric*; but not long after, the said *Eadric* the Ealdorman was killed: The manner of which *Bromton's* Chronicle thus relates, That at *Christmas* the King being at *London*, in a certain upper room on the other side of the *Thames*, it happened that the Traytor *Eadric* upbraided the King with his services, How that for his sake he had betrayed King *Ethelred*, and also made away *Edmund* his own King, and yet he had received no very extraordinary advantage or benefit thereby, according to his Merits, (to be sure, as he himself thought); at which *Cnute* being highly enraged, answered, *Out of thy own mouth shalt thou be judged, who plainly confessest thy self a Traytor against both thy former Kings, therefore thou shalt certainly dye*: So he immediately commanded him to be tied hand and foot, and flung out of the Window into the River; though some other Authors relate that he was first strangled: But we cannot find for certain which way it was done; for *William* of *Malmesbury* and *R. Hoveden* only say this, That the King commanded *Eadric*, surnamed *Streon*, to be slain in the Palace, because he was afraid of being circumvented by his Treacheries; and ordered likewise his Body to be flung over the Wall of the City, and there to lye unburied.

The *Annals* do here further add, 'That *Northman* Son to Earl *Leofwin*, and *Ethelward* Son to *Ethelmar* the Great, and *Brihtic* Son to *Elfger* Earl of *Defenanscire*, were also put to death; but their Crimes are not set down: Therefore *R. Hoveden* supposes them to have been only the King's Jealousy of their too great Power, being all *English* Noblemen, though I suspect they were guilty of somewhat more than what we find related.

The same year also the King banished *Eadwig Etheling*, called *Ceorles Cyng*, (i.e. King of the Clowns) Brother to King *Eadmund*. But the *Annals* seem to make this *Eadwig* two persons, though for what reason I know not; but however he was not immediately banished after *Cnute* came to the Crown, as some Writers suppose; neither yet was he put to death, as *Simeon* of *Durham*, and *Bromton*, relate; for the latter tells us this Story of him, That *Cnute* not thinking himself safe so long as *Eadwig* was alive, consulted with Earl *Eadric* how to have him dispatched out of the way; by whose advice the King sent for one *Ethelward*, and tempted him privately with large Rewards; but he abhorring in his heart so foul a deed, however promised to do it as soon as he found a fitting opportunity, and by this means still deferred it. But then the same Author adds, That having by the said *Eadric's* Counsel banished Prince *Edwin*, the year following, under a feign'd Reconciliation, he was by King *Cnute's* Order made away; which is contrary to what

William

William of *Malmesbury* relates; for he says that this Prince, having been long tossed about both by Sea and Land, and being broken as well in Body as in Mind, secretly return'd into *England*, and lay conceal'd till he died, and then was buried at *Tavistock*.

But the *Annals* further say, 'That before the *Kal. of August*, the King commanded Queen *Emma*, Widow of the late King, his Predecessor, 'to be brought over to him, and some time after took her for his Consort.

This he did to gain the Friendship of the Duke of *Normandy* her Father; but she is highly censured for marrying the sworn Enemy of her Husband and her Children: Though this only lets us see that it is no new thing for Princes to prefer the wearing of a Crown even before their own Honour.

Now again (according to our *Annals*) was paid that Tax or Tribute called *Danegelt*, throughout all the *English* Nation, to wit, Seventy two thousand Pounds; besides that which the Citizens of *London* paid, viz. Eleven thousand Pounds more. Which Tax being raised when there seemed to be no more fear of the *Danes*, it looks as if King *Cnute* now took upon him to govern as a Conqueror. From which also you may observe the flourishing Trade and Wealth of that City in those days, since it could even at that time pay above a Seventh of this excessive Taxation.

Then also a great part of the *Danish* Army return'd into *Denmark*, and only forty Ships remain'd with King *Cnute*; the *Danes* and *English* were likewise now reconciled and united at *Oxnafor*: *Bromton* says it was done at a Great Council or Parliament at *Oxford*, where King *Cnute* ordained the Laws of King *Edgar* (i.e. of *England*) to be observed.

The same year also *Ethelstige*, Abbot of *Abbandune* deceased, and *Ethelwin* succeeded him.

This year King *Cnute* returned into *Denmark*, and there stayed all the Winter. *Bromton's* Chronicle says he went over to subdue the *Vandals*, who then made War against him, and carried along with him an Army both of *English* and *Danes*; the former being commanded by Earl *Godwin*, set upon the Enemies by surprize, and put them to flight; after which the King had the *English* in as much esteem as his own *Danish* Subjects. But the year following,

He returned into *England*, and then held a *Mycel Gemot*, or Great Council at *Cyrencester*, where *Ethelward* the Ealdorman was outlaw'd. The same year also King *Cnute* went to *Assandune* (the place where he had before fought the great Battel with King *Edmund*) and there caused a Church to be built of Lime and Stone for the souls of those men that had been slain there: Which being (as *R. Hoveden* relates) consecrated in the King's presence by *Wulstan* Archbishop of *Tork*, and divers other Bishops, was committed to the care of his Chaplain, whose Name was *Stigand*.

Also Archbishop *Living* deceased, and *Ethelnoth* a Monk and Dean of *Canterbury*, was consecrated Bishop by *Wulstan* Archbishop of *Tork*.

But before we proceed farther, I will give you some account of the Affairs of *Wales* in these times: Where after the death of *Kynan*, or *Conan*, the Usurping Prince of *South-Wales* above mentioned, *Levelyn* Prince of *North-Wales* had, according to *Caradoc's* Chronicle, possessed himself

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himself of *South-Wales*, and had for some years governed both those Countries with great Peace and Prosperity, so that from the *North* to the *South Sea*, there was not a Beggar in the whole Countrey, but every man had sufficient to live of his own, infomuch that the Countrey grew daily more and more populous.

But this year produced a notable Impostor; for a certain *Scot* of mean Birth came now into *South-Wales*, and called himself *Run*, or *Reyn*, (as the Manuscript Copies have it) the Son of *Meredyth ap Owen*, late Prince of *Wales*, as you have already heard: Upon which the Nobility of that Countrey, who loved not *Lewelyn*, set up this *Run*, or *Reyn*, to be their Prince; But *Lewelyn* hearing of it, assembled all the Forces of *North-Wales*, and marched against this *Run*, who had now also got all the strength of *South-Wales* together; and going as far as *Abergwily* (i.e. the mouth of the River *Gwily*) there waited the coming of *Lewelyn*; but when he arrived, and both Armies were ready to join Battel, *Run*, full of ourward confidence, encouraged his men to fight; yet no sooner was the Battel begun, but this Impostor soon discovered what he was, by withdrawing himself privily out of the fight; whereas on the contrary, *Lewelyn* like a Courageous Prince standing in the Head of his Army, called out aloud for this base *Scot*, *Run*, who durst so belye the Blood of the *British* Princes: Both Armies then meeting, fought for a while with great Courage, and Malice to each other; but it seems the *South-Wales* men being not so resolute in the Quarrel of this Impostor, as those of *North-Wales* were to defend the Right of their Lawful Prince; the latter being also encouraged by the Speeches and Prowess of their Prince, put the former to the Rout, and pursued this *Run* so closely, that he had much ado to escape; Prince *Lewelyn* having got thus a great deal of Spoil, return'd home, and for a short time govern'd these Countries in Peace. But to return to our Annals;

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This year, about *Martinmas*, King *Cnute* outlaw'd (i.e. banished) 'Earl *Thurkyl*:] But they tell us not the Crime. Yet *William* of *Malmesbury* makes it a Judgment, for being the principal Promoter of the Murder of Archbishop *Ælfage*; and that as soon as he return'd into *Denmark*, he was killed by some Noblemen of that Nation.

This year also, according to an Old Manuscript belonging to *St. Edmundsbury*, and cited by the Lord Chief Justice *Coke*, in the Preface to the 9th Book of his *Reports*, King *Cnute* held a Parliament at *Winchester*, wherein were present the two Archbishops, and all the other Bishops, as also many Ealdormen and Earls, with divers Abbots, together with a great many Knights, and a vast multitude of People; and there, in pursuance of the King's desires, it was decreed, That the Monastery of *St. Edmund the King* should be free and for ever exempt from all Jurisdiction of the Bishops and Earls of that Country.

But Sir *H. Spelman* here very well observes, that this Manuscript could be no ancienter than the Reign of *Henry* the Third, because the word *Parliament* was not in use before that time.

Though thus much is certain, That King *Cnute* the year before founded this Monastery, afterwards called *St. Edmundsbury*, (but then known to the Saxons by the name of *Beadrichesworth*) where there had been a Church built before; and King *Edward* the Elder, in the year 942, had also given several Lands to it, and upon which Foundation King *Cnute* had lately built and endowed the said Abby, which was one of the Largest and Richest in all *England*.

Icwehyn

Lewelyn ap Sitsylt, Prince of *Wales*, but a short time enjoyed the fruits of his late Victory; for this year the *Welsh* Chronicles tell us, he was slain by *Howel* and *Meredyth*, the Sons of Prince *Edwin*, or *Owen*, above-mentioned, who yet did not succeed in the Principality; for *Jago*, Son to *Edwal* late Prince of *Wales*, was now advanced to the Throne as Lawful Heir, having been long debarr'd of his Right: But it seems he could not do the like in *South-Wales*, which one *Rytheric ap Justin* seiz'd upon, and held by force.

This year King *Cnute* sail'd with his Fleet to the Isle of *Wight*; but upon what account, our Annals do not shew us: Also Archbishop *Æthelnoth* went to *Rome*, and was there received by Pope *Benedict* with great Honour, who put on his Pall with his own hands, and being so habited, celebrated Mass, as the Pope commanded him; and then after he had dined with him, return'd home with his Benediction.

Also *Leofwin* the Abbot, who had been unjustly expell'd from the Monastery of *Elig*, was his Companion, and there cleared himself of those Crimes of which he had been accused, before the Pope: the Archbishop and all the Company that were there present, testifying on his behalf.

Wulfstan Archbishop of *York* deceased, and *Ælfric* succeeded, *Edel-* noth the Archbishop consecrating him at *Canterbury*. Also this year the same Archbishop translated the Reliques of *St. Ælfage* (his Predecessor) from *London* to *Canterbury*.

The King himself, as *William* of *Malmesbury* tells us, removed them with his own hands, paying them all due Veneration; and further adds, that his Body remain'd as uncorrupt as if he had been but lately kill'd.

Richard the Second, Duke of *Normandy* died, and *Richard* his Son ruled after him one year; and then *Robert* his Brother succeeded him, and ruled eight years.

This year King *Cnute* sail'd with his Fleet into *Denmark*, to a Plain near the Holy River, but where that was, I know not; and there came against him *Wulf* and *Eglaf*, with a very powerful Army out of *Sweden* both by Land and Sea; and many on King *Cnute*'s side were there killed, both *Danes* and *English*, the *Swedes* keeping the field of Battel. After which *Cnute* returning into *England*, I find no mention made of any Action here in any Author, for the two succeeding years. But then,

King *Cnute* sail'd with fifty Ships of *English* *Thanes* into *Norway*, and drove King *Olaf* out of that Countrey, and conquer'd it for himself.

Bromton's Chronicle relates, That this *Olaf* being a Soft and Easy Prince, was already in a manner driven out by his own Subjects; and so *Cnute* only went as it were to receive the Kingdom from the Nobility and People, who submitted themselves presently to him.

King *Cnute* came back into *England*.] And (as *R. Hoveden* adds) upon his Return banished *Hacun* a *Danish* Earl, that had married his Niece *Gunhilda*, who was his Sister's Daughter, sending him away under pretence of an Embassy; for the King was afraid lest otherwise he might deprive him both of his Kingdom and Life.

King

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'King Olaf return'd again into Norway, to regain his Right; but the People rising up against him, he was there slain.

This is he who was afterwards canoniz'd under the Title of *King Olaf the Martyr*.

About this time (as *Guil. Gemeticensis*, and *John of Walingford*, do both relate) *Robert* Duke of *Normandy* pitying the long Exile of his Nephews *Edward* and *Alfred*, sent Ambassadors to *King Cnute*, requiring him to restore them to their Right; but he not at all valuing his threatening, sent the Ambassadors back with a Repulse; whereat the Duke conceiving great indignation, assembled his Nobles, and by their Advice caus'd a great Navy to be prepar'd, which in a short time came to Anchor at *Fescam*; then the Duke with his Army put to Sea, but by Tempest was driven into the Isle of *Guernsey*, and so shatter'd, that he was forced to return home, where they were detain'd a long time by contrary Winds, which was an extreme mortification to him.

But not long after, Ambassadors came over to him from *King Cnute*, signifying, That he was contented to resign to the Young Princes half the Kingdom, which they should peaceably enjoy during his life, (and that was not like to be long) for he then laboured under a languishing Distemper: Wherefore the Duke thought good for some time to defer his Expedition till he should be come back from *Jerusalem*, whither he had vowed to undertake a Pilgrimage. And when he had recommended to *Robert* Archbishop of *Rouen*, and other Nobles, his Son *William*, then a Child of Seven Years old, and received from them Assurances of their Fidelity to him, he began the said Voyage; and having perform'd it, as he was returning homewards the next year, he fell sick, and died about the *Alpes*. But of this *William* his Son, by *Harlotte* his Concubine, he not only succeeded his Father, but was also afterwards King of *England*; as you shall hear when we come to his Reign.

This year, as soon as *King Cnute* return'd into *England*, he gave the Port of *Sandwic* to *Christ's* Church in *Canterbury*, with all the Issues and Profits arising from thence on both sides the Haven, according to an Extract from his Charter (preserved among the * Evidences of that Church); and that as far as, when the Tide of Flood was highest, and a Ship lying near the Shore, a man could from thence cast a little Axe on land, so far the *Christ-Church* Officers should receive all Rights and Dues.

This year also, according to † *Monast. Angl.* *King Cnute* founded another Monastery for *Benedictines* in *Norfolk*, which from its being seated in a Woody Place, was called *St. Bennet's* in *Holme*; the Lands and Scite of which Abby being by *King Henry the VIIIth*, after the Dissolution of Monasteries, exchanged with the Bishop of *Norwich* for other Lands; he is the only Bishop of *England* who has still the Title of an Abbot.

Also under this year I find a Charter in the Manuscript Copy of *Florence of Worcester*, in the *Bodleian* Library, made to the Monastery of *St. Edmundsbury*, granting and confirming all its Lands and Privileges; the beginning of which Charter being somewhat remarkable, I shall here recite: *Cnute, Rex Totius Albionis Insule, aliarumque Nationum adjacentium, in Cathedra Regali promotus, cum Consilio & Decreto Archiepiscoporum, Episcoporum, Abbatum, Comitum, omniumque meorum Fidelium elegi sanc-*

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* *Ed. X. Script.*
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† *T. m. I. p.*
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ciendum, & perpetuo stabilimento ab omnibus confirmandum, quod Monasterium, quod Badricefwerde nuncupatur, &c. which is also printed from the Original, at the end of *Mr. Perys* Treatise of the Rights of the Com-mons, &c.

King Cnute having performed these great Deeds of Charity and Devotion, not long after (in the same year, as our *Annals* inform us) began his Journey to *Rome*.

But since our *Annals* do not tell us what he did there, I shall give it you in short from his own Letter, as I find it in *William of Malmesbury*, which upon his return from *Rome*, he wrote and sent into *England*, by *Living* Abbot of *Tavistock*; and begins thus:

"*Cnute*, King of *Denmark*, *Norway*, and all *Swedeland*, to *Ailnoth* (or "*Egelnoth*, the Metropolitan), and to *Alfric* of *York*, with all the Bi-shops and Primates, and to the whole *Englisch* Nation, as well Noble-men as *Plubeians*, Health: Wherein he gives an account of his Journey, as also the reason of his undertaking it; then how honourably he was received at *Rome*, and what he had there negotiated for the benefit of his Subjects: Then he gives Directions and Commands to his Officers to do all Justice and Right to the People in his Absence, a thing which he resolved on (as he says) long before, but never could till now accomplish what he had designed for the Pardon of his Sins and the Safety of all his Subjects; he further signifies, that he was received by all the Princes, who at that time were with *Pope John*, solemnizing the Feast of *Easter*, with extraordinary Respect and Honour, but especially by *Conrade* the *German* Emperor; that he had dealt with them all about the concerns of his people both *Englisch* and *Danes*, that their Passage to *Rome* might be more free and open; and had obtained, that as well Merchants as others should with all safety pass and repass without any Toll or Imposition: He had also com-plained to the *Pope*, that his Archbishops paid vast Sums of Money before they could obtain their Palls, which Grievance was by the *Pope's* Decree taken off. All these Immunities procured from the *Pope*, the Emperor, *Rodolph* King of *France*, and all other Princes throughout whose Territories he travelled, were confirmed by Oath, under the Testimonies of Four Archbishops, and Twenty Bishops, with an innumerable Company of Dukes and other Noblemen there present. Then follows a Thanksgiving to Almighty God, for giving him such Success in what he had undertaken. After this, he desires it might be published to all the world, that having devoured his Life to God's service, he resolved to govern the People subject to him in all Piety, Justice, and Equity; And in case any thing blameworthy had been done by him in his Youth, by the help of God he was now ready to make full amends for it. Therefore he charges all his Min-isters whatsoever, as well Sheriffs as others, That for fear of him they should not pervert Justice, because there was no necessity that Money should be raised by any unjust exactions. And at last, after great Asseverations how much he studied the Profit and Conveniency of his People, he adjures all his Ministers before he arrived in *England*, that they should procure all Dues to be paid according to the ancient Cu-stom; as the Alms of the Plow, the Tythes of all Cattel brought forth in the same year, *Peter-Fence* in *August*, with the Tythes of Corn, and at *Martinnas* the First fruits of the same, called *Curcescot*, or "*Cyrce-*

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"Cyrcesfoot (i.e. Money given to the Church); in case this was not paid before his Return, he threatens severely to animadvert upon every one according to the Laws.

William of Malmesbury further adds, That at his Return he was as good as his word; for he commanded all the Laws which had been made by former English Kings, and chiefly by Ethelred his Predecessor, to be observed under great Penalties; for the true observation whereof, our Kings (says he) are at this very day sworn under the name of the Good Laws of King Edward; not that he only ordain'd them, but because he observed them.

So that from hence we may take notice, That Kings who have the least of Hereditary Title, if they mean to reign happily, ought in Policy, as well as Conscience, to observe the Laws of that Kingdom to which they have been advanced without any Right of Blood.

But to return again to our Annals; they further tell us, "That upon the King's return from Rome (where it seems he staid not long after) he marched into Scotland, and there King Malcolm became subject to him, with two other Kings (of the Isles) called Malberth and Jehmarc.

"The same year also Robert Earl of Normandy went to Jerusalem, and there died; and William who was afterwards King of England, began to reign, being an Infant.

From whence we may plainly see, that the Cottonian Copy of these Annals was wrote in the form we have them, after the Conquest; and though the other Copies do not expressly call him King of England, yet they give him the Title of King William, which is all one.

About this time (as the Welsh Chronicles relate) the Irish Scots invaded South-Wales, by the means of Howel and Meredyth, the Sons of Edwin above-mentioned, who hired them against Rythaerch ap Ieslyn, the Usurping Prince of that Countrey, whom by the assistance of these Scots they slew in Battel, and by that means got the Government of South-Wales, which they ruled jointly, but with small quiet; for the Sons of Rythaerch gathered together a great number of their Father's Friends, to revenge his death; with whom Prince Howel and Meredyth meeting at Hyarthwy, after a long Fight routed them, and made them fly; but the year following Prince Meredyth himself was slain by the Sons of Conan ap Sitfyt, Brother to Prince Lewelyn, to revenge their Father's death, whom Meredyth and his Brother Howel had slain.

"This year appeared a strange kind of Wild-Fire, such as no man ever remembered, and did a great deal of mischief in divers places. The same year also deceased Elfge Bishop of Winchester, and Elfwin the King's Chaplain succeeded in that See.

"Merehnw Bishop of Somersetshire (i.e. Wells) deceased, and was buried at Glastingayrig.)

"Ethevic the Bishop died (the Annals tell us not of what See): But Simon of Durham, and R. Hoveden add, That Malcolm King of Scots died this year, to whom succeeded Macrade.

The same Authors farther tell us, That King Cnute before his Death appointed Swane his Eldest Son to be King of Norway; and Hardecnute, his Son by Queen Emma, to be King of Denmark; and Harold, his Son by Elgiva, a Hampshire Lady, to be King of England after himself.

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'This year King Cnute deceased at Scafteshyrig, and was buried at the new Monastery at Winchester, having been King of England almost twenty years.

There is no King that can deserve a more various Character than this; since none who came in so roughly, after govern'd more mildly: He was naturally Cruel, and very Ambitious, and stuck not at any thing to gain a Kingdom, as appears by his dealing with his Predecessor's Children, and Brothers; but more particularly with Olaf King of Norway, whom Simon of Durham relates to have been turn'd out of it by the secret Practices and Bribes which he liberally bestow'd upon the Great and Factious men of that Kingdom; but however, toward his latter end he reigned both prudently and moderately; and we may say of him what a Roman Author does of one of his Emperors, That it had been well for this Kingdom if he had never reign'd at all, or else had continued longer; none of his Sons resembling him either in Valour or Wisdom.

But to let you see that this King was really sensible before his death, of the Vanity of Worldly Empire, I shall, to divert the Reader, give you this story of him, out of H. Huntington, who thus relates it, viz. That King Cnute being once at Southampton, caus'd his Royal Seat to be plac'd on the shore, while the Tide was coming in; and with a Majestick Air said thus, "Thou Sea belongest to me, and the Land whereon I sit is mine; nor hath any one unpunished resisted my Commands; "I charge thee therefore come no further upon my Land, neither presume to wet the Feet of thy Sovereign Lord. But the Sea, as before, came rowling on, and without any Reverence at all not only wet but dashed him; whereupon the King quickly rising up, bade those that were about him to consider the weak and bounded Power of Kings; and how none indeed deserved that Title, but He whose Eternal Laws both Heaven, and Earth, and Seas obey. A Truth so evident of it self, that were it not to shame his Court-Flatterers, (who would not else be convinced) Cnute needed not to have gone wet-shod home. From thenceforth he would never afterwards wear his Crown, but commanded it to be put upon the Head of the Crucifix at Winchester.

From whose Example, as Petrus Piſtaviensis relates, arose that custom of hanging up the Armour of Great Men in Churches, as Offerings made to God, by whose assistance they had attained any Honour to themselves, or Benefit to their Countrey, either by Victory, or an Honourable Death.

I shall conclude his Reign with his Laws, which since we have not the time when they were made, I have reserved to this place: They begin thus:

This is the Law (or Decree) which Cnute King of all England, Denmark, and Norway, hath ordained with the Consent of his Wife Men at London, as well for the Maintenance of his own Royal Dignity, as for the Benefit of his People, and were made at Winchester in Midwinter, (i.e. at Christmas) which, you must note, was one of the stated times when all the Great Men of the Kingdom, both Clergy and Laity, used of course to attend upon the King, whether he summoned them, or not.

But since these Laws are very long, and contain a Repetition and Confirmation of divers Laws formerly made by his Predecessors, I shall only here extract some of them, and refer the Reader to Mr. Lambard for the rest.

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"The *first* of Civil Concernment commands Justice to be faithfully and indifferently administred both to Poor and Rich, and abolishes all unjust Laws.

"The *second* requires Mercy to be used, and that no man be put to death for a small offence.

"The *eighth* ordains, that all people keep the Peace; and orders one and the same good Money to be current, and no man to refuse it. If any one embaise the Coin, his hands shall be cut off without any Redemption: And if a Reeve or Magistrate be accused that it was done by his consent, he shall purge himself by a treble Purgation; and if he be cast, incur the same Punishment with the Offender.

"The *twelfth* is remarkable, since it comprizes all those Forfeitures which the King challenges as due to himself, in the Countrey of *Wessex*, *Saxony*, except he please to confer them upon any other; (and) the Penalties incurr'd for the breach of the Peace, for breaking into a House, stopping up a Passage, and forsaking a man's Colours. If also for any Crime a man be outlaw'd, the Restitution of him to his former state belongs to the King. He also that possesseth *Boecland* (i. e. Land convey'd by Deed) forfeits to the King, let his Lord be who he will; as also whoever relieves or Harbours a Fugitive.

"The *fourteenth* Law appoints Mulcts for divers Offences, and particularly, That if any Judge have out of Hatred or Lucre perverted Justice, by the Law of the *English* he is to pay to the King the value of his Head; and also to be removed from his Place, or redeem it as the King shall please, except he plead that what he did was from Ignorance, and then he must confirm this Assertion by Oath: And by the Law of the *Danes* he is to incur the Mulct of the breach of that Law, except he can plead Ignorance.

"The *nineteenth* renews the former Laws of King *Alfred*, commanding every one of free condition to enter himself into some Hundred or Tything; that being in a condition to purge himself, he may also be in a capacity to claim from another the value of his Head, otherwise none that exceeds twelve years of age, in case he receive any wrong, shall be capable of enjoying the same privilege with a Freeman; and be he a Master of a Family, or a Retainer, he must be entred into some Hundred or other, and must find Pledges or Sureties for his appearance, in case he be accused of a Crime. Some Great Men (says the King) if they can do it, will protect their Servants, giving out sometimes that they are Free, other times that they are Slaves; but we not enduring any such unjust practises, enjoin, That every one of twelve years of age shall give Security by Oath, that he will neither steal himself, nor be accessary to the Theft of any other.

Thus doth he revive what King *Alfred* had before ordained, That no Freeman should be out of Tything, or live at random, without this most efficacious Tye of Suretyship; and to what was enacted before, adds this caution of twelve years, beyond which, for the Publick Peace and Security, none were to live without being admitted and received into some Hundred and Tything.

"The *twentieth* Law of King *Cnut* so far indulges a man unblameable and of good Repute, who never brake his Oath in the Hundred, nor was cast by the *Ordeal*, that his single Purgation shall be accepted. But a man of the contrary Reputation, shall either be compelled to take

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"his single Oath in three Hundreds; or a threefold one, according to the custom of that Court, or be put to the *Ordeal*; but a single Purgation is to be made with a threefold preparatory Oath.

"By virtue of the *fifty fourth* Law, whosoever conspires against the King, or his Lord, shall forfeit Life and Fortunes, except he purge himself by the threefold *Ordeal*.

"The *sixty first* declares breaking down or burning Houses, as also Theft, manifest Murthers, and betraying of ones Lord, according to Human Laws, to be Crimes for which there is no Bote or Satisfaction to be made, by way of Mulct or Compensation: Which is an alteration of the former Laws, by which all these Crimes were redeemable by Money.

"The *next* wills, That Mercy be shewn, as much as may be, to such as truly and unfeignedly amend their ways.

"And by that which follows, the King declares he will put a difference betwixt Small and Great, Rich and Poor, Young and Old, Innocent and Healthful; forasmuch as some men may offend out of a kind of necessity; and that a distinction is to be made betwixt a forced and a voluntary act: Therefore he promises to succour where there is most need of his help.

"The *sixty seventh* contains an Act of Grace of the King to his Subjects, whereby he relieves such as were formerly oppressed: He also enjoins all his Officers, that they make provision for his House out of his own Lands and Tillage, and that they compel no man to furnish him with any Provisions in this kind, upon pain of paying the value of their heads, if they impose any Mulct upon Refusers.

"The *sixty eighth* ordains, That in case any man by neglect, or sudden Death, depart this world intestate, his Lord shall take nothing of his Goods, except what is due to him as an *Herriot*; but all is to be distributed by his Judgment to the Wife, Children, and next Kindred, justly, according to their several Rights.

"The *sixty ninth* settles the rates of all *Herriots* to the King, ordering that the *Herriot* of every one be according to his dignity; as first, That of an Earl eight Horses, whereof four with Furniture, and four without; four Helmets, as many Corsets, eight Spears, and as many Shields; four Swords, and two hundred *Mancuses* of Gold. That of the King's chief *Thane* four Horses, whereof two with Furniture, and two without; two Swords, four Spears, and as many Shields; one Helmet, one Corset, and fifty *Mancuses* of Gold. The *Herriot* of an inferior *Thane*, an Horse with Furniture and Arms; or amongst the *West-Saxons* the Sum of Money that is paid, called *Halfange*; in *Mercia* and *East-England*, two Pounds: But amongst the *Danes* the *Herriot* of a King's *Thane*, who hath free Jurisdiction, is four Pounds; and if he be nearer to the King, his *Herriot* is two Horses, whereof the one with Furniture, and the other without; a Sword, two Spears, as many Targets, and fifty *Mancuses* of Gold. But the *Herriot* of a *Thane* of the lowest condition, is two Pounds.

This word *Herriot*, (or as the true Saxon word is written) *Heregeate*, signifies Furniture for War, given by the Vassal to his Lord, probably at first designed for the driving away Thieves and Robbers, which abounded when the *Danish* or *Northern* Nations so frequently invaded the Land: For though the word *Here* does in the Saxon Language

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guage signify an Army, yet it is in our *Saxon* Authors (when without composition) generally taken in the worst sense, for Invaders and Spoilers: A Lawful Army collected by the King for the defence of the Nation being called by the name of *Fyrd*.

"The *seventy first* requires Widows to continue in Widowhood for the space of Twelve Months, and then permits them to marry: If a Woman marry before her Twelve Months be out, she shall lose her Dower, with all that her Husband left her, which is to come in such case to the next of kin; and he that marries her, shall pay the value of his Head to the King, or to whomsoever he assigns it.

"The *seventy fifth* Law deprives him of Life and Estate, who either in an Expedition by Land or Sea deserts his Lord, or his Fellow-Soldier; and in such case the Lord is to have back the Land he gave him; or if it was *Bocland*, it goes to the King. But in case any one dye in Fight in the presence of his Lord, either at home or abroad, his *Herriot* shall be remitted, and his Children shall succeed both to his Goods and Lands, and equally divide them.

"The *seventy sixth* gives him liberty that hath defended his Land, and cleared it from all doubts and incumbrances in the *Scircgemote*, or County-Court, to possess it quietly whilst he lives, and to leave it to whom he pleases when he dies.

From whence we may observe, that before the Conquest men might bequeath their Lands by their Last Will.

"The *seventy seventh* gives liberty to every man to hunt in his own Grounds, but forbids all men under a Penalty to meddle with the King's Game, especially in those places which he had fenced by Privilege.

By those places thus privileged, he means those which afterwards the *Normans* called *Forests*, being Ground Desert and Woody, lying open to the King's Deer, not fenced about with any Hedge or Wall, but circumscribed and privileged, or (as here he words it) fenced with certain Bounds, Laws, and Immunities, under Magistrates, Judges, Officers, &c. Concerning these Forests, the King published certain Constitutions (Thirty four in number), which you may see at large in Sir *Hen. Spelman's* Glossary, *tit. Foresta*. But because he mentions them not in this nor any other of his Laws, they seem to have been made afterwards: But the Thirtieth Article is therein almost the very same with this Law, forbidding all men to meddle with his Game; and yet permitting them to hunt in their own Grounds, *sine Chasea*; but what that signifies, unless it be following their Game out of their own Grounds, I will not take upon me to determine.

King

King HAROLD, surnamed Harefoot.

NOT long after the Death of King *Cnute*, our Annals relate, Anno Dom. MXXXVI. That there was a great *Witena Gemot*, or Council of the *Wise Men*, held at *Oxnaford*, where Earl *Leofric*, and almost all the *Thames* on the East part of *Thames*, with the Seamen of *London*, chose *Harold* for King of all *England*, whilst his Brother *Hardecnute* was in *Denmark*: But Earl *Godwin* and all the Great Men of the *West-Saxons*, withstood it as much as they could, though they were not able to prevail against them. Then was it also decreed, That *Elgiwa* (or *Emma*) the Mother of *Hardecnute*, should reside at *Winchester*, with the Domestick Servants of the late King, and should possess all *West-Saxony*, where Earl *Godwin* was Governor, or Lord Lieutenant. It is said also by some concerning this King *Harold*, that he was the Son of King *Cnute*, and of *Elgiwa* the Daughter of *Aelfhelm* the Ealdorman; but that seems scarce probable to many, however, he was full (or Real) King of all *England*.

That which gave cause to this suspicion, was (as *Florence of Worcester* and *Radulph de Diceto* relate) That this *Elgiwa* not being able to have Children by King *Cnute*, commanded the Son of a certain Shoemaker, then newly born, to be brought to her, and feigning a formal Lying-in, to have imposed upon the credulous King her Husband, that she was really brought to bed of a Son; which, if true, shews that it is no new or strange thing for a Queen of *England* to impose a supposititious Birth upon the King her Husband, and the whole Nation.

But this Contention about the Election of *Harold*, gives us great reason to doubt the Truth of the Relation in *Simeon of Durham*, and other Authors, of this *Harold's* being appointed by his Father's Will to succeed in the Kingdom of *England*; such a Nomination or Recommendation seldom or never failing to be observed by the States of the Kingdom without any dispute, at the Election of a New King: And besides, Queen *Emma* his Mother, who had then the greatest power with King *Cnute*, would sure much rather have had her own Son *Hardecnute* to have succeeded him in the Kingdom of *England*, than *Harold*, at best supposed to be her Husband's Son by another Woman: So that if *Harold* was now chosen King, it is most likely that it was not in pursuance of King *Cnute's* Will, but purely from the prevailing Faction of the *Danes* and *Londoners*; who, as *William of Malmesbury* tells us, were by their long conversation with them, become wholly *Danish* in their Inclinations.

But if *Ingulph* may be believed (who lived as well before as after the Conquest), there was then so great a Dispute about the Election of a King, that many fearing a Civil War would ensue, it caused multitudes of people to quit their Habitations, and betake themselves into Waterish and Fenny Places, where they thought the Enemy could not, or would not easily pursue them; and particularly to the Monastery of *Croyland*, where they caused such a disturbance, that the Monks of that place

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place could neither meet in the Church nor in the Refectory: When at last, to avoid the Effusion of Christian Blood, it was agreed at the aforesaid Council at *Oxnaford*, That the Kingdom should be divided between the two Brothers, *Harold* and *Hardecnute*, so that the former should have all the Countries lying *Northward* from the *Thames*, together with the City of *London*, and *Hardecnute* enjoy all the *Southern* Provinces. But *Hardecnute* having received his share of the Kingdom, went into *Denmark*, where making unnecessary delays, *Harold* seized the whole Kingdom to himself. Which is in part confirmed by an Ancient *Manuscript* Chronicle in the * *Cottonian* Library; which relates, That *Harold* King of the *Northumbrians* and *Mercians*, was elected King of all *England*; and *Hardecnute*, because he staid in *Denmark*, was cast off. To which may be added certain old † *Manuscript* Annals, now in the same Library (part of which is supposed to be written by *Henry* of *Huntington*), That *Harold* was elected by the Chief Men of the *East-Angles* (i.e. the *Danes* of that Countrey) together with the *Londoners*; so that he usurped the Kingdom of his Brother *Hardecnute*, being then in *Denmark*. And *Simeon* of *Durham* relates, That by the Consent of the Great Men of *England*, *Harold* began to reign as true and just Heir, but not so indisputably as King *Cnute* his Father had done; because *Hardecnute*, who was a truer Heir than he, was then expected; yet that in a short time the Kingdom became divided after the same manner as *Ingulph* hath related. But it seems very unlikely, that *Hardecnute*, if he had been chosen King of any part of *England*, would have left it, and gone over into *Denmark*, before he was well settled at home. It is therefore more likely (what *Florence* of *Worcester* asserts), That *Harold* was at first elected King only of the *Mercians* and *Northumbers*, *Hardecnute* being to enjoy all the rest; but that not coming out of *Denmark* in due time, *Harold* got himself chosen King of the whole Kingdom the year following.

But leaving this matter concerning *Hardecnute*'s Succession, which must be confessed is much in the dark, the Author last mentioned does say, That *Harold* after he had obtained the Royal Dignity, sent his Guards speedily to *Winchester*, and there tyrannically seized on the greater part of the Treasures of the King his Father, which had been bequeathed by *Cnute* to the Queen his Mother-in-Law.

But I cannot omit taking notice of the most Cruel and Bloody Treatment of Prince *Alfred* (Brother to King *Edward*) and his Followers; which because many of our Best and most Ancient Historians, as well Printed as Manuscript, refer to this year, and that too not long after King *Harold*'s coming to the Crown, I shall here set down, since it seems most likely to have happened now, rather than at any other time: For though our Authors differ much about it, yet seeing most of the Ancient *Manuscript* Annals in the *Cottonian* Library, (as also that old Treatise called *Encomium Emma*, being a Panegyrick wrote on that Queen by a Monk of her own time) agree in relating the Circumstances of this horrid Action, I shall from thence transcribe this following Account of it; viz.

"That King *Harold* seeking by Treachery how to get those two young Princes, (Sons to the late King *Ethelred*) into his power, forged a Letter in the Name of Queen *Emma* their Mother, inviting them into *England*; wherein, personating her, she seemed to chide them gently
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"for their delay, in not coming over to look after their own concerns; seeing they could not but know that it procured the daily confirming of the Usurper in his power, who omitted no arts or means whatsoever, to gain the chief Nobility over to his Party; yet also assures them, that the *English* Nation had much rather have one of them to be their King; and in conclusion, desires they would come as speedily and as privately as they could, to consult with her, what course was best to be taken.

This Letter was sent to the Princes, then in *Normandy*, by an express Messenger, with Presents also, as from their Mother; which they joyfully receiving, returned word by the same hand, That one of them would be with her shortly, naming both the Time and Place. * *Alfred* who was the younger (for so it was thought best) at the appointed time, with a few Ships, and some small number of *Normans* about him, appeared on the Coast, and no sooner came ashore, but fell into the Snare that Earl *Godwin* had laid for him, being sent on purpose to betray him; and being cajoll'd into a belief that he was sent for by the King then at *London*, he was in the way met at *Guilford* by Earl *Godwin*, who with all seeming Friendship at first kindly entertained him, but in the night surprized the Prince, and made him Prisoner, with all his Company, most of whom (in all about Six hundred men) were put to various kinds of cruel deaths, and being twice decimated, every Tenth man suffered without mercy. The Prince was brought to *London*, and by the King sent bound to *Ely*, and had his eyes put out as soon as he landed there; and being delivered to the Monks to be kept, died soon after in their Custody; but whether of the Pain, or Grief, or some other Indisposition, is left uncertain.

Yet though this Author makes no mention of Prince *Edward* his Brother's coming over with him; but rather asserting the contrary, that he never came at all; however, several other Historians will have this Prince to have either come over then, or some time before; and that being with his Mother when his Brother was thus treated, she immediately sent him back into *Normandy*; which I must confess seems very improbable, since *Harold* had it then in his power to destroy them both.

But though it is certain that this unfortunate Prince was made away, yet since our *Annals* are wholly silent in it, there is nothing about which our Historians so much vary, as concerning the time when it was done. *William* of *Malmesbury* and *Bromton* place it after the death of *Harold*, and before the coming over of *Hardecnute*; when they say that Prince *Alfred* arrived, with some expectations of the Kingdom; but the former plainly confesses, that he related this story only upon common fame; yet because the Chronicles (i.e. the *Saxon* Annals) are silent, he will not affirm it for truth; so it seems he had never seen the above-mention'd *Encomium Emma*. But that Prince *Alfred* was made away by the means of Earl *Godwin*, we shall further make out when we come to the Reign of King *Edward* the Confessor.

And the reason that some of our Historians give for *Godwin*'s cruel usage of Prince *Alfred*, whilst he let his Brother escape, is, that *Godwin* was afraid of the High Spirit and Wit of this young Prince; because he knew that if ever he came to be King, he would never be governed by him, nor marry his Daughter; both which he hoped for from *Edward*, in case he should be chosen King by his means (as afterwards

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* Note, Some other Historians make him the Elder.

wards happen'd). This, whether true or not, I will not determine; yet it suits well enough with the Interest of that Politick Earl. I shall say no more of this, only we cannot but hence observe the great Uncertainty of Traditional Accounts, though of no long standing, since this Story, tranſacted not many years before the Conquest, is told ſo many ſeveral ways.

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'This year (according to our Annals) *Ælgiſa* the Widow of King *Cnut*, and Mother of King *Hardecnut* and King *Edward*, was baniſhed; but going over to *Baldwin* Earl of *Flanders*, he aſſign'd her *Briège* (i. e. *Bruges*) for her Retirement, where he protected her, and provided for her as long as ſhe ſtaid there.

But the Reader is to take notice, that this Queen, who is here called *Ælgiſa* in the *Engliſh-Saxon*, is the ſame with *Emma* in the *Norman-French* Dialect, and who was now baniſhed *England* by King *Harold*, as all Writers agree. But the reaſon why this Queen did not retire into *Normandy*, her own Countrey, was, that her Father and Brother were both dead; and though *William* her Nephew then ſucceeded in the Dukedom, yet he was but an Infant, under the Tutelage of the King of *France*.

This year alſo produced a great Revolution in *Wales*; for *Griffyth ap Lewelyn ap Sitsylt*, ſometimes Prince of *Wales*, raiſed a great Army againſt Prince *Jago*, who now enjoyed the Principality of *North-Wales* (as you have already heard); and *Jago* alſo provided for himſelf as well as he could; but the greater part, and the better Soldiers were of *Griffyth's* ſide, for the love they bore to his Father, as plainly appeared when it came to a trial; for after the Battel was joined, *Jago*, his Soldiers deſerting him, was ſoon overthrown and ſlain; and then *Griffyth* reigned in his ſtead. From whence we may obſerve the ſtrange fickleneſs of the *Welſh* Nation in thoſe times, who notwithstanding their ſeeming Affection to this Prince the Right Heir, yet left him as ſoon as ever they met with one of the ſame Race whom they liked better. From which evil cuſtom theſe Countries were never long without Civil Wars, till the total Conqueſt of them by the *Engliſh*.

But *Griffyth ap Lewelyn*, after he had thus ſlain Prince *Jago*, governed *North-Wales* very well, following his Father's ſteps; and in the very fiſt year of his Government he fought with the *Engliſhmen* and *Danes* at *Croſford* upon *Severne*; and from thence he led his Army to *Lhanpaddarn wawr* in *Caerdiganſhire*, and deſtroyed that place; and thence paſſing into *South-Wales*, totally ſubdued it; *Howel ap Edwin*, at that time Prince thereof, being forced to fly his Countrey; and when he had thus reduced *South Wales*, he returned home again with Honour. But the next year,

Anno Dom.
MXXXVIII.

Howel Prince of *South-Wales* (as the *Engliſh* as well as *Welſh* Chronicles relate) having now procured *Edwin* the Brother of *Leofric* Earl of *Mercia* to aſſiſt him, marched with a great Army of *Engliſh* and *Danes* againſt Prince *Griffyth*, who meeting them in the field, overcame them, and ſlew *Edwin* at *Pencadair*, and purſued *Howel* ſo cloſely, that though he eſcaped himſelf, yet his Wife was taken Priſoner; whom *Griffyth* liked ſo well, that he kept her for his Miſtreſs.

But though *Howel* after this made ſeveral Attempts to regain his Countrey, yet he could never ſucceed, for that Prince *Griffyth* held it all his time. But the *Cottonian* Chronicle relates, that fighting afterwards

wards with *Griffyth* at a place called *Paldiwach*, he obtained the Victory, and again made himſelf Prince of *South-Wales*: But this I leave to the Reader's Judgment. To return again to our Annals:

'*Etheinoth* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* deſeased, and a little after *Etheoric* Biſhop of the *South-Saxons*; and alſo a little before *Chriſtmas* *Bryteb* Biſhop of *Worceſter*; and a little after, *Ælfric* Biſhop of the *East Angles*: Then *Æadſige* was made Archbiſhop, and *Gymkytel* Biſhop of the *South-Saxons*; and *Living* ſucceeded in the Biſhopricks of *Worceſter* and *Glouceſter*.

Anno Dom.
MXXXVIII.

'This year King *Harold* deſeased at *Oxnaſford*, 16. Kal. April, and was buried at *Weſtmiſter*. He governed *England* Four Years, and Sixteen Weeks.] But there is certainly an Error in this Copy of the Annals; for either he deſeased not till the next year, as the *Cambridge* Copy and *Mat. Weſtmiſter* place it; or elſe he could reign but Three Years, and perhaps ſo many odd Weeks as theſe Annals mention.

Anno Dom.
MXXXIX.

'In his time was again paid a great Tax for the ſetting out Sixteen Sail; to wit, Eight Marks to every Rower (which ſhews it conſiſted of only Gallies, and not Ships); and as *Florence* alſo adds, Twelve Marks more to every Maſter, which he order'd to be raiſ'd through all *England*; as was before done in the Reign of King *Cnut*.

But it ſeems every Port was bound to pay ſuch a proportion, to ſet out theſe Sixteen Sail (as *H. Huntington* relates) whereby nevertheleſs he ſo much incenſed the minds of the *Engliſh* againſt him, that the *Welſh* perceiving it, or elſe for ſome other reaſon, began to be very unruly; inſomuch that ſome Inſurrections happened thereupon, wherein many of the *Engliſh* Nobility were ſlain; as *Edwin*, Brother to Earl *Leofric*; *Turketil* and *Algeat*, the Sons of *Eſſi*, both of them Great Perſons; and ſeveral others.

And to this time (I ſuppoſe) we may refer what *Caradoc* in his *Welſh* Chronicle relates, That *Griffyth ap Lewelyn*, Prince of *North-Wales*, in the fiſt year of his Reign, fought with the *Engliſh* and *Danes* at *Croſford* upon *Severne*, and put them to flight; and from thence he led his Army to *Lhanpaddarn wawr* in *Caerdiganſhire*, and deſtroyed the place utterly; and from thence paſſed all over *South-Wales*, receiving the people into his ſubjection, for *Howel ap Edwin* their King fled before him, and forſook the Land.

As for the Character of this King *Harold*, and the reaſon why he was called *Harefoot*, they are very uncertain: *H. Knighton* in his Chronicle writes very oddly, That he had a Body like a Hare, ſure he means hairy like that Creature, and from thence was called *Harefoot*; which is very improbable. But others with more appearance of truth, derive it from his Swiftneſs of Foot. *Bromton* gives him this Character, That in all reſpects he degenerated from the Worth of his Father King *Cnut* (inſomuch that divers ſuſpected him not to have been his Son), for he was altogether careleſs both as to matters of War and Peace; only he would purſue his own Will and Pleaſure, and what was very unbecoming his Royal Eſtate, chuſing rather to go on foot, than ride; whence, for the lightneſs and ſwiftneſs of his Feet, he ſeems to have been called *Harefoot*.

As for his Laws, we have only this one mentioned by Mr. *Selden* in his *Janus Anglorum*, which was, That whatever *Welſhman*, coming into *England* without leave, was taken on this ſide *Offa's Ditch*, ſhould have his Right Hand cut off by the King's Officers.

King HARDECNUTE.

Anno Dom.
MXXXIX.

KING Harold dying thus suddenly, the Chief Men of England, with whom also the Londoners now joined, sent Messengers to Hardecnute (who was then at Bruges with his Mother) intreating him to come and receive the Crown; whereupon he hasted into Denmark, there to settle his Affairs; which when he had done, with Forty (or as some say, Sixty) Ships, well mann'd with Danish Soldiers, according to our Annals, he arrived at Sandwich seven days before Midsummer, being joyfully received both by the Danes and English; (and as H. Huntington relates, was by both of them elected King); though afterwards the Great Men that did it, paid dearly for it; for not long after, it was decreed, That a Tax of Eight Marks should be again paid to the Rowers in Sixty two Sail of Ships. The same year also a Sester (i.e. a Horse-load) of Wheat was sold for Fifty five Pence, and more.

Anno Dom.
MXL.

This year Eadfige the Archbishop went to Rome; and also another Military Tax was paid, of Twenty nine thousand twenty nine pounds: And after this, was paid Eleven thousand forty eight pounds for two and thirty Sail of Ships.

But whether these Taxes were raised by Authority of the Great Council of the Kingdom, our Authors do not mention; but I believe not; for this Danegelt was now by constant usage become a Prerogative.

The same year came Eadward the Son of King Æthelred into this Kingdom from Wealand (by which our Annals mean Normandy): After which time Prince Edward returned no more thither, but staid in England till his Brother died.

But the same year, not long after his Coronation, he sent Alfric Archbishop of York, and Earl Godwin, and divers Great Men of his Court to London, attended by the Hangman, and out of Hatred to his Brother Harold, and Revenge of the Injuries done to his Mother (as he pretended) commanded his Body to be dug up, and the Head to be cut off and flung into the Thames; but some Fishermen afterwards pulling it up with their Nets, buried it again in St. Clement's Church-yard, being then the Burying-place of the Danes.

The same year also (according to Bromton's Chronicle) King Hardecnute sent over his Sister Gunhilda to the Emperor Henry, to whom she had been in her Father's life-time betroth'd: But before she went, the King kept the Nuptial Feast with that Magnificence in Cloaths, Equipage, and Feasting, that as Mat. Westminster relates, it was remembered in his time, and sung by Musicians at all great Entertainments. But this Lady was received and treated by the Emperor her Husband with great kindness for some time; till being accused of Adultery, she could find, it seems, no better a Champion to vindicate her Honour, than a certain little Page she had brought out of England with her, who undertaking her defence, fought in a single Combat against a man of a vast

Stature,

Stature, named Rodingar, and by cutting his Hamstrings with his Sword, and falling down, he obtained the Victory, and so cleared his Lady's Honour; of which she yet received so little satisfaction, that she forsook her Husband, and retired into a Monastery, where she ended her days.

Anno Dom.
MXL.

About this time also (as Simeon of Durham, Bromton's Chronicle, and other Authors inform us) King Hardecnute was highly incensed against Living Bishop of Worcester, and Earl Godwin, for the death of his Half Brother Alfred, Son to King Æthelred; Alfric Archbishop of York accusing them both of having persuaded King Harold to use him so cruelly as you have already heard: The Bishop and Earl being thus accused before King Hardecnute, the former was deprived of his Bishoprick, and the latter was also in very great danger. But not long after, the King being appeased with Money, the Bishop was again restored; and as for Earl Godwin, he had also incurred some heavy Punishment, had he not been so cunning as to buy his peace (as these Authors relate) by presenting the King with a Galley most magnificently equipp'd, having a gilded Stern, and furnished with all Conveniences both for War and Pleasure, and mann'd with Eighty choice Soldiers, every one of whom had upon each Arm a Golden Bracelet weighing sixteen Ounces, with Helmet and Corset all gilt, as were also the Hilt of their Swords; having a Danish Battel-Axe adorned with Silver and Gold, hung on his Left Shoulder, whilst in his Left Hand he held a Shield, the Boss and Nails of which were also gilded, and in his Right a Lance, in the English-Saxon Tongue called a Tegar: But all this would not serve his turn, without an Oath, That Prince Alfred had not his eyes put out by his Advice, but he therein merely obeyed Harold's Commands, being at that time his King and Master.

This year (according to Simeon of Durham) King Hardecnute sent his Huisgeorles (i.e. his Domestick Servants, or Guards) to exact the Tax which he had lately imposed: But the Citizens of Worcester, and the Worcestershire men rising, slew two of them, called Feadar and Turstan, having fled into a Tower belonging to a Monastery of that City. Thereupon Hardecnute being exceedingly provoked to hear of their deaths, sent to revenge it, Leofric Ealdorman of the Mercians, Godwin of the West-Saxons, Siward of the Northumbrians, and others, with great Forces, and orders to kill all the men, plunder and burn the City, and waste the Countrey round about. On the evening preceding the thirteenth of November, they began to put his Commands in execution, and continued both wasting and spoiling the City and Countrey for four days together; but few of the Inhabitants themselves could be laid hold of, the Countrey-men shifting for themselves every man as well as they could, and the Citizens betaking themselves to a little Island in the Severne, called Beverege, which they fortified, and vigorously stood upon their Defence, till their Opposers being tired out and spent, were forced to make Peace with them, and so suffered them to return quietly home. This was not done till the fifth day, when the City being burnt, the Army retreated, loaded with the Plunder they had got.

Anno Dom.
MXLI.

Simeon next after this cruel Expedition, places the coming over of Prince Edward; but our Annals with greater probability put his Return under the year before.

Anno Dom.
MXLL

' This year also King *Hardecnute* deceased at *Lambeth* (6. Id. Junii). He was King of *England* two years, wanting seven days, and was buried in the New Monastery (of *Winchester*); his Mother giving the Head of *St. Valentine* to pray for his Soul.

But since our Annals are very short in the Relation of his Death, we must take it from other Authors; who all agree, That the King being invited to a Wedding at the place above-mentioned, which with great Pomp and Luxury was solemnized betwixt *Tory*, surnamed *Frudan*, a *Danish* Nobleman, and *Githa* the Daughter of *Osgod Clappa*, a great Lord also of that Nation; as he was very jolly and merry, carousing it with the Bridegroom and some of the Company, he fell down speechless, and died in the Flower of his Age.

He is to be commended for his Piety, and Good-Nature to his Mother, and Brother Prince *Edward*: But the great Faults laid to this Prince's charge, are Cruelty, Gluttony, and Drunkenness: For the first of these you have had a late Example; and for the latter, take what *H. Huntington* relates, That Four Meals a day he allowed his Court; and it must be then supposed he loved eating well himself; though this Author attributes it to his Bounty; and how he rather desired that the Meat should be taken away untouch'd from such as were invited, than that those who were not invited, should complain for want of Victuals; whereas, saith he, the custom of our time is (either out of Coverousness; or, as they pretend, because their people cannot eat) for Great Men to allow their Followers but one Meal a day; which shews, that the custom of Set Suppers hath had divers Vicissitudes, being not commonly used in *England* in Great Mens Families at the time when *H. Huntington* wrote, and therefore is an *English* Custom prevailing since that time; the *Norman* Fashions being then most used.

John Rouse also, in his *Manuscript* Treatise de Regibus Ang. already cited, relates, That the day of King *Hardecnute*'s Death was in his time kept by the *English* as an Holiday, being called *Hock-Wednesday*; on which they danced, and drew Cords cross the way, as they do in several Parishes in *England* even at this day, to stop people till they will pay them some Money.

King

King Edward (called) the Confessor.

' Before King *Hardecnute* was buried, all the People chose *Edward Etheling* King at *London*; who reigned as long as God permitted him.

Anno Dom.
MXLL

But *William* of *Malmesbury* with greater probability says, That this King did not come to the Crown without some difficulty; for when he had received the News of his Brother *Hardecnute*'s Death, he was in great perplexity what was most advisable for him to do; at last, after mature deliberation, he thought it the safest course to trust his Fortune to Earl *Godwin*'s Advice; who being sent for to a friendly Conference, for sometime he was considering whether he should come to him or not; but at length he agreed to speak with him; and upon the Interview *Edward* was about to lay himself at his Feet, but that he would by no means suffer: Then the Prince earnestly desired he would assist him in his safe return to *Normandy*; when immediately *Godwin* gave him this unexpected answer, That he had better live gloriously King of *England*, than dye ignominiously in Exile: That the Crown did of Right belong to him as Son of *Ethelred*, and Grandchild of *Edgar*: That he was one of mature Age, inur'd to Labour, and who had learnt by experience how to order Publick Affairs with Justice; and had been taught by his own late Afflictions how to remove and prevent the Miseries of the People: That to bring this about, there would be no great Obstacle; for if he would but trust himself to him, he should find that his Interest was very powerful in the Nation, and that Fortune would be favourable to his just Pretensions; and if he would accept of the Royal Dignity, he was confident there would be none to oppose it; but on condition that he would establish a firm Friendship with him and his Family, by promising to prefer his Sons, and marry his Daughter, that then he should soon find himself a King.

Edward's case at this time was such, as not to reject so fair Proposals, but rather agree to any Conditions, and comply with the present state of Affairs; whatsoever therefore *Godwin* required, he promised and swore to perform. Now the Earl was a Man fitted by Nature for managing such an Intrigue, having a very smooth and plausible Tongue, so Eloquent, that he could move and charm the Affections of the People, insinuate into them whatsoever he pleased, and bring them entirely over to his Interest and Service. Upon this he procures a Great Council to be summoned at *Gillingham* (some Copies have it, at *London*); and there he influenced some by his own Authority, gain'd over others by his Promises; and those who were inclined before to Prince *Edward*'s Cause, he fully settled and confirmed to his Party; the rest, that made opposition, being over-power'd, were first of all turn'd out of their Places, and then banished the Land.

The *Annals* of the Abby of *Winchester* (printed in the *Monast. Ang.* from the Manuscript in the *Cottonian* Library) not only agree with *William* of *Malmesbury* in this Relation, but are also much more particular; viz. That Prince *Edward* coming to *Godwin* one morning in disguise

Anno Dom.
MXLI.

disguise to London, fell at his Feet, begging him to preserve his Life; but the Earl taking him up, promised to use him like his Son; and also gave him farther Encouragements and Assurance; so that Edward returning again to Winchester to his Mother, Godwin shortly after summoned all the Great Men of the Kingdom to meet there, to consult about making a New King. Then these Annals proceed to relate the manner of this Election; Viz. That Earl Godwin raising the Prince from the place where he sat at his feet (being then incognito, having his Hood over his Face), said thus, Behold your King: This is Prince Edward, the Son of King Ethelred and Queen Emma: This is He whom I Elect, &c.; and so first did him Homage: Then after some Debates among themselves, they all at last consented to his Election; so that if it displeased any there, they durst not shew their Discontent, since Earl Godwin would have it so; and Edward being thus Elected, was, not long after, crown'd at Westminster.

* Osha, D. 7.

Which is also confirmed by an Ancient Chronicle * in the Cottonian Library (already cited), ending with this Prince, which saith, That Hardecnute being dead, Eadward was advanced to the Crown by the endeavours chiefly of Earl Godwin, and Living Bishop of Worcester.

Bromton's Chronicle farther adds, That at this Grand Council all the Great Men of England agreed and swore with one consent, That no Danes should reign over them any more, because of the great Affronts and Contempts they had received from that Nation: For they held the English in such servile subjection, That if an Englishman had met a Dane upon a Bridge, he was obliged to stand still till the other had passed by; and if he had not bowed to the Dane, he was sure to be well basted for his neglect; so that as soon as King Hardecnute was dead, the English drove all the Danes out of the Kingdom.

But notwithstanding the great happiness the English now received by having a King of their own Nation; yet it seems, 'This year was unfortunate for the Intemperance of the Season, which (as our Annals relate) destroyed the Fruits of the Earth; so that a great number of Cattle died. Also about this time Ælf—, Abbot of Burgh deceased, and Arnvi a Monk was chosen Abbot, being a mild and good man.

About the same time also, according to the Welsh Chronicle, Prince Conan the Son of Jago, who had fled into Ireland to save his life, and coming now over from thence, being assisted with the Forces of Alfred the Danish King of Dublin, entered North-Wales by surprise, took Prince Griffyth Prisoner, and was carrying him away to his Ships: But the people of the Countrey hearing of it, they immediately rose and pursued the Irishmen, and at last overtaking them, rescued their Prince, and made a great slaughter among them, the rest with much difficulty got to their Ships, and returned with Conan into Ireland.

Anno Dom.
MXLII.

But notwithstanding K. Edward had been elected King ever since the last Summer, yet was he not Anointed or Crowned till this year, when (as our Annals relate) that Ceremony was performed on Easter-day with great Solemnity, by Eadfige the Archbishop, who also preached before the people, and instructed them for the King's good, as well as their own advantage.

This is the first Discourse or Sermon that we can find was ever made of this nature at any King's Coronation.

* The

The same year also Stigand the Priest was consecrated Bishop of the East-Angles; and presently after the King ordered all the Lands his Mother held from him to be surveyed, taking from her whatsoever Gold and Silver she had, with many other things, because she had been too severe to him, as well before he was King, as after; and as Roger Hoveden observes, had given him less than he expected from her. So that in this Undirfulness to his Mother, he does not shew himself so great a Saint as the Monks represent him: But they say for his excuse, that he did it by the Advice of the Earls Leofric, Godwin, and Syward, by whom this Weak and Easy Prince was chiefly managed.

This year also, according to the Welsh Chronicles, Howel ap Edwin late Prince of South-Wales, with all the Forces he could raise of his own Countrey-men, and the English, entered South-Wales, and began to spoil and havock it; of which when Prince Griffyth was informed, he gathered his People together in North-Wales, and came courageously to meet his Enemies (whom he had twice before discomfited), and overcame and chased them the third time, as far as the Spring of the River Towy; where after a long and dangerous Battel, Howel was slain, and his Army routed, and was so closely pursued, that few or none escaped alive: After whose Death Rytherch and Rees, the Sons of Rythaerch ap Jestyn, aspiring again to the Rule and Government of South-Wales, which their Father had once before acquired, gathered a great Army as well of strangers, as out of Guentland and Glamorgan, and meeting with Griffyth Prince of Wales, he courageously animated his men with the remembrance of their former Victories under his Standard, and joined Battel with his Enemies, whom he found disposed to try if they could regain the Honour which before they had lost: Wherefore when they were come up to engage, the Fight was so bloody and desperate, that it continued till night parted both Armies, and then being quite spent, they retreated. But still each being fearful of one another, they thought it their best way to return to their own Countries to raise fresh Recruits.

About this time was founded a Noble Monastery near Coventry in Warwickshire, by Leofric Earl of the Mercians, and the Lady Godiva his Wife, who was not only one of the most Beautiful, but most Pious Women of that Age; they also enriched this Monastery with great Presents both of Gold and Silver.

By reason of which Monastery the Town adjoining became much more flourishing, and took the name of Coventry from this Convent: And we farther read in Bromton's Chronicle, That this worthy Lady Godiva being desirous to exempt the said Town from the grievous Taxes and Tolls imposed on it, she earnestly and frequently solicited her Husband to take them off, but yet was still denied: However, she ceasing not to renew her request, he told her jestingly at last, That if she would be content to ride naked through the Town, he would grant her Petition; which she readily undertook to do, and so commanding all people at that time to keep within doors, she covered her Body with her own Hair, of which she had so great a quantity, that it served instead of a Mantle.

Thus did she generously free the Citizens from those heavy Exactions which they then lay under, though by the no-very-decent exposing of her self; and afterwards gave them a Charter of Exemptions, affixing her

Anno Dom.
MXLII.Vid. Camden's
Britan. War-
wickshire.

Anno Dom.
MXLIII.

her Husband's and her own Seal to it. Now how the Episcopal See came afterwards to be removed hither from *Litchfield* and *Chester*, we shall in its due place declare.

* Vol. I.

The Charter of the Foundation of this Monastery, dedicated to our Blessed Lady, St. *Peter*, and all the Saints, is printed in * *Monast. Angl.* though without any date; wherein are named all the Mannors given by the said Munificent Founder; and the same is ratified by the Charter of King *Edward*, and a Bull of Pope *Alexander*, bearing date *Anno Dom.* 1043. Neither did the Piety of these Liberal Persons rest here, for Earl *Leofric*, with the Assent of his Lady *Godiva*, repaired also the Monasteries of *Leon* (or *Lemster*) near *Hereford*; of *Wenlock*; of St. *Wercburga* in *Chester*; of St. *John* in *Worcester*; and lastly, that of *Evesham*.

Anno Dom.
MXLIII.

This year Archbishop *Eadsige* resigned his Archbishoprick, by reason of great Bodily Infirmities; and by the King's leave, and the advice of Earl *Godwin*, he consecrated *Syward* Abbot of *Abbandune* to succeed him; which thing was known but to few, till it was actually done, because the Archbishop was afraid lest some other, less Learned and Able, would either by Money or Interest obtain that See, if so be it was once divulged before it was done.

* De Pontif.
Lib. I.

But of this *Syward*, * *William* of *Malmesbury* tells us, That though he was thus consecrated Archbishop, yet notwithstanding he was soon after deposed for his Ingratitude to his Predecessor, in that he defrauded the weak Old Man of his necessary maintenance: But however to make this *Syward* some amends, he was translated to the Bishoprick of *Rocheſter*; which was a great Fall indeed from the See of an Archbishop, to that of his principal Chaplain; but it seems he was resolved to be a Bishop, though a mean one, comparatively.

The Annals also relate, 'That this year there was so great a Famine in *England*, that a *Sester* of Wheat (which, as *Roger Hoveden* tells us, 'was then a Horse-load) was sold for Sixty Pence and more.

Which was then a great deal of Money, considering the scarcity of Silver in those times, and that every Penny then weighed Four Pence of our Money.

'Also the same year the King sail'd to *Sandwic* with Five and thirty Ships.] And as *R. Hoveden* informs us, it was to meet *Magnus* King of *Norway*, then designing to invade *England*; but a War breaking out with *Sweyn* King of *Denmark*, it put an end to that Expedition.

'Also *Ethelstan* the *Oeconomus*, or Steward of the Abby of *Abbingdon*, was made Abbot; and *Stigand* again received his Bishoprick of 'the *East-Angles*]; from which, it seems, by the cunning and Simoniacal practices of Bishop *Grymkitel*, he had been before deprived.

'The same year King *Edward* married the Daughter of Earl *Godwin*, 'whose Name was *Edgitha*, or *Editha*.] A Woman (as *William* of *Malmesbury* says) not only of great Beauty and Piety, but also Learned above what Women usually were in that Age wherein he lived; infomuch that *Ingulph* tells us, when he was but a Boy, and lived at Court with his Father, she was wont to meet him as he came from School, and took delight to pose him in Verses; and would also, passing from *Grammar*, argue with him in *Logick*, in which she was well skill'd; and when she had done, would order her Waiting-Woman to give him some Money.

But

But as King *Edward* had till now deferr'd the performance of his Promise in marrying this Lady ever since he came to the Crown, so it had been no great matter whether he had married her or not, because he never enjoyed her.

But notwithstanding the temptation of so fair a Lady, he not only kept his own Virginity inviolable, but also persuaded her to do the like; and this, (as the Abbot of *Rieval* in his Life relates) he did not do out of any hatred to her Father, (as is commonly reported by several of our other Historians) but because the *English* Nobility, being desirous that one from his Loins should succeed him, had importun'd him to marry, which he could not well refuse (for then the secret Resolution of his dying a Virgin, would have been disclosed); therefore he wedded her, both to secure himself against her Father, as also to make the Virtue of his Continence appear more conspicuous; which, as this Author tells us, was no Secret, being then divulged, and believed all over *England*; and divers Censures passed concerning the motives why he did so.

'The same year *Brightwulf* Bishop of *Scirebone* deceased, who had held that Bishoprick Thirty eight years; and *Hereman* the King's Chaplain succeeded to that Bishoprick.

'Also *Wulfic* was consecrated Abbot of St. *Austin's* at *Christmas*, 'with the King's good Consent, because of the great Bodily Infirmity of *Ælfstan* (the former Abbot.)

'This year deceased *Living* Bishop of *Devonſhire* (i. e. of *Exeter*), 'and *Leofric* the King's Chaplain succeeded thereunto. The same year *Ælfstan* Abbot of St. *Augustin's* in *Canterbury* deceased; and also *Os-* 'got *Glappa*, the *Danish* Earl, was expelled *England*.

The same year likewise, (according to *Simeon* of *Durham*, and *William* of *Malmesbury*) *Alwold* Bishop of *London*, who had been before Abbot of *Evesham*, being by reason of his great weakness unable to perform his Episcopal Function, would have retired to his old Monastery; but the Monks not permitting it, he resented it so ill at their hands, that taking away all the Books and other Ornaments which he had conferred upon them, and retiring to the Abby of *Ramsay*, he bestowed them all upon them, and there within a short time after ended his days; and then King *Edward* made one *Robert*, a *Norman* Monk, Bishop of *London*.

Also the same year the Noble Matron *Gunhilda*, Niece to King *Cnut*, was banished *England*, together with her two Sons.

This year likewise, in a great Council held at *London*, (as *Florence* relates) *Wulmar* a Religious Monk of *Evesham* was chosen Abbot of that Monastery, and was ordained the 4th of the Ides of *August* following.

About this time, according to the *Welsh* Chronicles, Prince *Griffith* having ruled in Peace ever since the last great Battel above-mentioned, till now, the Gentlemen of *Yſtrad Towy* did by Treachery kill a Hundred and forty of his best Soldiers; so that to revenge their deaths, the Prince destroyed all those Countries.

'*Grymkitel* Bishop of the *South-Saxons* (i. e. *Selfey*) deceased; as 'did also the same year, *Ælfwin* Bishop of *Winchester*, and *Stigand*, 'who was before Bishop in the *North-East* parts (i. e. of *Helmham*) 'succeeded in that See: And Earl *Sweyn* the Son of *Godwin*, went over

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‘to Baldwin Earl of Flanders to Bryce, and staid there all Winter, and at Summer departed; (being it seems at that time in disgrace at Court for deflow’ring an Abbess whom he loved).

‘This year *Ethelstan* Abbot of *Abbandune* deceased; to whom succeeded *Sparhafock*, a Monk of *St. Edmundsbury*. Whence you may observe, that the Abbots were at that time seldom chosen out of Monks of the same Abby.

‘Also this year Bishop *Syward* deceased; and then Archbishop *Ead-*
‘*fige* retook that Bishoprick.] Which is contrary to what *William* of *Malmesbury* hath already related.

‘The same year likewise *Lothen* and *Trling*, *Danes*, came to *Sandwic* with Twenty five Ships, and there landing, committed great havock, and carried away abundance of Booty, as well of Gold as Silver; so that no man can tell how great it was: From whence they failed about *Thanet*, and attempting there to commit the like Outrages, the people of that Countrey vigorously resisted them, and hindered their landing, and so made them to direct their course towards *Essex*, where they committed the like Barbarities, carrying away all the men they could lay hold on; and then passing over into the Territories of Earl *Baldwin*, and there selling all their Plunder, they sail’d towards the *East*, from whence they came.

Also the same year (according to *Simon* of *Durham*) *Harold*, fir-
named *Hairfax*, Brother to the late King *Olaf*, having put *Sweyn* King of *Denmark* to flight, subdued that Kingdom. King *Sweyn* being thus driven out of his Countrey, sent Ambassadors to King *Edward*, desiring his Assistance with his Fleet against the King of *Norway*; which Earl *Godwin* much approved of, but the rest of the Great Men dissuading him from it, nothing was done; but the King of *Norway* dying soon after, *Sweyn* recovered his Kingdom. But *Florence* of *Worcester* places this Transaction two years later; but which of them is in the right, I will not dispute.

‘Also this year (according to our *Annals*, as well as other Authors) was the great Battel of *Vallesdune* in *Normandy*, between *Henry* King of *France*, and the Nobility of that Dukedom, because they refused to receive *William* the Bastard for their Duke: But when he afterwards got them into his power, he beheaded some of them, and others he banished.

I have mentioned this, to let you see with how great difficulty this young Duke (who was afterwards King of *England*) was settled in that *Dutchy*, which he could never have obtained without the Protection and Assistance of the King of *France*.

About this time also the *Welsh* Chronicles tell us *South-Wales* was so infested by the *Danish* Pyrates, that the Sea-Coasts were almost quite deserted.

‘The same year, or else in 1048 (as it is in the *Cottonian* Copy of the *Annals*) was held the great Synod or Council at *St. Remy*, where were present Pope *Leo*, and the Archbishop of *Burgundy* (i. e. of *Be-*
‘*sançon*, tho they are here mentioned as two several Archbishopricks) as also the Archbishop of *Treves*, and *Remes*, with many other Wise Men both of the Clergy and Laity; and thither King *Edward* sent Bishop *Dudoce*, and *Wulfrie* Abbot of *St. Augustine’s*, with Abbot *Elfwine*, that they might acquaint the King what was there decreed concerning the Christian Faith.

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‘This year King *Edward* sail’d to *Sandwic* with a great Fleet, and there met Earl *Sweyn*, who came with seven Ships at *Bosham* (i. e. *Boſham* in *Suffex*) where he made a League with the King, and received a Promise from him to be restored to all his possessions; but Earl *Harold* his Brother, and *Beorne*, very much opposed him, saying, He was utterly unworthy of those Favours the King had promised him; so he had only four days allowed him to go back again to his Ships.

‘In the mean time a Report was brought to the King, That a Fleet of Enemies were landed on the Coast of the *East-Angles*, and there taking of Prey: Then Earl *Godwin* sail’d about toward the *East* with two of the King’s Ships, one of which his Son *Harold* commanded, and the other Earl *Tostige* his Brother, and also Two and forty Sail of the people of the Countrey: Then was Earl *Harold* with the King’s Ships driven by a Storm into *Pevenſee*, and there detain’d by contrary Winds; but within two days after, Earl *Sweyn* came thither, and had Conference with his Father, Earl *Godwin*, and Earl *Beorne*, whom he intreated to accompany him to the King at *Sandwic*, and there use their interest to make his Reconciliation with him; but whilst they were on their way, *Sweyne* begged of *Beorne* (his Cousin) that he would go back along with him to his Ships, saying, He feared lest his men would desert him, unless he speedily returned; whereupon complying with him, they went back to the place where the Ships rode, and there *Sweyn* was very importunate with him to go on Ship-board; but he utterly refusing that, the Mariners bound him, and then put him into a Pinnace, and so carried him on board by force; then hoisting up Sail, they steered Eastward to *Axamutha*, and there kept him till they had made him away.

‘Then they took his Body, and buried it in a certain Church; but afterwards his Relations and the Mariners of *London* came, and digging up his Body, carried it with them to the old Church of *Wincheſter*, where they buried it near his Uncle King *Cnut*: Then *Sweyn* sailing Eastward towards *Flanders*, staid there a whole Winter in *Bryce*; with Earl *Baldwin*’s good leave. The same year deceased *Eadnoth*; Bishop in the *North* parts; and one *Ulf* was consecrated Bishop in his stead.

‘This year was a great Council held at *London* in *Midlent*, and there were sent out Nine Ships well mann’d with Seamen, Five only being left in Port; also this very year Earl *Sweyn* return’d into *England*.

For *Aldred* Bishop of *Worcester* had by his Intercession made his Peace with the King.

‘The same year was a Great Synod assembled at *Rome*, whither King *Edward* sent the Bishops *Hereman* and *Aldred*, who arrived there on *Easter-Eve*; after which the Pope held a Synod at *Vercelle*, whither was sent Bishop *Ulf*, who was afterwards like to be deprived, because he could not perform his Function as he ought, had he not paid a good round Sum of Money. This year also deceased *Eadſige* the Archbishop, (4^o Kal. Novemb.)

‘King *Edward* now appointed *Rodbyrd* Bishop of *London*, to be Archbishop of *Canterbury* in *Lent*, who immediately went to *Rome* to obtain his Pall: Then the King bestowed the Bishoprick of *London* on *Sparhafoc* Abbot of *Abbandune*, and gave that Abby to Bishop *Rothulf* his Kinsman.

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'About the same time the Archbishop, returning from *Rome* the day before the Vigil of *St. Peter*, was Installed in the Episcopal Throne at *Christ-Church*, on *St. Peter's Day*: Then came to him *Sparhafoc* with the King's Letters and Seal, commanding that he should consecrate him Bishop of *London*; but the Archbishop refusing it, said, The Pope had forbid him to do it: After which, the Abbot return'd to the Archbishop, and desired his Episcopal Orders, but he peremptorily denied them, saying, The Pope had strictly charged him not to do it. Then the Abbot went to *London*, and held the Bishoprick notwithstanding all that Summer, and the Autumn following.

'Then *Eustatius* (Earl of *Boloinne*, the King's Brother-in-Law) came from beyond the Seas, and having been with the King, and told him his Business, he return'd homewards; and when he came to *Canterbury*, he refreshed himself and his Company, and so went on to *Dofra* (i. e. *Dover*), but when he was within a Mile of this side thereof, he and his Retinue put on their Breast-plates, and so entered the Town: As soon as they were come thither, they took up their Quarters in what Houses they liked best; but one of his Followers resolving to quarter in the House of an Inhabitant there whether he would or no, because he told him he should not, he wounded him; whereupon the Master killed him: At which News Earl *Eustatius* being very much incensed, mounted to Horse, with all his Followers, and setting upon the Good Man of the House, killed him even within his own doors; and then going into the Town, they killed partly within, and partly without, more than Twenty men. But the Townsmen (to be even with them) killed Nineteen of their men, and wounded many more.

'Upon this Earl *Eustatius* making his Escape with a few Followers, went to the King, and told him what had happen'd, so much as made to his purpose; at which the King being highly provoked with the Townsmen, sent Earl *Godwin*, and commanded him to march to *Dofra* in a Hostile manner; for *Eustatius* had only insinuated to the King, as if what had happen'd had been wholly through the Townsmen's fault, though indeed it was quite otherwise: But the Earl was very unwilling to go into *Kent*, because he looked on it as an odious thing for him to destroy his own people.

For as *William* of *Malmesbury* farther relates, he plainly saw the King was imposed on, and had passed sentence upon them, when he had only heard one side: And indeed the Earl was much concerned to see Strangers find greater favour with the King, than his own Subjects; for *Eustatius* had got a Friend near the King, who had very much exasperated him against them; therefore though the King continually press'd Earl *Godwin* to go into *Kent* with an Army, to be revenged of the men of *Dofra*, yet he still declined it, which much displeased the King; yet nevertheless the Earl's Proposal seem'd but just and reasonable, That the Officers of the Castle (who it seems had a hand in this business) should be first summoned to answer in the King's *Curia* or Court, concerning this Sedition; and that if they could clear themselves there, they might be discharged; but if not, that they might make satisfaction to the King and the Earl with their Bodies and Estates; for Earl *Godwin* told the King, that it would seem very unjust to condemn those unheard, whom he ought chiefly to protect and defend.

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And so far no doubt the Earl was in the right, and behaved himself like a true *Englishman*, in thus declining to execute the King's unjust Commands; though not in what he did afterwards. But to return again to our *Annals*.

'The King hereupon summoned all his Chief and *Wife Men* to appear at *Gloucester*, a little after the Feast of *St. Mary*; for the *Welshmen* had in the mean time built a Castle in *Herefordshire*, upon the Lands of Earl *Sweyn*, and had done a great deal of mischief to the King's Liege-People in the Neighbourhood: Then Earl *Godwin* (with *Sweyn* and *Harold*, his Sons) met at *Byferstane* (i. e. *Beverston* in *Gloucestershire*) together with a great many in their Retinue, to attend on the King their Natural Lord, and all the Chief and *Wife Men* that waited on him, whereby they might have the King's Consent and Assistance, as also that of his Great Council, to revenge the Affront and Dishonour which had been lately done to the King and the whole Nation: But the *Welshmen* getting first to the King, highly accused the Earls, inasmuch that they durst not appear in his presence, for they said they only came thither to betray him: But then there came to the King the Earls *Syward* and *Leofric*, with many others from the *North* parts, being (as *William* of *Malmesbury* relates) almost all the Nobility of *England*, who had been summoned by the King to come thither: But whilst (according to our *Annals*) it was told Earl *Godwin* and his Sons, that the King and those that were with him were taking Counsel against them, they on the other side stood resolutely on their own defence; though it seem'd an hard thing for them to act any thing against their Natural Lord.

But *William* of *Malmesbury* adds farther, That Earl *Godwin* commanded those of his Party not to fight against the King; yet if they were set upon, that they should defend themselves; so that there had then like to have happen'd a Cruel Civil War, if calmer Counsels had not prevailed.

By this you may see the great Power of Earl *Godwin* and his Son, who could thus withstand the King, and all the Nobility that were with him. But to proceed with our *Annals*:

'Then it was agreed by the chief men on both sides, that they should desist from any further violence; and thereupon the King gave them God's Peace, and his own Word.

'After this, the King and his Great Men about him resolved a second time to summon a *Witeh Gemot*, or Great Council at *London*, at the beginning of *September*: He also commanded an Army to be raised, as great as ever had been seen in *England*, both from the *North* and *South* side of *Thames*: When this Council met, Earl *Sweyn* was declared outlaw'd, and Earl *Godwin* and Earl *Harold* were cited to appear at the Council with all speed. As soon as they were come there, they desired Peace (i. e. *Security*) and also Pledges to be given them, whereby they might have safe ingress and regress to and from the Council: But the King required all the Earl's Servants to deliver them up into his hands; after which the King sent to them, commanding them to come with Twelve men to the Great Council; but the Earl again demanded Securities and Pledges to be given him, and then he promised to clear himself from all Crimes laid to his charge: But the Pledges were still denied him, and there was only granted him a five days

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'days Peace (or Truce) in which he might depart the Land: Then Earl Godwin, and Earl Sweyn his Son, went to *Bosenharn* (in *Sussex*) and their Ships being brought out of the Harbour, they sail'd beyond the Seas, and fought the Protection of Earl Baldwin, staying with him all that Winter; but Earl Harold sail'd Eastward into *Ireland*, and there took up his Residence, under that King's Protection: Soon after this the King sent away his Wife, who had been crown'd Queen, and suffer'd all her Money, Lands, and Goods, to be taken from her, and then committed her to the Custody of his Sister, at the Nunnery of *Werwell*.

But note, that *Florence of Worcester* places this Quarrel with Earl Godwin and his Sons, three years later, viz. under Anno 1051; and farther adds, That the reason why Earl Godwin fled thus privately away, was, that his Army had forsook him, so that he durst not plead the matter with the King, but fled away the night following with his five Sons, carrying away all their Treasure with them into *Flanagers*.

This is the Relation which *Florence* and the Printed Copy of these *Annals* give us of this great difference between the King and Earl Godwin and his two Sons; in the carriage of which both Parties are to be blamed; the King in yielding so easy an ear to the false Accusations brought against them, and they in refusing to stand to the Determination of the Great Council of the Kingdom, without Pledges first given them by the King, which is more than any Subject ought to require from his Prince: But certainly the King shewed himself a very Weak Man, in being persuaded to deal thus severely with his Innocent Queen, for the Faults of her Father and Brothers, which it was not in her power to help.

But to conclude the Affairs of this unhappy year; our *Annals* proceed to tell us, That

'About the same time the Abbot *Sparhafoc* was deposed from the Bishoprick of *London*, and *William* the King's Chaplain ordained to that See. Also Earl *Odda* was appointed Governor of *Defenascire*, *Somersetshire*, and *Dorsetshire*, and of all the *Welsh*; and the Earldom which Earl *Harold* lately held, was given to *Ælfgar* the Son of Earl *Leofric*.

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* Vol. 2 p. 222.

About this time the Bishoprick of *Credington* in *Cornwal*, was (as we find in the * *Monasticon*) at the Request of Pope *Leo* removed from thence to *Exeter*, where the Monastery of *St. Peter* and *St. Paul* was made a Bishop's See, the Monks being removed from thence to *Westminster*, and Secular Chanons placed in their stead: Which shews that the humour of Monks did not so much prevail now, as in the days of King *Edgar*. And this year *Leofric* Bishop of that Diocese was enthron'd at *Exeter*, after a solemn Procession, where the Bishop walked to Church between King *Edward*, and Queen *Editha* his Wife.

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This year, according to *Florence of Worcester*, the King released the Nation from that cruel Burthen of *Danegelt*, under which it had for so many years groaned; but I will not pass my word for the truth of the occasion why he did it, though related by *Ingulph*; viz. That King *Edward* going into his Treasury, where this Tax had been laid up, saw the Devil capering and dancing upon the Money-bags (which it seems no body else could see but himself); at which he was so concerned, that he ordered all the Money to be restored to the right Owners, and forbade its being gathered any more.

Not

Not long after, according to the same Author, *William* Duke of *Normandy*, the King's Cousin, coming over into *England*, was honourably received here, and had Noble Presents made him; and as some relate too, that King *Edward* promised to make him his Successor in the Kingdom.

This year also, according to *Florence of Worcester*, *Alfric* Archbishop of *Tork* deceased, and *Kinsing* the King's Chaplain succeeded him.

'This year deceased *Ælgiwa* (alias *Imma*) the Mother of King *Edward* and King *Hardecnute*.

She hath a various Character given her by our Historians; *William* of *Malmesbury* represents her to be very Covetous, and Unkind to her first Husband's Children; which seems to have been true enough: But then she was very Devout, and had a great Respect for the Bishops and Monks, from whom she was sure to have their good word; yet however she did not escape Scandal, for she had several Enemies that incensed the King against her, but especially Archbishop *Robert* the *Norman*, who had accused her some years before her death, of being too familiar with *Alwin* Bishop of *Winchester*: Whereupon she was sent to the Abby of *Werwell*, having first of all her Goods taken from her, whilst the Bishop was committed to Prison, Archbishop *Robert* crying out, That such Villany ought not to go unpunished, for fear it should be an encouragement for others to do the like; but she not being kept very strictly, wrote to all the Bishops of *England* whom she knew to be her Friends, professing that she was more troubled at the Disgrace offered to the Bishop, than that which was done to her self; and that she was ready to clear his Innocency by the Fire Ordeal.

Upon this the Bishops met, and had easily prevailed with the King to put up the business, had not Archbishop *Robert* stiffly opposed them, demanding of his Brethren, "How they could have the confidence to take upon them the Defence of that Beast rather than Woman, (meaning the Queen-Mother) who had so detracted from the King her Son, and yet had called her Paramour, *The Anointed of the Lord*? But (said he) this Woman will purge the Bishop, but who shall purge her that consented to the Death of her Son *Alfred*, and prepared Poyson for his Brother (now King) *Edward*? But if she desires to be acquitted, let her accept of her own Proposal, and walk barefoot over Nine Red-hot Plowshares, four for her self, and five for the Bishop, and then if she escape untouch'd, let her pass for Innocent.

Upon this the Day for Trial was appointed, and she having the night before at his Shrine earnestly invoked the Assistance of *St. Smithin*, she came to the place, where the King and all the Bishops (except *Robert*) were present; and there passed unhurt over all the Red-hot Plowshares, to the great Joy and Wonder both of her self and all the Spectators, especially of the King her Son, that she had so well cleared her self; then he was very sorry that he had been so credulous as to admit those Calumnies against his own Mother, whose Pardon he now begged, as also the Bishops; and (as divers of the Monkish Writers relate) received Penance from them on his bare back.

Queen *Emma* for this signal Deliverance gave to *St. Smithin* Nine Mannors, and the Bishop of *Winchester* as many, the Innocency of them both being hereby absolutely cleared. Moreover the King is said to have bestowed on the Church of *Winchester* the whole Isle of *Portland*, and other Possessions.

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The substance of this Story is both delivered by *John Bromton* and *Henry de Knighton*; but Dr. *Harpesfeld* hath embellished it with divers other trivial Circumstances, whilst our more Ancient Authors, as *Malmesbury* and others, say nothing of it. But methinks that which follows spoils all the rest, viz. That Archbishop *Robert* (whom some will have Bishop, and others Archbishop at this time) thereupon fled out of the Land; whereas indeed he continued here much longer, and fled out of *England* upon another occasion, as we shall shew hereafter. But to return again to our *Annals*:

'The same year it was also decreed by the King and his Chief Men, 'That Ships should be sent to *Sandwich*, and that Earl *Rolfe* and Earl 'Odda should command them; in the mean time Earl *Godwin* departed 'from *Bryce* with his Ships to *Tsera* (a place we know not), and then 'landing the next day but one to *Midsummer-Eve*, he came to the Head 'or Point lying on the South-side of *Rumenea* (now *Rumney* in *Kent*) 'which when it was told the Earls at *Sandwic*, they immediately sail'd 'out in pursuit of him, and also commanded the Land-Forces to 'be in a readiness to join them: But it seems Earl *Godwin* had timely notice of it, and so he fell back to *Pevensea* (i. e. *Pensley* in *Sussex*); and 'then so violent a Tempest arose, that the Earls could not inform themselves which way *Godwin* was gone; but afterwards he returned 'and came to *Bryce*, and the King's Ships went to *Sandwic*, and from 'thence they were order'd back to *London*, and other Captains to command them; but the matter was so long delay'd, that all the Seamen 'left their Ships, and returned to their own homes.

'As soon as Earl *Godwin* heard this, he set out his Fleet again to Sea, 'and sail'd directly *Westward* to the Isle of *Wight*, where his men going 'ashore, plundered so long till at last the people would give them what 'Contributions soever they demanded. Then they sail'd further *Westward* till they came to the Isle of *Portland*, and there going again on 'shore they did all the damage they could to the Inhabitants. In the 'mean time *Harold* return'd from *Ireland* with Nine Ships, and landed 'at *Portloc* Bay (in *Somersetshire*) where much people were got together against him; but he not being at all afraid of them, marched out 'to seek Provisions, and there killed all before him, taking Men, Cattel, and Money, whatsoever he met with. From thence he sail'd 'Eastward towards his Father, whom having met, they went together 'to the Isle of *Wight*, and there plunder'd whatsoever was left; and 'thence coasted to *Pevensea*, where they took all the Ships that were in 'that Harbour; afterwards they went to the *Nesse Point*, and carried 'away all the Ships that were in *Rumenea*, *Hythe*, and *Folcestase*, (now 'Folkeston in *Kent*). Thence they sail'd Eastward again to *Dofra*, and 'going on shore, took there as many Ships and Hostages as they could; 'and then went to *Sandwic*, where also they did the like; so that they 'had Hostages and Provisions given them where ever they came, as 'much as they required; then again they sail'd to *Northmuthe* (supposed to be that which we call now the *Buoy in the Nore*) and thence up 'towards *London*; they also sent some Ships to *Scepiage*, and there did 'a great deal of mischief; then they turn'd to *Middle tune*, a Town of 'the King's (in *Essex*) and burnt it down to the ground; and afterwards the Earls went towards *London*, but when they came thither, they 'found the King with all his Great Men ready to receive them with Fifty

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'Sail. Then the outlaw'd Earls sent to the King, beseeching him, that 'they might be restor'd to their Estates, of which they had been unjustly deprived; but for a long time the King would not hearken to 'them by any means, till at last the men who were with the Earl were 'so enraged against him and his people, that the Earl had much a-do 'to appease them.

'Then were assembled by God's assistance Bishop *Stigand* and other 'Prudent Men, as well within the City as without, and there they agreed 'upon a Peace to be made, Hostages being first given on both sides; 'which when Archbishop *Rodbert* and the other *Frenchmen* understood, 'they took Horse, and fled some *Westward* to *Pentecost's* Castle, (but 'where it was we do not now know) and others *Northward* to a Castle 'of Archbishop *Rodbert's*, who together with Bishop *Ulf* and all their 'Party, going out at the East Gate (I suppose of *London*) kill'd and 'wounded many young men (who I suppose went about to seize them); 'thence they went directly to *Ealdulphe's Nese* (now the *Nesse-Point* 'in *Essex*), where the Archbishop going on board a small Vessel, left his 'Pall and Bishoprick behind him (as God would have it) since he had 'attain'd that Honour without God's Approbation.

From all which Transactions we may draw these Observations, That all this Contest between the King and Earl *Godwin*, seems to have been chiefly from the two great Factions, that of the *Normans* whom the King brought over with him, and that of his *English* Subjects; and which happening under a Weak and Easy King, that had neither the Prudence nor Courage to keep the Balance even, it produced this Pyrrhical War, made by Earl *Godwin* and his Sons, to force the King to restore them to their Estates. All which not only shews the great Power of this Earl and his Partizans, but also that those who have the Command at Sea, may force a King of *England* to what Terms they please. It is also evident, that these *Annals* were wrote by some Monk of the *English* Party, who was wholly of Earl *Godwin's* side. But to return again to them.

'Then was appointed a Great Council without *London*, where all 'the Earls and Chief Men then in *England* were present; and there 'Earl *Godwin* pleaded for himself, and was acquitted before the King 'and the whole Nation; and affirmed that he and *Harold* his Son, with 'the rest of his Children, were innocent of the Crimes whereof they 'stood accused: Whereupon the King received the Earl and his Sons, 'with all those of his Party, into his full Grace and Favour, restoring 'him to his Earldom, and whatsoever else he before enjoyed, as likewise to every one his own again. And then too the King restored to 'the Queen his Wife (who had been before sent away) whatsoever she 'had been possessed of; but Archbishop *Rodbert* and all the *Frenchmen* 'were outlaw'd and banish'd, because they were those who had been 'the chief Incendiaries of this Quarrel between the King and the Earl; 'and Bishop *Stigand* was then made Archbishop of *Canterbury*.

Though our *Annals* are in the Relation of what passed at this Great Council much more particular than most of our Historians, yet in the Account of this War between the King and Earl *Godwin*, there are some things to be further taken notice of; as what *Simcon* of *Durham* relates, That Earl *Harold* when he came out of *Ireland*, first entred the Mouth of *Severne*, and there spoiled the Coast of *Somersetshire*, plundering

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dering both the Towns and Countrey round about; and then coming back to his Ships laden with Prey, he presently sail'd round *Penwith-foot* (i. e. the *Land's-End*) and met his Father, as you have heard before; and when it was told King *Edward* that Earl *Godwin* was come to *Sandwic*, he commanded all those who had not revolted from him, to make haste to his Assistance; but they delay'd so long their coming up, that in the mean while *Godwin* with his Fleet sail'd up the River *Thames* as far as *Southweork*, and there lay till the Tide, but yet not without sending Messengers to some of the chief Citizens of *London*, whom he had before drawn over to his Party by fair Promises, and so far prevailed with them, that they absolutely engaged themselves to be at his service, and do whatever he would command them: Then all things being thus prepared, the next Tide they weighed Anchor, and sail'd Southward up the Stream, no body opposing them on the Bridge. From whence we may observe, that those Ships he had, were only small Galleys, with Masts to be taken up and down at pleasure, much like our Huoys at this day.

Then came the Earl's Land-Army, and flanking themselves all along the side of the River, made a very thick and terrible Body, insomuch that he turned his Fleet toward the Northern Shore, as if he were resolved to have encompassed that of the King's (which it seems then lay above-Bridge, over-against *London*): And though He had at that time both a Fleet, and a Numerous Land-Army of Foot-Soldiers, yet they being all *Engliss*, abhorred to fight against their own Kinsfolks and Countreymen; and therefore the wiser sort of both sides laid hold on this Opportunity, and became such powerful Mediators between the King and the Earl, as made them mutually to strike up a Peace, and so dismiss their Armies.

The next day the King held a Great Council, and restored Earl *Godwin* and his Sons to their former Honours and Estates, except *Sweyn*; who, being prick'd in Conscience for the Murder of his Cousin *Beorn*, was gone from *Flanders* barefoot as far as *Jerusalem*, and in his return homeward died in *Lycia* of a Disease contracted through extreme Cold.

A firm Concord and Peace being thus concluded, both the King and the Earl promised right Law (i. e. Justice) to all people, and banished all those *Normans* that had introduced unjust Laws, and given false Judgments, and committed many Outrages upon the *Engliss*; though some of them were permitted to stay, as *Robert* the Deacon, and *Richard Fitzscrob*, his Son-in-Law, as also *Alfred* the Yeoman of the King's Stirrup, *Anfred* surnamed *Cocksfoot*, and some others who had been the King's greatest Favourites, and always faithful to him and the People; all the rest were sent away, and amongst them was also *William* Bishop of *London*; but he being a good honest man, was called back again in a short time: *Osbern*, surnamed *Pentecost*, (from whom the Castle above-mention'd was so called) and his Companion *Hugh*, surrender'd their Castles; and by the License of Earl *Leofric*, passing through his Earldom of *Mercia*, went into *Scotland*, and were there kindly received by King *Macbeth*.

Mr. *Selden* in his *Titles of Honour refers that Relation in *Bromton's* Chronicle, to this Great Council held this very year; in which the manner of King *Edward's* Reconciliation with Earl *Godwin* is more particularly

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ticularly set down; viz. That the King having summoned a Great Council, as soon as he there beheld Earl *Godwin*, immediately accused him before them all, of having betrayed and murdered his Brother Prince *Alfred*, in these words; "Thou Traytor *Godwin*, I accuse thee of the Death of *Alfred* my Brother, whom thou hast traitorously murdered; and for the Proof of this, I refer my self to the Judgment of *Curia Vestra*, (i. e. your Court.) Then the King proceeded thus, "You, most Noble Lords, the Earls and Barons of the Kingdom (where note, That by Barons are to be understood *Thanes*, for they were one and the same before the Conquest) "You who are my Liege-men, "being here assembled, have heard my Appeal, as also the Answer of "Earl *Godwin*; I will that you now give a Right Sentence between us "in this my Appeal, and afford due Justice therein. Then the Earls and Barons having maturely debated this matter among themselves, some were for giving Judgment for the King; but others differed from them, saying, That Earl *Godwin* had never been obliged to the King by either Homage, Service, or Fealty, and therefore could be no Traytor to him; and besides, that he had not kill'd the Prince with his own hands. But others replied, That no Earl, Baron, nor any other Subject of the King, could by Law wage Battel against him in his Appeal, but ought upon the whole matter to submit himself to the King's Mercy, and offer him reasonable Amends. Then *Leofric* Earl of *Chester*, who was an upright and sincere man both with respect to God and the world, spoke thus: Earl *Godwin*, who next to the King is indeed a Person of the best Quality in *England*, cannot deny but that by his Counsel *Alfred* the King's Brother was killed; and therefore my opinion is, That both he himself and his Sons, and Twelve of us Earls that are his Friends and Kinsmen, should appear humbly before the King, each of us carrying as much Gold and Silver as he can hold in his Arms, and offering it to him, most humbly supplicate for his Pardon; and then the King should remit to the Earl all Rancor and Anger whatsoever against him, and having received his Homage and Fealty, peaceably restore him to all his Lands. To this the Assembly agreed; and those that were appointed, loading themselves with Treasure after the manner aforesaid, went unto the King, shewing him the order and manner of their Judgment, which he being unwilling to contradict, complied with, and so ratified whatever they had before decreed.

This, tho' written a long time after the Conquest, as appears by the Words there used, viz. *Parliament*, *Baron*, *Homage* and *Fealty*; yet it might be true in the main, as being transcribed out of some Ancient Records of the Great Councils of those times, which are now lost; and if so, would be a Notable Precedent of the large Authority of the *Witena Gemot*, or Great Council of the Nation, not only in assenting to new Laws, but also of their Judicial Authority in giving Judgment upon all Suits or Complaints brought before them, as well in Appeals between Subject and Subject, as also where the King himself was a Party; and if Authentick, would also shew, not only that this Tenure of the King by Homage and Fealty was in use before the Conquest, but also (according to the Judgment of this Great Council) that there was no Allegiance due by Birth, nor until a man had actually performed his Homage, or sworn Fealty to the King; and lastly, that a satisfaction made by Money, was looked upon as sufficient for the Death even of the King's

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King's own Brother. Yet to deal ingenuously with the Reader, notwithstanding this fair story, *Bromton* himself seems to doubt the truth of it; for after he hath there told us from some nameless Author, that *Earl Godwin* (out of fear of some of the *English* Nobility, who had sworn to be revenged of him for the murder of Prince *Alfred*) retired into *Denmark*, during the Reign of King *Hardeknute*; but returning in the beginning of King *Edward's* Reign, he appeared at a Parliament at *London*, where the King impeached him of the Death of his Brother in the manner as you have already heard; and if so, this could not fall out as Mr. *Selden* supposes in this Great Council, after this last return of *Earl Godwin*, which happen'd not in the beginning, but the middle of this King's Reign. With which Relation also agree two Ancient Chronicles in *French*, written in the time of *Edward* the Third, and are both in the *Cottonian* Library.

And *Bromton* himself acknowledges, that according to most Authors *Earl Godwin* never went into *Denmark* at all, nor left *England* during the Reign of King *Hardeknute*; so that this Transaction (if it ever happen'd at all) seems most likely to have fell out in the Reign of King *Hardeknute*, when that King charged *Earl Godwin* with his Brother's Death, and made him redeem it with a great Present, as we have above told you.

But to conclude this year; From the *Peterburgh* Copy of these *Annals*, it appears that about this time *Arnwy* Abbot of *Burgh* resigned his Dignity, by reason of his bad Health, and conferred it with the King's License, and the Consent of the Monks, upon *Leofric* a Monk of that Abby: But Abbot *Arnwy* lived eight years after: During which time Abbot *Leofric* so adorned that Monastery with rich Guildings, that it was called the *Golden Burgh*; he also endowed it very much with Lands, as well as other Treasures.

This year, according to *Florence of Worcester*, *Griffyn* Prince of *Wales* entering *England*, spoiled great part of *Herefordshire*; against whom many Inhabitants of that County marched, together with the *Norman* Garrison of *Hereford* Castle; but Prince *Griffyn* meeting with them, killed a great many, and putting the rest to flight, carried away a great deal of Booty.

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This year *Earl Godwin* deceased (17th Kal. of May) and was buried in the Old Monastery of *Winchester*.

Of the manner of whose Death, though our *Annals* are silent, yet I shall here set down what I find concerning it by almost all our Historians, and it is thus; That King *Edward* celebrating the Feast of *Easter* at *Winchester* (or at *Windsor*, as some will have it) *Earl Godwin*, as his Custom was, sitting at Table with him, was suddenly seized with so violent a Distemper, that it struck him speechless, and made him fall off from the Chair on which he sat; and his Three Sons *Harold*, *Tofti*, and *Cyrth*, being present, they immediately removed him into the King's Chamber, hoping it was but a sudden Fit, and would be speedily over; but he lay in that languishing condition four days, and died on the fifth. This is the account of his Death; to which the *Norman* Monks, and such as write in favour of them, add other Circumstances, which shew either his Guilt, or their Malice; since they relate, That mention being made by somebody at the King's Table, of *Alfred* his late Brother, he thereupon looked very angrily at *Earl Godwin*, when he

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he to vindicate himself told King *Edward*, He perceived that upon the least mentioning of that Prince, he cast a frowning Countenance upon him; But (saith he) *let not God suffer me to swallow this morsel, if I am guilty of any thing done either toward the taking away his Life, or against your Interest*: After which words, being presently choaked with the Bit he had just before put into his Mouth, he sunk immediately down, and never recovered more. But let the manner of his death be as it will, he was a Man of an Active and Turbulent Spirit, not over-nicely conscientious either in getting or keeping what he could; not to be excused for his too much forcing his Sovereign to whatever he listed: But had he not been so great a Lover of his Countrey, and an Enemy to Strangers, those that wrote in the *Norman* times (and who durst not write any thing but what they knew would please their Masters) would have passed him over without this Story, and have given him a fairer Character.

His first Wife was the Sister of King *Cnut*, by whom he had a Son; but in his Infancy happening to mount an unruly Horse that was presented him by his Grandfather, he was run away with into the *Thames*, and there drowned. His Mother was kill'd by Thunder, which (as then was believed) fell upon her as a Judgment, on the account of her great Cruelty; for she made a Trade of selling handsome *English* Boys and Girls into *Denmark*.

After her Death *Earl Godwin* married another Wife, and by her had Six Sons, viz. *Harold*, *Sweyn*, *Wined*, *Tofti*, *Cyrth*, and *Leofwin*: His Earldom of *West-Seax* was given to his Son *Harold*; and the Earldom that *Harold* had before, viz. *Essex*, was conferred on *Alfgar* the Son of *Leofric*, Earl of *Mercia*; which is also confirmed by our *Annals*.

And the same year, according to *Simeon of Durham*, *Rees* the Brother of *Griffyn* King of *South-Wales*, being taken Prisoner, for the many Insolences he had committed against the *English*, was by the Command of King *Edward* put to death at a place called *Bulendun*, and his Head sent to the King then lying at *Gloucester*, on the Vigil of *Epiphany*: But this is omitted in the *Welsh* Chronicles, as commonly every thing is that makes to the disadvantage of their own Nation.

This year *Leo*, that Holy Pope of *Rome*, deceased, and *Victor* was elected in his stead. And there was also so great a Murrain of all sorts of Cattel in *England*, that none could ever remember the like.

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And now, according to the *Welsh* Chronicles, *Griffyth* the Son of *Ratherch ap Iustin*, raised a great Army both of Strangers and others, against *Griffyth* Prince of *North Wales*, who delaying no time, but getting all the Forces of that Countrey together, and meeting the other, *Griffyth* fought with him and slew him on the place, though none of these Chronicles have told us where that was. This was the last Rebellion or *Welsh* Civil War that happened in this Prince's Reign.

The same year (according to *Simeon of Durham*, and *Roger Hoveden*) *Sivard*, that Valiant Earl of *Northumberland*, at the Command of King *Edward*, being attended with a powerful Army and a strong Fleet, marched into *Scotland*, to restore *Malcolm* the Right Heir to the Crown of that Kingdom, where joining Battel with *Macbeth*, the then Usurping King of *Scots*, many both of that Nation, and of the *Normans* who took their part, were slain, and the Earl put the Usurper to flight. But in this Battel the Earl's Son, and several of the *English* and *Danes* were slain.

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H. Huntington further adds, That when the News was brought to the Earl, of the Death of his Son, he presently asked, *Whether he had received the Wound behind or before?* And being told it was *before*, he only replied, *I am glad to hear that, for so it became my Son to dye.* He says also, That this Son of his (whom he does not name) had been sent into *Scotland* before his Father, and was there killed; and that Earl *Sinward* did not subdue *Macbeth* till the second Expedition; in which he differs from all the rest of the *English* and *Scottish* Historians.

Buchanan indeed acknowledges, that this Prince *Malcolm* having taken Refuge in the Court of *England*, obtain'd of King *Edward* the Assistance of Ten thousand men under the Conduct of Earl *Sinward*, and that the rest were rais'd for him by *Macdulf* and others of his Party that took Arms on his behalf. But *John Fordun* in his History writes much more improbably; and though he allows that King *Edward* offered *Malcolm* an Army sufficient to place him on the Throne, yet that he refused it with Thanks, and only took Earl *Sinward* of all the *English* Lords along with him; as if this Earl's single Might, though he was a Man of great Strength and Stature, signified any thing against the Forces of *Macbeth*, unless he had also brought a powerful Army along with him.

Mat. Westminster also adds, That *Scotland* being thus conquered by the Forces of King *Edward*, he bestow'd it upon King *Malcolm*, to be held of himself: But since this is not found in any of our Ancient Historians, and this Author does not acquaint us from whence he had it, I do not look upon it as worthy of any great Credit.

About this time (according to *Simeon*) *Aldred* Bishop of *Worcester* was sent Ambassador to the Emperor with Noble Presents; and being received with great Honour by him, as likewise by *Herman* Archbishop of *Cologne*, he staid in *Germany* a whole year, to prevail with the Emperor on the King's behalf to send Ambassadors into *Hungary*, to bring back Prince *Edward* the King's Cousin, Son of King *Edmund Ironside*, into *England*.

The same year also, according to the *Latin* Copy of the *Annals*, 'Was a Battel at *Mortimer* in *Normandy*.'] But though they do not tell us by whom it was fought, yet from others we learn it was between *William* Duke of *Normandy*, and the King of *France*; where the former obtain'd a most signal Victory.

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'This year *Sinward* Earl of *Northumberland* deceased; and the King gave that Earldom to *Tostig*, Son of Earl *Godwin*.

Of this *Sinward*'s death, our Historians give us divers remarkable Circumstances; That being near his End by a Bloody Flux, he said, He was asham'd to dye thus like a Beast; so causing himself to be completely Armed, and taking his Sword in his hand (as if he would have fought even Death it self) he in this Posture expired, as he supposed, like a Man of Honour.

'King *Edward* not long after this summoned a *Witena Gemo*: (or Great Council) seven days before *Midlent*, wherein Earl *Ælfgar* was outlaw'd upon a Charge of being a Traytor to the King and the whole Nation; and of this he was convicted before all there assembled. 'Then Earl *Ælfgar* went to the Castle of Prince *Griffyn* in *North-Wales*; and the same year they both together burnt the City of *Hereford*, with the Monastery of *St. Ethelbert*, (once King of the *East-Angles*, whose Bones were here enshrind.)

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This Earl had the greater reason to do what he did, having been unjustly banish'd, as most of our Historians write. *Simeon* of *Durham* is somewhat larger in his account of this Affair; and says, That this Earl *Ælfgar* first went into *Ireland*, and there procuring Eighteen Pyrate-Ships, sail'd with them into *Wales* to assist Prince *Griffyn* against King *Edward*, where joining with the *Welshmen*, they laid waste the Country about *Hereford* with Fire and Sword; against whom was sent that Cowardly Earl *Rodolph*, King *Edward*'s Sister's Son; who gathering an Army, and meeting with the *Welshmen* about two miles from that City, he commanded the *Englishmen* (contrary to their custom) to fight on Horseback; but so soon as they were ready to join Battel, *Rodolph* with all his *Trenchmen* ran away; which the *English* seeing, quickly followed: By which you may see, that it is no new thing for a Cowardly General to make Cowardly Soldiers.

The Victory being thus easily obtained, the Prince and the Earl entred *Hereford*, and having killed seven of the Chanons that defended the doors of the Church, they burnt it, together with the Monastery above-mention'd, with all the Reliques of *St. Ethelbert*, and the Rich Ornaments that were in it; and so having slain divers of the Citizens, and carried away great Numbers of them Prisoners, they returned home laden with Booty: But as soon as the King was acquainted with it, he presently commanded an Army to be rais'd through all *England*; which being mustered at *Gloucester*, He appointed the Valiant Earl *Harold* to be Commander in chief; who obeying the King's Orders, immediately pursued Prince *Griffyn* and Earl *Ælfgar*, and entering the Borders of *Wales*, pitched his Camp beyond *Stratdale*, as far as *Snowdon*; but they who knew him to be a Brave and Warlike Commander, not daring to engage him, fled into *South-Wales*; which *Harold* perceiving, left there the greater part of his men, with Orders to fight the Enemy if they could come at them; and with the rest he returned to *Hereford*, which he fortified by drawing a new Trench about it. But whilst he was thus employed, the two Captains on the contrary side thinking it best for them to make Peace, sent Messengers to him, and at last procuring a Meeting at a place called *Bylgesceage*, a firm Peace and Friendship was there concluded; in pursuance whereof Earl *Ælfgar* sent his Ships to *Chester* till they could be paid off, and he himself went up to the King, from whom he received his former Earldom.

'*Henry* Emperor of the *Germans* now died; and *Henry* his Son succeeded him.] This is only mentioned in the *Latin* Copy of these *Annals*.

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But the same year (according to *Simeon* of *Durham*, and *R. Hoveden*) *Leofgar*, who was lately ordained Bishop of *Hereford* in the room of Bishop *Athelstan*, deceased, being together with his Clerks and the Sheriff *Agelnoth* set upon by *Griffyn* Prince of *Wales*, at a place called *Glasthyrig*, and was there slain with all his followers; after which *Aldred* Bishop of *Worcester* (to whom the King had committed the Bishoprick of *Hereford*), as also the Earls *Leofric* and *Harold*, mediated a Peace between King *Edward* and the said *Griffyn*.

'This year *Edward Etheling*, Son to King *Edmund*, returned into this Kingdom (together with his Children) and shortly after deceased, whose Body lies buried in *St. Paul's Church* at *London*. Also Pope *Victor* now dying, *Stephanus* Abbot of *Mountcassin* was consecrated in his

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his stead.] But the *Cottonian* Copy of these *Annals*, as also *Florence of Worcester*, place the death of this Pope under the year preceding. Earl *Leofric* also deceased, and *Ælfgar* his Son received the Earldom which his Father enjoyed.

This is that *Leofric* Earl of *Mercia*, who together with his Wife *Godiva* built the rich and stately Monastery of *Coventry* (as hath been already related) in which Church he was buried: He died this year in a good Old Age; whose Wisdom and Counsel was often profitable to *England*.

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This year Pope *Stephanus* deceased, and *Benedict* was consecrated in his stead: This Pope sent the Pall to Archbishop *Stigand*.

Upon whom *William* of *Malmesbury* is here very sharp, saying, That *Stigand* was so intolerably Covetous, that he held both the Bishoprick of *Winchester* and that of *Canterbury* at the same time; but could never obtain the Pall from the Apostolick See, until this *Benedict*, an Intruder, (as he calls him) sent it to him, either as first being brib'd by Money, or else because (as is observed) evil men love to favour one another.

The same year also (according to the *Annals*) deceased *Heacca* Bishop of the *South-Saxons*, (i. e. of *Chichester*) and Archbishop *Stigand* consecrated *Egelric* a Monk of *Christ-Church*, Bishop of that See; as also *Syward* the Abbot, Bishop of *Rochester*.

Also this year, according to *Simeon of Durham*, and *Florence of Worcester*, Earl *Ælfgar* was the second time banished by King *Edward*, but by the help of *Griffyn* Prince of *Wales*, and of a *Norwegian* Fleet which came to his assistance, he was soon restored to his Earldom again, though it was by force.

In so deplorable a condition was this poor King *Edward*, that those of his Nobility who were strong enough to make any Resistance, were fure to be pardoned.

The same year also (according to the above-mentioned Authors) *Aldred* Bishop of *Worcester*, having newly rebuilt the Church of *St. Peter* in *Gloucester*, went on Pilgrimage through *Hungary* to *Jerusalem*, (as says *Simeon of Durham*); which no *English* Archbishop or Bishop was ever known to have done before.

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This year *Nicholaus* Bishop of *Florence* was made Pope; and *Benedict* was expell'd, who was Pope before him.

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Kynsige Archbishop of *Tork* deceased, the xi. Kal. Jan. and Bishop *Ealred* succeeded in that See: (This was that *Aldred* Bishop of *Worcester*, who had been lately at *Rome*.) Also *Walter* was now made Bishop of *Hereford*.] And in the *Latin* Copy of the *Annals* it is related, That *Henry* King of *France* now dying, *Philip* his Son succeeded him.

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This year also deceased *Duduc* Bishop of *Somersetshire* (i. e. *Wells*) and *Gisa* was his Successor. The same year also deceased Bishop *Godwin* at *St. Martins* (vii. Id. Martii.) Also *Wulfrick* Abbot of *St. Augustine's* in *Canterbury*, deceased in the *Easter* Week (xiv. Kal. Maii.) Which News being brought to the King, he appointed *Æthelrige* a Monk of the old Church at *Winchester*, to be Abbot, who was consecrated by Archbishop *Stigand* at *Windlesore* (i. e. *Windsor*) at the Feast of *St. Augustine*.

And this year (according to *Simeon of Durham*) *Aldred* Archbishop of *Tork* went with Earl *Tostige* to *Rome*, and there received his Pall from

from Pope *Nicholaus*: But in the mean time *Malcolm* King of *Scots* entered *Northumberland*, and depopulated the Earldom of *Tostige*, formerly his sworn Brother.

This year (according to the *Latin* Copy of our *Annals*) the City of *Man* was taken by *William* Duke of *Normandy*.

Also about this time Earl *Harold*, afterwards King of *England*, founded the Abby of the *Holy Cross* at *Waltham* (in *Essex*), so called from a certain Crucifix said to be found (by a Vision to a Carpenter) at a place called *Montacute*; which Crucifix being brought to *Waltham*, and many Miraculous Stories told there of it, one *Tovi* the *Stallere*, or Chief Standard-Bearer to King *Cnut*, built here a Church for two Priests to keep it; which place coming into the hands of Earl *Harold*, he built this Church anew, together with a Noble Monastery for a Dean and Twelve Secular Chanoins (which in the time of *Henry* the Second were turned to Chanoins Regular): This Abby being richly endow'd, the Foundation was confirmed by King *Edward*; as may be seen by his Charter, bearing date Anno 1062. All which appears from an Ancient Manuscript History of the Foundation of this Abby, now in the *Cottonian* Library.

This year (according to our *Annals*) Earl *Harold*, and Earl *Tostige* his Brother, marched with a great Army both by Land and Sea into *Brytland* (i. e. *Wales*) and subdued that Countrey; so that the Inhabitants giving them Hostages, became subject [to King *Edward*.] Afterwards marching farther, they slew King *Griffyth*, and brought his Head to *Harold*, who placed another King there.

All this, though done in the two following years, is here related all at once: But *Simeon of Durham*, and *Florence of Worcester*, are much more large in their Account of these *Welsh* Affairs, which they give us under the following year, viz.

Griffyn Prince of *Wales* having by his frequent Inroads highly exasperated King *Edward*, being then at *Gloucester*, he after the *Christmas* Holidays from thence dispatch'd Earl *Harold* against him with a strong Party of Horse, if possible, to surprize him; yet he got timely notice of his coming, and by that means made a shift to escape, but left behind him most of his Ships, which the Earl taking, commanded to be burnt, and so returned into *England*: But about *Rogation* Week, *Harold* having got a Fleet in readiness, he set sail from *Bristol*, and compassing the greatest part of *Wales*, joined himself to the Horse, with which his Brother *Tostige* met him, and did so much mischief in *Wales*, that the Prince *Griffyn* had mustered up an Army to oppose them, yet the *Welshmen* being thus hard put to it, at last yielded themselves to Earl *Harold*, delivering up Hostages, and consented to pay him Tribute, and absolutely renounced *Griffyth* their Prince. So that not long after, Prince *Griffyth* being betrayed by his own People, was by them murdered; and his Head being cut off, was sent to Earl *Harold*, together with the Gilded Stern of his Ship; all which the Earl immediately caused to be carried to the King.

Thus fell *Griffyth ap Lhewelyn*, to whom the *Welsh* Chronicles give a Noble Character, of a Valiant and Generous Prince, who had been hitherto for the most part victorious in all his Undertakings, till now he perished by the Treachery of his own Servants.

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After this, King Edward (as *Simeon of Durham* relates) made *Blechen* and *Rithwalla* (whom the *Welsh* Chronicles call *Blethyn* and *Rithwallen*) Joint-Princes of *North-Wales*, being Half-Brethren to *Griffyth* the last Prince on the Mother's side, as being Sons to *Angharat* Daughter to *Meredyth* Prince of *Wales*.

Florence of Worcester also adds, That these *Welsh* Princes above-mentioned, when they received from the King this Grant of *North-Wales*, swore Fealty not only to Him, but also to Earl *Harold*, who it seems delivered it to them; swearing to perform their Commands both by Sea and Land, and to pay those Tributes which had been formerly paid to King *Edward's* Predecessors. Which, if true, shews that Earl *Harold* was already adopted and declared Heir of the Crown. But this being not found in our Annals, nor in any other Historian, I cannot pass my word for the Truth of it.

'This year also (according to the *Annals*) the *Northumbers* took Arms against *Tostige* their Earl, and slew as many of his Servants as they could lay hold on, as well *English* as *Danes*; they also seized upon all his Arms that were in *Tork*, and his Treasure where ever they could find it, and then sent for Earl *Morchar*, the Son of Earl *Ælfgar*, and chose him for their Earl; who then marched *Southward* with all that Province, as also all the men of *Snotingham*, *Deorbie*, and *Lincolnschires*, till they came even to *Northampton*, where his Brother *Eadwin* with all his Company met him.

'But there Earl *Harold* came against them, to whom they sent a Message, which they desired might be conveyed to the King, as also the Messengers, by whom they besought to let them have *Morchar* for their Earl: The King hereupon granting their Request, afterwards sent Earl *Harold* to them to *Hamtune*, at the Feast of St. *Simon* and *Jude*, farther assuring them of it; and he also at their request confirmed and renewed the Laws of King *Cnut*. But the *Northern* men had done much damage to the Countrey about *Hamtune*, whilst their Message was thus transacting; for they slew their Men, and burnt the Houses and Corn, and took away several Thousand Head of Cattel, together with some Hundreds of Men, whom they carried Captives into the *North-Parts*; so that this Countrey, and the others adjacent, felt the damage for many years after. But Earl *Tostige*, with his Wife and as many as were of their Party, went over to Earl *Baldwin*, where they tarried all that Winter.

The occasion of which Insurrection (as *Florence* and *Simeon of Durham* inform us) was this; There was one *Gospatrik* a great Officer in *Northumberland*, with whom Earl *Tostige* having a Quarrel, his Sister Queen *Edgitha* caused him to be murdered at Court the Christmas before; though this seems very unsuitable to the Meek and Pious Temper of this good Queen: Yet however, so much is certain, That this *Gospatrik* being slain, the Earl also killed in his own Lodgings two of his Friends, viz. *Gammel* the Son of *Orne*, and *Ulf* the Son of *Dolphin*, having treacherously drawn them thither; and had besides laid intolerable Impositions on the People; all which so incensed them against him, that three or four of the principal *Thanes* of that Countrey, viz. *Gammelbearne*, *Dimstan* the Son of *Agelnoth*, and *Gloincorn* the Son of *Eardulf*, with Four hundred (Florence says Twenty thousand) men in Arms, entered *Tork* a little after *Michaelmas*, and there first slew two

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of the Earl's *Huisceorles* (i.e. Domestick Servants) *Amund* and *Ravenheart*, though fled out of the City; and the day following above Two hundred more of his men, on the *North-side* of the River *Humber*: *Tostige* hereupon made loud Complaints to the King, and at his Request *Harold* his Brother and others were appointed to take up the business; but as they were going down into the *North* for this purpose, the whole Countrey in a manner rose, and met them at *Northampton*, where (as also afterwards at *Oxford*) they strenuously refused to receive Earl *Tostige*, and by no means would admit of a Reconciliation: And so violent were they, and resolute, that after the Feast of *All-Saints*, they caused both him and his Adherents to be banished the Land.

William of Malmesbury also adds the reason which the *Northumbers* gave to justify this their Rising, viz. That they were *Freemen born*, and as freely educated; and that they would not endure the Insolence of an Earl; for they had learned from their Ancestors to chuse either Liberty or Death. In short, if the King meant to have them still his Subjects, he should fet Earl *Morchar* over them, and then he should soon find they could, if kindly used, willingly submit.

This was the most probable occasion of *Tostige's* Banishment: *Tho H. Huntington* (who lived after the Conquest, and had heard many Tales of the Hatred which Earl *Godwin's* Sons bore to each other) tells us another story of this matter; viz. That as the King sat at Dinner at *Windfor*, he commanded Earl *Harold* to serve him with the Cup: *Tostige* his Brother being present, and not able to endure that his younger Brother should be preferred before himself, in the King's very presence flew in his face, and catching him by the hair, flung him on the ground: The Scuffle being ended, the King foretold that their Destruction was nigh, and that the Wrath of God would not much longer be deferred: For, says this Author, they were come to that height of Barbarism and Cruelty, that if they but liked the House or Possessions of any one, they would by night procure the Owner to be murdered, with all his Children, to get his Estate; and these were at that time the chief Jurificaries of the Kingdom. But this seems to have been a story invented long since out of hatred to the Memory of *Harold*, afterwards King, for he hath the Character of a Valiant and Worthy Prince; and who (as *William of Malmesbury* relates) in this Quarrel with the *Northumbers*, preferred the Peace of his Countrey to his Brother's private Interests.

But *Tostige* in a great Rage leaving the Court, went to a House at *Hereford*, where at that time he heard his Brother *Harold* had order'd mighty Preparations for the Entertainment of the King, and there made a most terrible havock of his Servants; divers of whom being killed, he flung their mangled Members into all the Vessels of Wine, Mead, Ale, and other Liquors, and then sent word to his Brother, That he need take no care for Pickled Meats, but as for all other sorts he might bring them down along with him: And it was therefore for this most horrid Villany, that the King commanded him to be banished; which the *Northumbers* understanding, for this as well as several other Murders he had committed, they expell'd him their Countrey, as hath been already shewn. But this does not well agree with what *Simeon of Durham* hath already with more probability related of him; for if Earl *Tostige* had been found guilty of so great an Insolence, and that he was there-

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upon banished the Kingdom, it had certainly been very needless for the *Northumbers* to have rose up against him, and to have driven him out of the Countrey, or at least to have desired another Earl in his room; since the King would have appointed them a new one, without giving them so just an Occasion for a Rebellion against him.

To this year also we may refer Earl *Harold's* going over into *Normandy*, which some of our Historians place a year or two sooner; but they differ much more about the manner and occasion of it, some making it to be a meer Casualty, others saying it was on purpose: But *William* of *Malmesbury's* account of it is thus; That *Harold* being at his House at *Bosham* in *Sussex*, near the Sea-side, he for his Recreation with some of his Retinue, took a Fisher-boat, meaning only to row up and down; but sailing a little further to Sea than they were aware, a Tempest rose and carried them cross the Channel to the *French Coast*, where (glad to be safe any where) they were forced to land in the Territories of the Earl of *Ponthieu*; the men of that Countrey (according to their custom, and that barbarous practise which is in use in most places, to make a Prey of the distressed and shipwreck'd) presently fell upon them, and being many and well arm'd, they easily seiz'd upon Earl *Harold* and his Followers, who were without Weapons; so that they not only took them Prisoners, but also fetter'd them. Then *Harold* considering with himself what was to be done, hired a Messenger to go to Duke *William*, and acquaint him how he was sent over by the King of *England*, by his Word and Presence to confirm what other lesser Envoys had only whispered; but that he was kept Prisoner, and hinder'd from the discharge of his Message by *Gwido* Earl of *Ponthieu*; and that it would become a man of so great Honour as himself, not to suffer a Villany so derogatory to his Authority, to go unpunished, since he had appealed to his Justice: But if his Liberty was to be purchased with Money, he would willingly pay the Price to Earl *William*, but not to such a mean-spirited man as *Gwido*. Upon this *Harold* by the Command of Duke *William* was soon set at liberty, and sent to Court; where being honourably received, he was also invited to an Expedition into *Little-Britain*, where at that time the *Norman Duke* made War: But by his Wit and Valour he so well approved himself to the Duke, that he was very much taken with him; to whom, that he might also the more endear himself, he promised by Oath, That in case King *Edward* died, he would deliver up to him the Castle of *Dover*, which was then under his Command, and procure him to succeed in the Kingdom of *England*: Hereupon the Duke's Daughter, as yet too young for Marriage, was betrothed to him; and so he was sent home with very rich Presents.

This is *William* of *Malmesbury's*, and divers other Historians Relation of it; but *Bromton's* Chronicle, as he is singular in many things, so he is in this, and relates the Cause of *Harold's* Voyage into *Normandy* thus; viz. That he had asked leave of King *Edward* to go over to Duke *William*, to procure him to set his Brother *Wulnoth*, and his Nephew *Hacune* free, who were there detain'd as Hostages; whereupon the King told him he might go with his Leave, but not by his Advice; for (said he) I foresee that nothing but Damage and Ruin can happen to *England* thereby; for I know Earl *William* will not be so ignorant and impolitick as to grant their Delivery, unless it shall tend to his own advantage;

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vantage: So *Harold* going on Shipboard, and intending for *Normandy*, was driven by a Tempest on the Coast of *Picardy*, and there seized by the Earl of *Ponthieu*, and by him at last was sent to Duke *William*, as hath been already related. The rest of the Story is much the same with the former, and needs no Repetition; only this is added, That Earl *Harold* at his Return home, having told the King all that had happened to him in *France*, the King is said to reply thus, *Did not I tell thee that this Voyage would prove neither for thy Profit, nor that of the Kingdom.* But one may plainly perceive this Story to have been feigned by one of the later Monks, to prove that King *Edward* had the Spirit of Prophecy, and would not have been omitted by *William* of *Malmesbury*, if he had known it, or thought it to have been true.

This year also, as *Florence* of *Worcester* tells us, *Harold* Earl of *West-Saxony*, having built a House in *South Wales*, at a place called *Portascith*, and made great Preparations for the King's Entertainment, who was to come thither a hunting; when *Caradoc*, or *Cradoc*, Son to *Griffyn* Prince of *South-Wales* (whom *Griffyn* Prince of *North-Wales* had slain some years before) came to this place about St. *Bartholomew-day*, and there not only slew all the Workmen and Servants, but carried away all the Goods that had been brought thither.

This year was consecrated the Monastery of *Westminster*, on the Feast of the *Holy Innocents*.

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This Church, as the Abbot of *Rievall* (in his Life of King *Edward*) informs us, had been begun some years before, in performance of a Vow the King had formerly made, to go to *Rome*; but being dissuaded from it by the Chief Men of his Kingdom, he sent thither *Aldred* Archbishop of *York*, and *Herman* Bishop of *Winchester*, to obtain Pope *Leo's* Dispensation from that Journey, who by the said Bishops returned it him upon these terms, That he should bestow the Money he would have spent in that Voyage, in building a Stately Church and Monastery in Honour of St. *Peter*: Whereupon the King chose out a place near his own Palace, where had anciently stood a Church and Monastery, built by *Sebert* King of the *West Saxons*, and *Mellitus* Bishop of *London*, but it being destroyed by the *Danes*, had ever since lain in Ruins.

But an Ancient Epitome of *English* Chronicles, written by a Monk of *Westminster*, and now in the * *Cottonian* Library, relates, That Archbishop *Dunstan* had here before erected a small Monastery for Twelve Monks, which was vastly augmented by King *Edward*: Though whether this were so or no, is as uncertain, as it is incredible what these Monks' Writers tell us, of its being anciently consecrated by St. *Peter* himself; which not being mentioned by *Bede*, looks like a Fable invented only to gain a greater Veneration for that Place.

* O'ke, D. 7.

Here also, in the Author above-mentioned, follows the King's Letter to Pope *Nicholas*, That he would please not only to confirm what his Predecessor had done, but also grant him new Privileges for the said Monastery; and then comes the Pope's Bull or Privilege for that purpose, in which is recited this Legend of that Church's having been anciently consecrated by St. *Peter*.

But though *Simeon* of *Durham* places the Consecration of this Church on the day above-mentioned, yet he refers it to the end of the year 1065, and perhaps with more Exactness; since the *English-Saxon* year began

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*Vid. 1 Vol.
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began then not at *Lady-day*, as it does now, but *New-years-tide*: And after this Author farther adds, That upon *Christmass-day* preceding, the King held his *Curia*, or Great Council. at *Westminster*; where were present King *Edward*, and his Queen *Edgitha*, and *Stigand* the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and *Aldred* Archbishop of *Tork*, with the other Bishops and Abbots of *England*, together with the King's Chaplains, Earls, *Thanes*, and Knights: Which Council (* as Sir *H. Spelman* informs us) was summoned to confirm the King's Charter of Endowment of the said Monastery; but though it be there imperfect, yet you may find it at large in *Monast. Anglican.*; wherein, after the Recital of the Bull of Pope *Leo*, follows this Clause, *viz.* "That the King, for the Expiation of his own Vow, and also for the Souls of the Kings his Predecessors, as well as Successors, had granted to that place (*viz. Westminster*) all manner of Liberty, as far as Earthly Power could reach; and that for the Love of God, by whose Mercy he was placed in the Royal Throne, and now by the Counsel and Decree of the Archbishops, Bishops, Earls, and other of his Great Men, and for the Benefit and Advantage of the said Church, and all those that should belong to it, he had granted these Privileges following, not only in present but for future times: Then follows an Exemption from all Episcopal Jurisdiction; as also another Clause, whereby he grants it the Privilege of Sanctuary; so that any one, of whatsoever condition he be, for whatsoever cause, that shall fly unto that *Holy Place*, or the Precincts thereof, shall be free, and obtain full Liberty. And at last concludes thus, *I have commanded this Charter to be written and sealed, and have also signed it with my hand, with the Sign of the Cross, and have ordered fit Witnesses to subscribe it for its greater Corroboration:* Then immediately follows the King's Subscription, in these words, *Ego Edwardus, Deo largiente, Anglorum Rex, signum venerande Crucis impressi.* Then follows the Subscription of Queen *Editha*, with those of the two Archbishops, seven of the Bishops, and as many Abbots; and so comes on the Subscriptions of the Laity, *viz.* of *Raynald* the Chancellor, and of the Earls *Harold* and *Edwin*, who write themselves *Duces*, and six *Thanes*, besides other of inferior Order. This Charter bears date on St. *Innocent's* day, *Anno Dom.* 1066. which how it could be so dated four days before *New-years-day*, when the year then began, I do not understand.

Here also follows a Third Charter, which is much the same with the former, only it contains the King's Letter to Pope *Nicholaus*, and his Bull, reciting the Privileges granted to the said Church; all which are there at large inserted. Then follows the Subscriptions of the King, Queen, Archbishops, Bishops, Earls, &c. almost in the same order as the former; only *Osbald* and another of the King's Chaplains do here subscribe before any of the Lay-Nobility; and besides the *Thanes*, there are several who subscribed with the Title of *Milites* added to their Names.

I have been the larger upon this Foundation, not only because it was the Greatest and Noblest of any in *England*, but also for that it still continues, though under another Title, to be a Collegiate Church for a Dean and Eight Prebends, with an excellent School belonging to it, which hath hitherto furnished both the Church and State with as great a number of Learned and Considerable Persons, as any in the whole Nation.

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But to return again to our History (as it is related by the aforesaid Abbot of *Rievall*); King *Edward* having at this Great Assembly of the Estates of his Kingdom appeared solemnly with his Crown on his Head according to custom, was a day or two before *Christmass* in the night-time, taken with a Fever, which very much damped the Jollity of that Festival; yet he concealed it as much as he could for two or three days, still sitting down at Meals with his Bishops and Noblemen, till the third day perceiving the time of his Dissolution drew near, he commanded all things to be got ready for the Consecration of his New Church, which he resolved should be solemnized the next day, being the Feast of the *Holy Innocents*; whereat all the Bishops and Great Men of the Kingdom assisted, and the King as far as his Health would permit; but presently after, the King growing worse and worse, he was forced to take his Bed; the Queen, Bishops, and the Nobility, standing weeping about him; and whilst he lay speechless, and almost without life for two days, and the third awakening as if it were from a Trance, both *William* of *Malmesbury* and the Abbot above-mentioned, relate, That after a devout Prayer he told them, That in a Vision he had lately seen two holy Monks, whom he had in his youth known in *Normandy* to be men of meek and pious Conversation, and whom he therefore had very much loved, and now appeared to him as sent from God, to tell him what should happen to *England* after his decease, shewing him, "That the Iniquity of the *English* being now full, had provoked the Divine Vengeance; for that the Priests despising God's Law, treated Holy Things with corrupt hearts and polluted hands; and not being true Pastors, but Mercenaries, exposed the Sheep to the Wolves, seeking the Wool and the Milk more than the Sheep themselves: That the Chief Men of the Land were Infidels, Companions of the Thieves and Robbers of their Countrey; who neither feared God, nor honoured his Law; to whom Truth was a Burthen, Justice a Maygame, and Cruelty a Delight: And that therefore since neither the Rulers observed Justice, nor the Ruled Discipline, the Lord had drawn his Sword, and bent his Bow, and made it ready, for that he would shew this People his Wrath and Indignation, by sending Evil Angels to punish them for a year and a day, with Fire and Sword. But when the King replied to them, That he would admonish his People to repent them of the evil of their ways and doings, and then he hoped God would not bring these dreadful Judgments upon them, but would again receive them into his Mercy: To this they answered, That now it could not be, because the hearts of this people were hardened, and their eyes blinded, and their ears stopped, so that they would neither hear those that would instruct them, nor be advised by those that should admonish them, being neither to be terrified by his Threatnings, nor melted by his Benefits. And the King asking them when there would be an end of all these Judgments, and what comfort they might be like to receive under all these great afflictions? those holy men only answered him in a Parable of a certain Green Tree, that should be cut down, and removed from the Root about the distance of Three Acres; and when without any human hand the Tree should be restored to its Ancient Root, and flourish and bear Fruit, then, and not till then, was there any Comfort to be hoped for.

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But this Author's application of the Tree that was to be cut down, to the *English-Saxon* Royal Family's being for a time destroyed; and its Separation to the distance of three Acres, to *Harold* and the two first *Norman* Kings; and its Restitution again, to King *Henry* the first, by his marrying of Queen *Mathildis*, and its flourishing again in the Empery her Daughter; and then its bearing Fruit, to the Succession of *Henry* the second; do sufficiently shew that great part of this Vision was made and accommodated for the Reigns of these Princes. *William* of *Malmesbury* indeed recites the same Vision, though in fewer words, but without any Interpretation of the Parable. But be this Vision true or false, I think we may have reason to pray to God that neither our Clergy nor Laity, by falling into the like wicked and deplorable state above described, may ever bring the like Judgments upon this Nation.

But when the Queen, *Robert* the Lord Chamberlain, and Earl *Harold*, who are said to have been present at the Relation of this Vision, seem'd very much concern'd, Archbishop *Stigand* received it with a Smile, saying, That the good Old Man was only delirious by reason of his Distemper; But (says *Malmesbury*) we have too dearly tried the Truth of this Vision, England being now made the Habitation of Strangers, and groaning under the Dominion of Foreigners; there being (says he) at this day (i.e. at the time when he wrote) no Englishman either an Earl, a Bishop, or an Abbot; but Strangers devour the Riches, and gnaw even the very Bowels of England; neither is there a prospect of having any End of these Miseries.

This, it seems, was written in the beginning of the Reign of *Henry* the First, and before he had seen the more Happy Times that succeeded in that of *Henry* the Second; when the Abbot above-mentioned tells us, That England had then a King of the Ancient Blood-Royal, as also Bishops and Abbots of the same Nation, with many Earls, Barons, and Knights, who as being descended both from the French and English Blood, were an Honour to the One, and a Comfort to the Other.

But to come to the Death and Last Words of this most Pious King: The Abbot above-mentioned gives us an Excellent Discourse which he made before his Death, recommending the Queen to her Brother, and the Nobility there present, and highly extolling her Chastity and Obedience; who though she appeared publicly his Wife, yet was privately rather like a Sister or Daughter; desiring of them, That whatsoever he had left her for her Jointure, should never be taken from her. He also recommended to them his Servants who had followed him out of *Normandy*, and that they should have their free choice either of returning home to their own Countrey, or staying here. After which he appointed his Body to be buried in *St. Peter's* Church at *Westminster*, which he had so newly dedicated; and so having received the Blessed Eucharist, and recommended his Soul to God, he quietly departed this Life, having reigned Three and twenty Years, Six Months, and Seven and twenty Days.

It is very observable, That this Abbot does not tell us that he said any thing concerning who should be his Successor; whereas many of the Monks of those Times make him to have bequeathed the Crown at his Death to his Cousin *William* Duke of *Normandy*; and *Ingulph* further says, That King *Edward* some years before his Death had sent *Robert* Archbishop of *Canterbury* as an Ambassador to him, to let him know that

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that he had design'd him his Successor, both because he was of his Blood, and also Eminent for his Virtue.

What Pretences the Duke might have to the Crown by the latter, I know not, but it is certain the former could give him no Title to it, since all the Relation that was between King *Edward* and Duke *William*, was by Queen *Emma*, who was Mother to the King, and Aunt to the Duke; so that it is evident on the score of this Relation, that Duke *William* could have no pretence by Blood to the Crown of *England*.

But it is very suspicious, that this Story of Archbishop *Robert's* being sent into *Normandy* upon this Errand, was but a Fiction; since he sate but three years in that See before his Expulsion, and that happened near ten years before; after which King *Edward* sent over for his Cousin *Edward*, surnamed *The Outlaw*, to make him his Heir.

King *Edward* being dead, they made great haste to bury him, for his Funerals were performed the next day with as great Solemnity as the shortness of that time would admit of; but it was sufficient that all the Bishops and Nobility of the Kingdom attended his Body to the Grave in the Church aforesaid, where his Tomb is at this day to be seen behind the Altar; and his Body was afterwards preserved in a Rich Shrine of Gold and Silver, till the Reign of *Henry* the Eighth.

As for the Character which the Writers of the following Age give this Prince, it is such as they thought was due to One whom they took to be a Saint, yet they give him the Title of *Confessor*, which had been in the Primitive Times bestowed only on those who suffered for Christ, though not unto death: but how he could claim that Title upon this Account I know not, unless his resisting the ordinary motions of the Flesh, may be looked upon as such a kind of suffering; having been (as is already related) so chaste, that he never knew his own Wife, though a very Beautiful Lady; for which, as well as his other Virtues, and particularly his Charity to the Poor, he is commonly stiled *St. Edward the Confessor*.

But he was indeed but a Weak and Easy Prince, and so the more liable to be drawn away by the false suggestions of those about him; as may be observed in his severe proceedings against his Mother and his Wife: though that very Weakness and Easiness of Nature is in him reckoned for a Virtue, as you may see by this Story, which is related by Abbot *Ailred*; (viz.) That this King *Edward* being one Afternoon laid down upon his Bed to repose himself, and no body left in the Chamber with him, and the Curtains close drawn round about him, there came in by chance a Boy that was employed in the meaner Offices of the House, who seeing no body in the room, and finding there a certain Chest open, in which the Chamberlain kept the Money for the King's ordinary Expences, and which had been through negligence forgot to be lock'd, the Boy ran hastily to it, and filling his Pockets, went away with the Money; But the King perceiving him through the Curtains, said nothing, but let him go. The Boy finding he had sped so well, resolved to go again to make the best of his time, and having laid by the Money he had stolen, came again to fetch more; whereupon the King thinking him then a little too bold, called out to him, saying, *Sirrah, you had best be contented with what you have got, for if Hugolin come (for so was the Chamberlain call'd) he will not only whip you soundly, but likewise take away all you have purloined already.* The Boy hearing a Voice, but seeing no body, ran

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away in a great fright, and the King concerned himself no further about it; but *Hugolin* coming in not long after, and finding both the Cheft open, and a good deal of Money taken out of it, was in a great Passion; which the King taking notice of, bid him rest contented; For, said he, *the Poor Rogue that hath it, wants it more than we do.*

So that, upon the whole, I think we may safely rely upon *William of Malmesbury's* Character of this Prince; That if you consider his Simplicity, he seemed very unfit for Government; yet by reason of his Virtue, and Piety towards God, he was so directed by him, that the most Politick and Courageous Kings have scarce ruled more happily: For during his Reign the Kingdom was never invaded by Foreign Enemies; nor were there any Civil Disturbances, but what were immediately suppressed.

But though the Abbot of *Rievale*, who hath wrote his Life, hath also given us a long Bed-roll of his Miracles, which I shall not take upon me to relate, yet cannot but take notice of one or two of them; how it is said, that he cured some Blind People, by only washing their Eyes with fair Water, in which his own Fingers had been first dipped; and that he also healed a Woman who had been grievously over-run with those Swellings we now call the *King's-Evil*, by his bare washing the Sores with his own hands; and from whose Blessing, or Example (I will not dispute) the Touch of our Kings of *England* have ever since been thought very effectual for curing the *King's-Evil*. But among these Miracles, this seems not the least, That this Author makes him to have been *Elected* King by his Father's Command, and that in a Great Council, whilst he was yet in his Mother's Belly.

As for his private Recreations, he loved Hawking and Hunting above all the rest; and would be in a Passion, if he had been crossed in his Game: For a Country Clown once spoiling his Sport, the King riding up to him, as if he would have beat him, only said, *By God's-Mother, I would be even with you if I could.* He is said not to be excessive at his private Meals, nor at solemn Festivals was he at all elated with the Costly Robes he wore, which his Queen curiously embroidered for him with Silk and Gold. And being thus Mild, Charitable, and Beneficent to all his People, it was no wonder if his Death was so deeply lamented by all his Subjects. But this they grant to be his Fault, that he brought too many *Normans* over with him into *England*; and they having great Offices and Preferments bestowed upon them, soon corrupted the then *English* Simplicity by their *Norman* Customs: So that as *Ingulph* well observes, the *English* Nobility growing as it were ashamed of their own, began to imitate the *French* Manners; the generality of the Noblemen speaking the *French* Tongue in their Houses, (as being then most modish) and made their Charters and other Writings after the *French* way; and this humour still more and more prevailed, till at length they became as it were Slaves and Vassals to those they before so extremely admired. So true a Maxim is it, generally speaking, that where a Foreign Tongue prevails, it is reckoned half a Conquest.

As for this King's Person, he is described to be Tall and Comely, of a very Fair and Ruddy Complexion; and in his latter years Venerable for his long and white Beard, as you may see in his Seals and Pictures: And which is most remarkable, he was the first *English* King, whose Seals we can find affixed to his Charters, as you may see in Mr. *Speed*:

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Yet perhaps other Kings might have Seals to their Charters before him, however they are now defaced.

But though this King made many excellent Laws, which being wrote in the *Saxon* Tongue, are now almost quite lost; yet since some Heads or Extracts of them are to be found in *R. Hoveden*, and Mr. *Lambard's* Collections, I shall give you such of them as are necessary for the clearing of our Ancient Constitution, and for shewing what liberty the *English* Subjects enjoyed before the Conquest; which Laws were also confirmed by King *William* the First, in the Fourth Year of his Reign; but they not specifying any time when they were made, I have referred them to this place.

"The first of these Laws establishes the Goods and Possessions of all Clerks and Scholars.

"The second appoints the times and days of the King's Peace; making it more Penal to violate it from the *Advent* of our Lord, to the *Octaves* of the *Epiphany*; and in like manner from *Lent* to the *Octaves* of *Easter*, (i.e. eight days after that Feast); and from our Lord's *Ascension*, to the *Octaves* of *Pentecost*; and also on all *Saturdays*, from Nine a Clock, to the *Monday* morning following; likewise on the *Vigils* of all Holidays, as well as on the Holidays themselves; as also in Parishes, when the Feast of the Saint (to whom the Church is dedicated) is kept; so that if any one come devoutly to the Celebration thereof, he was to have security in going, staying, and returning home; and besides in many other cases, too long here to set down.

From whence we may observe the Antiquity of those Parish Feasts, called in several parts of *England*, *Wakes*.

"The fourth appoints, That where ever the King's Justice, or any other Person shall hold Civil Pleas, if the King's Deputy or Attorney comes thither to open any Cause concerning Holy Church, that shall be first determined; for it is just God be served before all others.

"The fifth ordains, That whosoever holds any thing of the Church, or hath his Mansion on the Church's Land, he or they shall not be compelled to plead out of the Ecclesiastical Courts, for Contumacy or otherwise (nay, though he forfeit) unless Justice be wanting in those Courts, which (says the Law) God forbid.

By which all the Tenants of the Church were exempted from pleading or appearing at the King's Courts; which though a strange and unreasonable Privilege, yet (it seems) it continued in the time of *William* the First.

"The sixth confirms the Laws of Sanctuaries, ordaining, That no man shall be taken out of any Church to which he hath fled for any offence, unless it be by the Bishop or his Officers: The like Privilege is also allowed to the Priest's House, provided it stand upon the Ground of the Church; but if a Thief went out of the Sanctuary to rob, he was to forfeit that Privilege.

"The seventh leaves those to the Justice of the Bishop who violate the Peace of Holy Church; and if any Offender shall despise his Sentence, either by flying or contemning it, and Complaint thereof be made to the King after forty days, he shall give Pledges to reconcile himself to God, the King, and the Church; and if he cannot be found, he shall be outlawed; and if then he be found, and can be laid

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"hold on, he shall be delivered up to the King; if he defends himself, he shall be slain: For from the day of his Outlawry he is said in *English* to have *Wulfsheofod* (i.e. a Wolf's-head), or as we now commonly say in *Latin*, *gerere Caput Lupinum*: This is the common Law of all Outlaws.

"The eighth and ninth appoint what things small Tythes should be paid out of; and recites, that they had been granted long before, à Rege, Baronibus, & Populo, that is, by the King, the Barons, and the People: And though the word *Barons* was not commonly used till the time of King *William the First*, when these Laws were drawn up in the form we now have them, upon an Inquisition granted to the Ancient and Wise Men of all the Counties in *England*, as *Rog. Hoveden* informs us; yet is this but a Recital of the Ancient Law of Tythes in the Dialect of those times, when the word *Baron* came to be used instead of *Thane*.

"The tenth appoints after what manner the *Ordeal*, or Judgment by Fire or Water, should be executed by the Bishop's Officer, and the King's Justice, upon those that deserved it.

From which you may observe, that this Law of *Ordeal* was in force some time after the coming in of the *Normans*. This Law also ordains in what Cases, and over what Persons, the Courts Baron should have Jurisdiction; but it being somewhat large, I refer you to it.

"The Eleventh again reinforces the payment of *Romescot*, or *Peter-pence*, which if denied, the King's Justice shall compel the payment, because it is the King's Alms.

From whence we may observe, how much those *Romish* Writers are mistaken, who will needs make these *Peter-pence* to have been a Tribute from the Kings of *England* to the Pope.

"The twelfth shews what *Danegelt* was, and on what occasion it was first imposed: That the payment of *Danegelt* was first ordained because of the frequent Invasions of the *Danish* Pyrates; to repress which, there was Twelvepence imposed upon every Hide of Land throughout *England*, to be paid yearly: Which also shews us about what time these Laws were collected into the form we now have them by this Clause, viz. That the Church was excused from this payment until the time of *William Rufus*, who (as is here recited) asking an Aid of his Barons for the obtaining *Normandy* from his Brother then going to *Jerusalem*, there was granted to him (not by any standing Law, but only for the present necessity) Four Shillings upon every Hide of Land, the Church not excepted.

"The thirteenth sets forth, That the Peace of the King is manifold, as sometimes it is given by his own hand, which the *English* call *Cyninges honde sealde gryth*.

This Protection was granted not only to Persons, but Places also, by way of Privilege, as likewise to Churches or Churchmen within their own Walls, as appears by the League betwixt King *Edward* and *Guthrum*, in which it is termed *Cyninges honde gryth*.

"Another sort of Peace was on the Coronation-day, which lasted eight days; that at *Christmas*, which held also eight days; and so on the Feast of *Easter* and *Whitsuntide*. Another sort was given by his Brief or Letters; and another there was belonging to the Four great Highways, viz. *Watlingstreet*, *Foss*, *Hickenildstreet*, and *Ermingstreet*; whereof two are extended to the Length, and two to the Breadth of the Kingdom. Another still there was belonging to the

"the Rivers of Note, which conveyed Provisions to Towns and Cities.

From whence it appears, that this Peace of the King was a Privilege or Exemption granted to Persons, not to be sued or answer at Law, in any Action brought against them, during certain solemn and stated Times, and in certain of the most famous and frequented Highways of the Kingdom.

"The fourteenth declares, That all *Treasure trove* should be the King's, unless it were found in a Church or Church-yard; in which case, if it were Gold, it was all the King's; but if Silver, one half was to go to him, and another to the Church.

"The fifteenth treateth of Murder, and declares if any one was murdered, the Murderer should be enquired after in the Village or Town where the Body was found; and if he was discovered, to be delivered up to the King's Justice within eight days after the Fact committed; and in case he could not be found, a month and a day was allowed for search after him; within which term, if he could not be seized on, forty six Marks were to be collected out of that Town; and if it was not able to pay so much, then the Hundred was liable to make it good: And forasmuch as this Payment could not be made in the Towns, and great inconveniences arose; the Barons (i.e. the Freeholders of the County) took care that six and forty Marks should be paid out of the Hundred; which being seal'd up with the Seal of some one Baron of the County, they were to be sent to the Treasurer, and by him so kept seal'd up for a year and a day; within which time if the Murderer was found out, upon his being delivered to the King's Justice, they were to be repaid; but in case within that time he could not be discovered, then were the Kindred of the Murdered Party to have six of the said Marks, and the King the other forty; if he had no Kindred, his Lord was to receive it; and if he had no Lord, then his sworn Friend and Companion; but if there were none of these, then the King should have the whole Sum to himself.

"The sixteenth Article shews us, how this way of discovering Murder, and punishing the Hundred, came to be in use where the Murderer could not be found; viz. That King *Cnut*, when he had gotten *England*, and settled it in Peace, and at the request of the *English* Barons had sent back his Army into *Denmark*, those Barons became Sureties, that all the *Danes* that staid behind with him, should in all things enjoy perfect Peace; so that in case an *Englishman* kill'd any of them, if he could not clear himself by the Judgment of God, (that is, by Water or Iron, meaning the *Ordeal*) Justice was to be executed upon him; and in case he ran away, Payment was to be made as is aforesaid.

This Law to prevent the killing of the *Normans*, was likewise continued by King *William the Conqueror*; for in case a man were found slain, he was to be taken for a *Norman*, and his Death to be more grievously punished than that of an *Englishman*, unless the *Englescherie* of him that was killed could be made out before the King's Justices; that is, that he was an *Englishman*. as *Bracton* hath particularly shewn us. But I shall reserve the speaking further of this Law to the next Volume.

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"The seventeenth declares the Office of a King in these words; "The King, who is the Vicegerent of the Supreme King, is appointed to this very end, That he may Govern and Defend his Earthly Kingdom, and the People of the Lord, and above all things should reverence his Holy Church, and extirpate evil doers out of it; which unless he shall do, not so much as the Name of a King shall remain to him, but he shall utterly lose it, as Pope John witnesses.

Then follows the occasion of this opinion of Pope John's, viz. His having given it in answer to the Letter which Pepin and Charles his Son wrote, concerning a foolish King of France, whether they should still continue him on the Throne, or not; which being no material part of the Law, I omit.

And then there is somewhat concerning Barons, which have Courts and Customs of their own, in these words, "The Archbishops, Bishops, Earls, Barons, and all those who have *Sac*, *Sor*, *Thol*, *Team*, and *Infangtheof*, shall have their Knights, Servants, and all other sorts of Dependants under their *Friburg*; that is, should either have them forth-coming (or else should answer for them), that if they shall forfeit to any one, and a Complaint be made by the Neighbours against them, they must bring them forth to have Justice done them in their own Court.

The eighteenth, nineteenth, twentieth, and one and twentieth, are explanations of the Saxon terms in the above mentioned Law; which being explained already in the Introduction, I thither refer you.

"The two and twentieth declares all *Jews* that were in the Kingdom to be under the Protection of the King, so that none of them could put himself in the service of any great man without the King's leave; for that the *Jews* and all that are there, are the King's.

"By the three and twentieth King Edward forbade all Usurers to continue in his Kingdom; and if any one were convicted that he exacted Usury, he should forfeit his Goods, and be looked upon as outlaw'd.

"After which follows in Mr. Lambard's Copy another Law, declaring the King's Power by Virtue of his Royal Dignity, to pardon Life and loss of Member, but with this Proviso, That the Malefactor make satisfaction to such as he hath injured, according to his power; and besides, find Sureties for his good Behaviour, which if he did not, he was to be banished.

From whence you may observe, That this Prerogative of pardoning in the King, was not to extend to the prejudice of the Party injured, or his Kindred, to whom an Appeal was hereby reserved.

"Concerning which, The nineteenth in like manner declares his Royal Prerogative to be such, that the King may set at liberty any Captive or Prisoner, whenever he comes in any City, Borough, Castle, &c. or if he meet him in the way, by his mere Word or Command. Yet was he that was thus set at liberty bound to make satisfaction to the injured Party; But a Murderer, Traytor, or one guilty of such like Crimes, altho the King should pardon him as to Life and Member, according to Law, he shall in no wise stay in the Countrey, but shall swear that he will depart to the Sea-coast within a stated time set him by the Justice, and pass over as soon as he can get opportunity of a Ship and Wind; and in case any such prove perjured, and shall stay in the Land beyond

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"beyond the time, any one that meets them, may do Justice upon them, i. e. take away their lives.

From whence you may observe the Antiquity of the Law for abjuring the Realm for such great Offences to which the King's Pardon did not then absolutely extend. The rest of this Law, which only recites the Penalties for the harbouring or favouring such Malefactors, I omit.

"The twenty seventh Article gives leave to harbour a Stranger or Foreigner (whom in *English* they termed *Couth*, or *Uncouth*, that is, known or unknown) as a Guest for two nights; in which space if he transgress, he that harboured him shall not be answerable for him; but if any one be injured, and complaint is made, that it was by the Counsel and Advice of him that lodged him, he shall with two honest Neighbours by Oath purge himself as to the Advice and Fact, or otherwise shall make satisfaction.

The reason whereof was, because after the third night the Law then was such, that this stranger was to be looked upon as one of the Family, and the Master of it was to answer for him if he transgressed.

"The twenty eighth appoints how Money or Cattel brought into a Town (and said by him who brought them, that they were found) shall be disposed of, and who shall have the Custody of them.

"The thirtieth enjoins, That those who have the King's Peace either by his Hand or Letters, shall take care not to injure others, under a double Penalty.

"The thirty first declares the particular Mulcts or Penalties of those who shall violate the King's Peace above-mentioned, and especially that of the eight days of his Coronation, or of any of the Feasts aforesaid, and who should have the Forfeitures arising from thence; how much the King, and how much the Earl, and how much the Dean or the Bishop in whose Deanry the Peace was broken.

"The thirty sixth Article directs, how that after a man is killed as a Thief or a Robber, if any Complaint be made by his nearest Relation, to the Justice, that the man was wrongfully put to death, and lies buried among Thieves, and that such Relations offer to make it good, in such case they shall first give security for so doing; and then it follows in what manner the Party slain may be cleared in his Reputation, and what satisfaction shall be made to his Friends for it, in case it appears he was killed unjustly.

These are the Laws which bear the Name of Edward the Confessor, though they are not properly so, because many of them were made long before his time, and there are so many things in the *Latin* Original which are rather Explanations of Laws, than Laws themselves, that they more truly seem to have been collected and written by some ignorant *Sciolist*, or pretender, about Henry the First's time: For though Roger Hoveden hath given us this Collection of those Laws which we now have, yet it is plain that there was no Original of them extant at the time when Hoveden wrote, nor long before; or else he need not have told us that King William the Conqueror in the fourth year of his Reign summoned so many Noble and Wise Men of the *English* Nation, only to enquire into, and acquaint him what those Laws were. But Bromton's Chronicle gives us a short History of the several Laws that had been used in *England*; and tells us of three sorts of Laws then in use, viz. *Merchenlage*, *West-Saxonlage*, and *Danelage*; and that King Edward

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By these and other circumstances we may gather, That the whole Body of these Laws we have now recited, were such as were approved and confirmed by King *Edward*, who was a Prince of great Mercy and Indulgence to his People; so that such written Laws as were in force in his time, and such Customs as had been all along observed in the *Saxon* times, and had been still kept on foot in his days, were after the *Norman* Conquest (when both the People of the *Normans* as well as *English* Extraction so earnestly contended for their Liberties) called by the name of the Laws of *St. Edward*, thereby being indeed meant the *English-Saxon* Laws, which then received Denomination from him, being in effect the last King of that Race, and one whose Memory the People revered in an especial manner for the high Reputation he had gained for his great Sanctity and Clemency to his Subjects.

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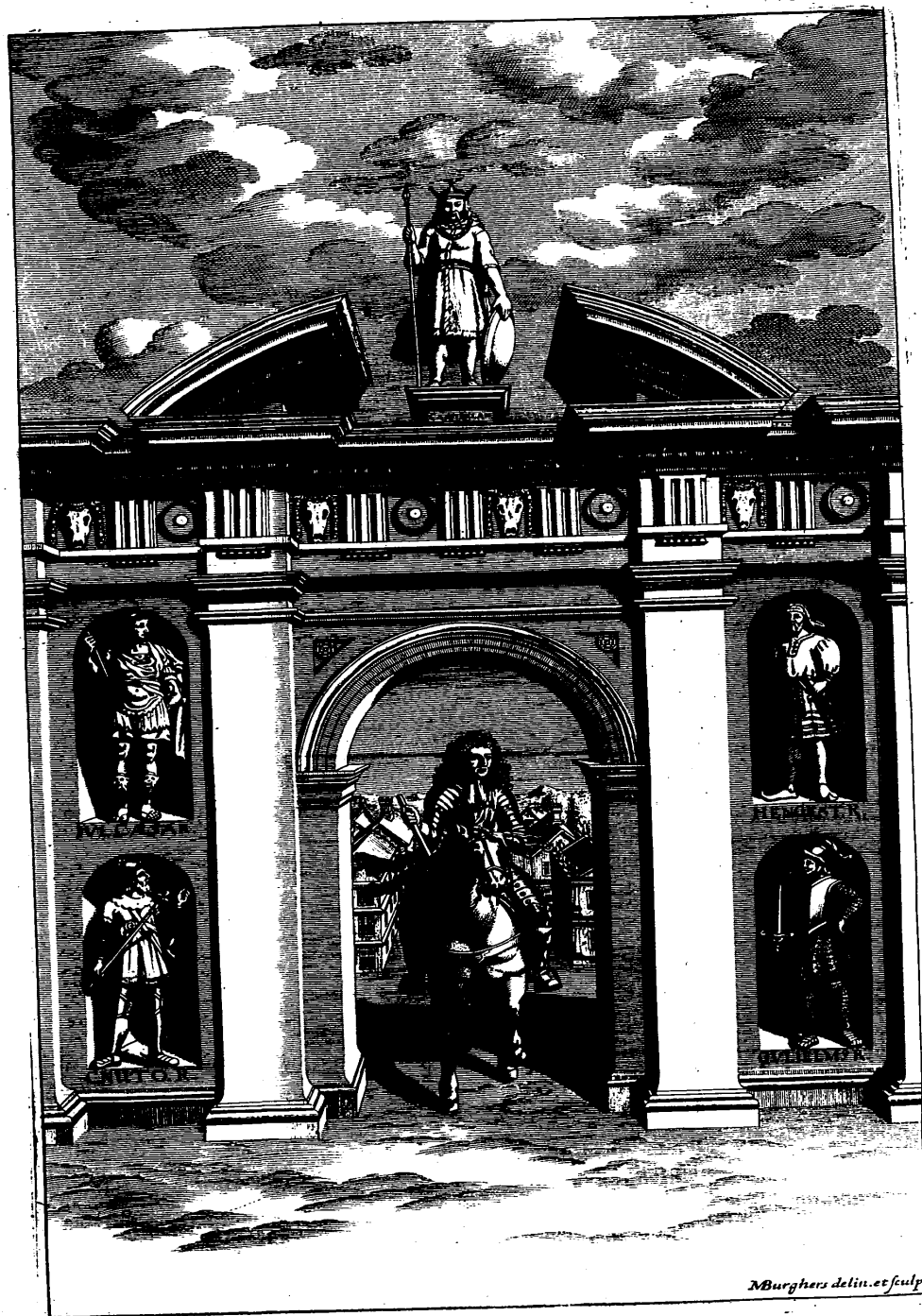
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MLXVI.* *Cleopatra*,
A. 12.



THE
General History
OF
ENGLAND,
BOTH
Ecclesiastical and Civil;
From the Earliest Accounts of Time,
To the Reign of His Present Majesty,
King William III.

Taken from the most ANCIENT RECORDS,
Manuscripts, and Printed Historians.

With MEMORIALS of the most EMINENT
PERSONS in CHURCH and STATE.

As also the Foundations of the most Noted
Monasteries, and both UNIVERSITIES.

VOL. I.

By JAMES TYRRELL, Esq;

L O N D O N :

Printed, and are to be Sold by W. Rogers, in Fleetstreet; J. Harris,
in Little Britain; R. Knaplock, in St. Paul's Church-Yard;
A. Bell, in Cornhill; and T. Cockerill, at the Corner of Warwick-
Lane, in Pater-Noster-Row. MDCXCVII.

Anno Dom.
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A. 12.

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And that which made more against Prince *Edgar*, was, That he wanted the Nomination of King *Edward* to recommend him to the Election of the *Wittena Gemot*, or Great Council of the Kingdom, which either Duke *William* or *Harold* certainly had, and perhaps both of them, though at different times, according as they had the opportunity of making their Interest with that Easy King, who certainly was very much to blame, not to have better ascertained that great Point of the Succession to the Crown in his own life-time; for had he declared either Duke *William* or *Edgar* his Heir, and procured the Estates of the Kingdom to confirm it in his life-time, he might have prevented that Calamity which afterwards fell upon the *English* Nation from Duke *William*, when he came to be King.

But to return to our History; *Harold* being thus advanced to the Throne, took that course which all Wise Princes who can claim no Right by Blood, but only by Election of the People, have always taken; and that was, The abolishing of all unjust Laws, and the making good ones in their stead; the seizing upon and punishing all Thieves, Robbers, and Disturbers of the Publick Peace, and indeed wholly made it his business to defend the Kingdom from Foreign Invaders both by Sea and Land; and that he might become truly popular, he was a great Patron of the Churches and Monasteries, yielding much Reverence to the Bishops and Abbots, shewing himself humble and affable to all that were virtuous and good, as he was severe to all others of a contrary Character.

On the 24th day of *April*, after his Coronation (as *Simeon* of *Durham* tells us) appeared a Dreadful Comet, which was visible in all these parts of the world; not long after which, followed the Invasion of *Tostige*, who having been banish'd chiefly by his Brother's procurement, and now no longer able to digest the Preferment of his Younger Brother to the Royal Dignity, in exclusion to him, was moved with so much Envy and Indignation as to endeavour all ways possible to dethrone him; for which purpose he sail'd to Duke *William*, and thence out of *Flanders* with some Ships to the Isle of *Wight*, where after he had forced Money from the Inhabitants, he departed, and played the Pyrate upon the Coasts till he came to *Sandwich*.

King *Harold* being then at *London*, upon notice thereof got in readiness both a strong Fleet and a good Party of Horse, with which he resolv'd in Person to go to *Sandwich* and fight him: But *Tostige* having intelligence of it, took along with him all the Seamen he could find, and went to the Coast of *Lindisse*, where he burnt several Villages, and killed a world of men: But *Edwin* Earl of *Mercia*, and his Brother *Morcar* Earl of *Northumberland*, hastening to those parts with an Army, soon forced him to quit that Countrey. And, as *Florence* relates, not being able to return into *Normandy* by reason of contrary Winds, he sail'd into *Norway*, and there join'd his Fleet with that which King *Harold Harfager* was now preparing for the Invasion of *England*.

In the mean time King *Harold* lay at *Sandwich*, expecting his Fleet, which when it was got together, he sail'd to the Isle of *Wight*; and because *William* Duke of *Normandy* was now expected to invade *England* with an Army, he waited his coming over all that Summer and the Autumn following, lining all the Sea-Coasts with Land-Forces, in order the better to receive him. This seems indeed more probable, than what

William

William of *Malmesbury* relates, That King *Harold* did not believe Duke *William* would undertake so hazardous an Expedition, being at that time engaged in Wars with his Neighbouring Princes, and had now wholly given himself up to his Ease and Pleasure; so that had it not been for his hearing that the King of *Norway* likewise threaten'd an Invasion, he would never have rais'd any Army at all; which seems a very improbable story, since he was (as you have already heard from *Simeon* of *Durham*) forced to get out his Fleet and raise an Army, to prevent the Incurfions of his Brother *Tostige*.

But it is fit we now give you some account of the Reasons of these great Preparations made by Duke *William* to invade *England*; for *Ingulph* and the Author last mentioned both assure us, That so soon as he had heard of King *Harold's* taking upon him the Crown of *England*, contrary to the Oath he had given him, and that he was actually crowned, he sent over Ambassadors to put him in mind of the breach of his word; threatening to force him to perform it, if he would not do it by fair means, and that before the year came about.

Harold's Answer to these Ambassadors (as *William* of *Malmesbury* relates it) was very plausible, being to this effect, "That what he had promised concerning marrying the Duke's Daughter, she being dead, it could not now be performed; but that if he had promised him any thing concerning the Kingdom, it was very rashly done of him, to have given away that which was not his own, without the General Consent and Decree of the Great Council of that Kingdom; therefore that a rash Oath was to be broken; for if the Oath or Vow of a Virgin, made without the consent of her Parents, was by the Law of God declared void, how much more ought that Oath to be accounted so, which he being then under the Authority of his King (but compell'd by necessity) had made concerning the Kingdom, who was at that time wholly ignorant of what had been transacted? And that the Duke was very unjust in requiring him to resign that Crown which he had so lately received by the General Favour and Consent of the People."

Bromton's Chronicle further adds, That Duke *William* sent another Message to King *Harold*, whereby he acquainted him, That although he had not observed his Faith in other things, yet if he would marry his Daughter, he would pass by all the rest; or otherwise would vindicate his Succession by force of Arms. All which is very improbable, since most Historians relate the young Lady to be then dead; and it is very unlikely, that a Man of King *William's* Ambition would quit his Pretensions to the Kingdom, for so slight a satisfaction as the Marriage of his Daughter.

But this Author does with more probability reduce the Duke's Quarrel against *Harold*, to these Three Heads.

First, To revenge the death of Prince *Alfred* his Cousin, who had been long since murdered by Earl *Godwin* the Father of *Harold*.

Secondly, To restore Archbishop *Robert*, Earl *Odo*, and the rest of the *Normans*, who had been unjustly banished in the late King's life-time.

Thirdly, Because *Harold* had contrary to his Oath possessed himself of the Kingdom, which as well by the Right of Consanguinity, as by that of a Double Promise, ought to be his.

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But the Ambassadors of Duke *William* being return'd without any satisfactory Answer from King *Harold*, the Duke employed the rest of the year in preparing all things necessary for his Expedition, hiring Soldiers out of his own Countrey with large Pay, and inviting Strangers from abroad with greater Allowances; so that upon the Muster of his Forces he found that they did not only excel in strength of Body, and height of Stature, but also the chief Commanders and Captains of them were as remarkable for their Valour as for their Experience and Conduct: Also his Bishops and Abbots strove with the Nobility, who should by their liberal Contributions most advance this Enterprize. But that the Duke might not prejudice the Equity of his Cause by precipitation, he sent Ambassadors to Pope *Alexander*, who did with great Eloquence set forth the Justice of the War which their Prince was going to undertake; and that *Harold* not only had broken his Oath with him, but refused to give him any Satisfaction, either because that now he was a Crown'd Head, or else that he distrusted his Cause: Whereupon the Pope taking into his serious consideration this weighty matter, approved of the Enterprize, and sent the Duke a Consecrated Banner, as an Omen of Victory; which when the Duke had received, he called a Great Council of his Nobility at *Lillebone*, to ask all their Opinions in this great Affair; and when they had all encouraged his Undertaking by great Promises of Assistance, he appointed an Assesment for his Fleet and Army, according to their several respective Estates; and so they departed home, till the time appointed for a General Rendezvous.

Vid. Introduct.
ad Britan.

But Mr. *Cambden*, from the Authority of some Ancient *Norman* Writers I have not yet met with, makes this Enterprize much more difficult than our Historians commonly do; as, that though he found his Chief Officers, to whom he communicated his Design, very chearful and resolute to follow him, yet all the Skill lay how to bear the Charge of so great a War; for when in an Assembly of all the States of *Normandy* a Subsidy was propounded; their Answer was, "That in the late War against the *French*, their Wealth was so much exhausted, that if a new War should happen, they should scarce be able to hold and defend their own; and therefore that they were more obliged to look after the Defence of their own, than to think of Invading the Territories of others: That this intended War, though never so just, yet did not seem so necessary at that time, as it was apparently hazardous; and that besides, the *Normans* were not by their Allegiance bound to Military Service in Foreign Parts: Neither could they by any means be brought to grant a General Tax, although *William Fitz-osbern*, a man in high favour with the Duke, and as gracious among the People, endeavoured what he could to effect it; and to draw in others by his own example, promised to set out forty Ships at his own proper Charges. Duke *William* then perceiving he could not bring this about in a Publick Meeting, went another way to work; and therefore sends for the wealthiest men of his Dutchy severally one by one, to come to him; then he speaks them fair, and desires them to contribute somewhat toward this War: Whereupon, as if they had strove who should most largely assist their Prince, they promised him liberally; and he causing to be presently registred whatsoever they had promised, it amounted to a vast Sum, more than most men could reasonably ever have believed. This Affair being thus dispatch'd, he next craves Aid of

of the Princes his Neighbours; to wit, of the Earls of *Anjou*, *Poitou*, *Maine*, and *Bretagne*; unto these he promised large Tracks of Land, and great Possessions in *England*.

But how much each of these Princes contributed to this Expedition, is not known; tho as for *Alan* Earl of *Bretagne*, he certainly was so great an Assistant to Duke *William*, that he was after this Conquest of King *Harold*, made Earl of *Richmond*, and had great part of the Country thereabouts given him by *William* when he came to be King, to be held by Knights Service.

And for the rest of the Princes above-mentioned, it is certain that they permitted Duke *William* to raise great store of men in their Territories, who being headed by divers Noble Volunteers of those Countries at their own Charges, afterwards enjoyed great Possessions in *England* as a Reward of their Services.

Duke *William* also made his Addresses to *Philip* King of *France*, and went in Person to solicit his Assistance in this intended War against *Harold*, voluntarily offering that King, that in case he would assist him, and that he thereby became victorious, to hold *England* of him as his Vassal; which King *Philip* refused to accept, thinking it against the interest of *France* to make the Duke of *Normandy* greater than he was already, who now began not to be so pliant to his Interests, as he thought the many Obligations which Duke *William* owed the King his Father, required: Therefore as the growing Greatness of a Neighbouring Prince was then, is, and will ever be suspected by him who is his Rival in Power and Empire; so King *Philip* was so far from giving the Duke any Assistance, that he wholly dissuaded him from this Enterprize, which nevertheless he vigorously pursued, notwithstanding this discouragement.

But leaving Duke *William* to his Warlike Preparations, we will return into *England*, where our *Annals* tell us, 'That Earl *Tostige* had been met upon the Northern Coast with three hundred *Norwegian* Ships (commanded by *Harold* King of *Norway*); to whom when he had joined those he had with them, they all sail'd up the *Humber* till they came as far as *Tork*; where the Earls (Brothers) *Morcar* and *Eadwin* met and fought them; but it seems the King of *Norway* gain'd the Victory. *Ingulph* is more express in this affair, and says that *Harold* King of *Norway* sail'd up the River *Ouse* as far as *Tork*, where the Fleet being left under a strong Guard, they landed, and stormed *Tork*, and soon plundered it, and slew many of the poor Inhabitants: But the two Earls abovementioned having gotten together a small Recruit of ill-arm'd Countrymen, were easily routed; and (according to our *Annals*) 'when King *Harold* heard of it, he immediately marched against the King of *Norway*, and meeting him at *Stanford-bridge* in *Yorkshire*, there fought, and slew that King, with Earl *Tostige*, his own Brother. *Ingulph* adds, That the *Norwegians* made a very stout resistance, great multitudes of them being slain, together with their Chief Commanders; so that King *Harold* obtain'd an entire Victory; only Prince *Olave*, Son to *Harold* King of *Norway*, and *Paul* Earl of *Orcades*, were permitted quietly to return home with twenty Ships.

But before I dismiss this Relation, I cannot omit a remarkable Example of one single *Norwegian*, who standing upon the Bridge above-mentioned, killed more than forty *Englishmen* with his Bartel-Axe, making

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making good his Post against the whole Army, till three a Clock in the Afternoon, and then one going in a Boat under the Bridge, wounded him to death in the lower parts through a hole that it seems he found there.

But King *Harold* returning to *Tork*, had no long time to enjoy his Victory; 'for immediately after the News being brought him that Duke *William* was landed at *Pevensey* near *Hastings* upon *Michaelmas* day, he 'made all the haste he could to march towards him, leaving the Earls *Edwin* and *Morchar* behind him with great part of the Forces. But since our *Annals* are very short in the relation of all these Affairs between the Duke and King *Harold*, I shall give you a larger account of it from *William* of *Malmesbury* and other Authors, who tell us, That Duke *William* with all his Nobility being met in *Angust* at *St. Wallerics* (a Port-Town in *Normandy*) lay there a long while waiting for a Wind, but that continuing contrary for several days, the Soldiers at last began thus to murmur in their Camp, (as it is ordinary for such men when they lye long still and have nothing to do), saying among themselves, *That the man was mad who would go to take away another man's Territories against God's Will, which it was plain this was, since he had now so long withheld the Wind.* This being spread abroad, one would have thought it had been enough to have discouraged any one less valiant than the Duke; who thereupon consulting with his Chief Officers what was best to be done, the wisest of them advised him to bring forth the Body of *St. Wallerie*, to try if by that means they could obtain a fair Wind; however, perhaps it might put some stop to his Soldiers Discontents. What effect the Saint's Body wrought, I cannot tell; but so much is certain, that not long after a fresh Gale offering, the Duke immediately set sail for *England*; and his Ship being first got out to Sea, casting Anchor, lay there till the rest of his Fleet could come up to him, who all following the King's Ship (which then rid Admiral) they in the Afternoon with an easy and gentle Breeze reached *Hastings*, near which the Duke going on Shore, his foot by accident slipping he fell down, which a Soldier standing by immediately turned into a good Omen, saying, *Sir, you have only taken Seisin of that Land of which you will shortly be King.*

As soon as ever his Army had landed, he strictly charged them to commit no Outrages, nor plunder, saying, *They ought to spare those things which would shortly be their own*: So the Duke lying still for fifteen days, and having strongly fortified his Camp with certain *Palisadoes* which he had brought over along with him, seemed to mind nothing less than War.

But King *Harold*, precipitated by his own bad Fortune, marched against the Duke with but part of his Forces; for besides those that had been killed in the late Engagement, a great many of his best Soldiers had already deserted him, being discontented that they had been denied their share of the *Norwegian* Plunder; yet those Forces which still remained with him, he thought sufficient, because he heard the Duke was landed but with a small Army; so that notwithstanding the strongest and most valiant of his Army were either slain in the late Battle with the *Norwegians*, or else gone from him, he yet resolved to fight.

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King *Harold* being now arrived near *Hastings*, pitched his Camp upon a Hill about Nine Miles from that place, and immediately sent out Spies, to give him what Account they could of the Number and Forces of the Enemy; some of whom being taken within Duke *William's* Camp, though he might have executed them by the Laws of War, yet he only commanded them to be led round about it, and then having well fed them, he ordered them to be sent back to their Lord; and being returned, King *Harold* asked them, What news they could tell him? They hereupon having set forth the generous Behaviour of the Enemies General, seriously added, That all their Army seemed to be Priests, because they had all their Faces with both their Lips close shaven, for the *English* then wore long Beards: But the King laughing at their simplicity, said, He too well knew those they had seen were no Priests, but brave Soldiers; then *Gyrth* his youngest Brother (being a very young man, but of an Understanding and Courage far above his years) taking the words out of the King's mouth, said thus; "Sir, if you can so far allow the Valour of the *Norman* Duke, I think it is then indiscreet for you to enter the Field against him, lest you should be found inferior to him either in Strength or Justice of your Cause; for you can no ways deny but that voluntarily or involuntarily you have sworn to him: Therefore in my opinion you would do more prudently to withdraw your self from the present Danger, and leave to us the Decision of the Day; who being free from all Oaths and Promises, can with a safe Conscience draw our Swords in defence of our Countrey; for it is to be feared, that if you your self should engage, either your Death or more shameful Flight may ensue; whereas if we alone engage with him, your Cause will be every where safe, for you may either assist us if we should be put to fly, or else bury us if we should happen to be slain.

But the King's immoderate Pride and Rashness made him deaf to the wholesome Advice of his Brother; and he thought it Inglorious, and a Dishonour to his past Life, to seem afraid of any Danger: Therefore being pushed on by his unlucky Fate, he hastily sent away the Monk that was newly before come from Duke *William* to him with these Proposals, viz. That either he should quit the Throne; or hold it, and reign under him; or else try the Justice of his Cause by their two single Swords in the fight of both Armies; or in case *Harold* should refuse all these, that he was ready to submit it to the Judgment of the Apostolick See: I say, he hastily sent him away with only this short Answer, That he would leave it to God to determine the matter between them.

So that the Monk being returned with this Answer, it added fresh Courage to the *Normans*; whereupon the Generals on both sides immediately drew up their Armies, in order to a Battle, each according to his Countrey fashion: The *English* had spent the night in drinking and roaring; and being thus heated, marched early out the next morning against the Enemy: The Pikes and Bill-men, mingled with a strong Detachment of Targetiers, made up the Front and Main Body of the *English* Army, and by their close Order render'd it so impenetrable, that nothing but their being outwitted by the *Norman* Duke could ever have broke it, as you will see by and by: But King *Harold*, together with his Brethren, being all on foot, placed themselves near the Royal Standard,

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Standard, that by thus being all of them in equal danger with the meanest Soldier, no man should so much as think of Flight.

Whilst in the mean time the *Normans* had spent the night in Prayers and Confessions, and having also received the *Eucharist*, were now drawn out against the *English*; the Foot being armed with Gleaves, Bows, and Arrows, made up the Main Body of their Army; and the Horse being placed a little more backward in two Divisions made the Wings: But (as *Will. Pictaviensis* relates) the Pope's Consecrated Banner was placed in the Front of the Army, as well to encourage the *Normans*, as to dishearten the *English*.

Then the Duke mounting on Horseback, with an unconcern'd Countenance and loud Voice encouraged his men, and openly declared, *He doubted not but that God would favour the Justice of his Cause.* And *Bromton's* Chronicle here brings him in making a long Speech to his Army; which because not suiting with the Genius of those blunt times, and being also omitted by all other Authors, I shall pass by.

Then the Duke calling for his Armour, and either through haste or incogitancy his Esquire having put on his Breast-plate behind instead of before, he turned off that seeming Ill Omen with a Jest, saying, His Dukedom would shortly be changed into a Kingdom: And then the old Ballad of *Roland* being begun by the Army, that his Martial Example might excite their Courage, and the Divine Assistance being also implored, the Battel begun, which was valiantly fought on both sides, neither Party giving ground, tho it continued till it was late; which when Duke *William* perceiving, and that the *English* Ranks were not otherwise to be broken, he gave immediate Orders to his men to feign a Retreat, and make as if they fled out of the Field, by which Stratagem the Main Body of the *English* Foot being broken in pursuing the Enemy, (whom they thought to be really now put to flight,) it turned to their own destruction; for the *Normans* rallying, and falling upon the *English* when they were dispersed, quite routed them; and thus being outwitted, though they lost their Lives valiantly in fighting for their Countrey, yet were they not wanting in their Revenge, for often turning again, they slew whole heaps of their Pursuers; and the Foot gaining a Rising Ground, drove back the *Normans* into the adjoining Valley, and throwing great store of Darts and Stones down upon them, put them to flight, and passing over a certain steep Trench, left there so many Carcasses of their Enemies, that they levelled the inequality of the ground with heaps of dead bodies. Thus for a while sometimes the *English* and sometimes the *Normans* prevailed, neither side having much the better, so long as King *Harold* continued alive; but when at last he fell by an Arrow shot into his Brains, the *English* presently fled, till night parted them: Infomuch that the Valour of both Generals was very remarkable; for *Harold* was not contented only with performing the office of a General, but he did also act the part of a common Soldier, killing all those that came in his way, that none could approach him without great hazard of being slain, till such time as that Unfortunate Shot above-mentioned put an end to his Life; and a Soldier afterwards giving his dead Body a Wound in the Thigh, he was for that base cowardly Action discarded by Duke *William*, who never ceased encouraging his Men both by his Voice and Presence, marching foremost against the thickest Ranks; so that whilst he thus shewed his

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Valour, he had no less than three brave Horses slain under him, the Duke all the while remaining with an undaunted Courage in the greatest dangers, though he was often gently admonished by those who had the guard of his Person, not to be so forward.

Thus he continued till the Night coming on left him at last entirely Victorious; and without doubt the Divine Hand did that day protect him, for he was not so much as wounded, though aimed at by so many Darts and Arrows.

This is the Account which *William* of *Malmesbury* gives us of this Fight; to which there needs little to be added out of other Authors, several of them writing from him, and only repeating his Relation in other words. But I cannot omit taking notice of some Passages which *Radulph de Diceto* gives us of this Battel; viz. That it was fought upon a *Saturday*, (being *St. Calistus's* day) the 2^d of the *Ides*, that is, the 14th of *October*; That the *English* being drawn up in a narrow place, many of them withdrew themselves from the Battel, as having not room to fight, so that but few remained with the King: That Duke *William* marched against the Enemy in the Head of Five Regiments of Horse, which being all drawn up, a certain *Norman* called *Tailefer* came forth before both Armies, and there brandished his Sword in the face of the *English*, and whilst they stood gazing at him, he slew an *English* Ensign, who (it seems) came out to fight with him, and did the like to another who engaged him, but in the third Encounter with a fresh man was slain himself.

Then began the Fight with a thick Shower of Arrows on the *Norman's* side, which Duke *William* commanded them not to shoot directly at the Enemy, but rather upward, that so they might fall upon the Heads of the *English*; which Stratagem proved fatal to them; for by one of these Arrows King *Harold* himself was slain: There were about twenty Valiant *Norman* Horsemen, who had engaged to each other, that breaking the *English* Army, they would seize upon the King's Standard; in compassing which, tho many of them perished, yet the rest pressing on with their Swords, at last carried it off. This Standard, after the Victory, Duke *William* sent to the Pope, wherein the Figure of an Armed Combatant was curiously embroidered with Gold and Precious Stones.

But concerning the Battel, a Manuscript Chronicle called *Brutus*, in the Archbishop's Library at *Lambeth*, farther relates, That Earl *William* (for so he styles him) having made a fresh Assault upon the *English* with a Detachment of about a Thousand Horse, tried once more to break their Ranks, which not succeeding, the Earl immediately commanded that feign'd Retreat above-mention'd; by which the Order of the Main Body of the *English* being broken, the *Normans* thereupon rallying again, presently charged through the *English* Army, and gave them an entire Defeat.

Some Writers also mention, That the *Normans* in their feigned Flight fell into a deep Trench which the *English* had made and covered over on purpose; tho this seems not at all likely; for how could they tell that they should put the *Normans* to flight, and make them fall into that Trench? But Mr. *Holingshed* from a Manuscript Chronicle of *Battle-Abby*, which he had seen, gives us a much more probable account of this Circumstance; viz. That the *Normans* too earnestly pursuing the Chase

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when the *Engliſh* began to retreat, many of the *Norman* Horſe fell by chance into a certain deep Ditch, overgrown with Reeds, where moſt of them being preſſed to death or ſtified, periſhed.

This is the beſt Account I can give you of this Great and Decifive Battel, which yet is very imperfect, ſince no Hiſtorians that I know of either *Engliſh* or *Normans*, have given us the Number of the Armies on both ſides, or how many were ſlain; perhaps, becauſe both had a mind to conceal what they thought did not make for their Credit: Only it is acknowledged on all hands, that they were ſo many on the *Normans* ſide as well as the *Engliſh*, that nothing but the over-ruling Providence of God by the Death of their King, could have given it away from them to their Enemies.

In this Battel King *Harold* and his two Brothers, *Gyrth* and *Leofwin*, with moſt of the *Engliſh* Nobility, were ſlain; and an Ancient Manuſcript in the * *Cottonian* Library farther relates, That the King's Body was hard to be certainly known by reaſon of its being ſo much diſfigured by Wounds, yet was at laſt diſcovered by one who had been formerly his Miſtreſs, and that by the means of certain private Marks known only to her ſelf; and being taken up and waſh'd by two of the Chanons of *Waltham* (which Monastery he had founded) was ordered by Duke *William* to be delivered to his Mother, and that without any Ransom, though ſhe would have given a conſiderable Sum for it; but it was not long after buried in the Abby-Church of *Waltham*.

Yet notwithstanding, *Henry de Knyghton* from *Giraldus Cambrenſis*, gives a quite different account what became of this Prince; for he ſays that he was not ſlain in this Battel, but retiring privately out of it, lived and died an Anchorer in a Cell near St. *John's* Church in *Cheſter*, as was owned by himſelf at his laſt Confeſſion, when he lay a dying; and farther, that in memory thereof they ſhewed his Tomb when that Author wrote. But the concurrent Teſtimony of ſo many *Engliſh* Writers concerning his being ſlain, and buried at *Waltham*, is certainly to be preferred before one ſingle Evidence; not but that it might be true, that ſomebody might thus perſonate *Harold*, and have his Tomb afterwards ſhewn as his.

But where or however he died, he was certainly a Prince of a Noble Prefence, and of as Great a Mind; and had he not by a prepoſterous Ambition of gaining a Kingdom to which he had no Right, as well as by a Notorious Violation of his Solemn Oath, given Duke *William* a juſt Occaſion of making War upon him, wherein he not only loſt his own Life, but alſo was the occaſion of the Ruin of ſo many of his Countrey-men, he might have had as great a Character in Hiſtory, as any Prince of his time.

He had two Wives, the firſt he buried long before he was King; but none of our Writers mention her Name. His ſecond was *Algiſthe*, Widow of *Griffyth ap Llewelyn*, King of *North-Wales*, Siſter of *Edwi* and *Morchar*, Earls of *Yorkſhire* and *Cheſter*.

By the former it is recorded that he had Children then of ſuch an Age, that they waged War againſt K. *William* in the ſecond year of his Reign.

The firſt was *Godwin*, who with his Brother *Edmund* after his Father's Death and Overthrow, fled into *Ireland*; but returning again into *Somerſetſhire*, ſlew *Ednoth* (one of his Father's Ealdormen) who encountered him, and then making great ſpoil in *Devonſhire* and *Cornwal*, departed. The next year fighting with *Beorne* an Ealdorman of *Cornwal*,

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val, he afterwards returned into *Ireland*, and from thence went to *Denmark* to King *Sweyn*, where he continued the Reſidue of his Life.

The ſecond was *Edmund*, who engaged with him in all his aboveſaid Brother's Invaſions and Wars, depending abſolutely upon him whiſt he lived and died (as he did) in *Denmark*.

Magnus his third Son went with his two Brothers into *Ireland*, and came back with them the firſt time into *England*; but we find nothing of him after this, unleſs he was that *Magnus* who afterwards became an Anchorer.

Wolfe his fourth Son ſeems to be born of Queen *Algiſthe*, and probably at King *William's* Entrance here, he was but an Infant; yet after his Death he is named among his Priſoners; but by *William Rufus* was releaſed, and by him honoured with the Order of Knighthood.

Gunhilde, a Daughter of *Harold's*, is mentioned by *John Capgrave* in the Life of *Wolſtan* Biſhop of *Worceſter*, and that ſhe was a Nun, but where, is not mentioned; and being in moſt mens opinion's wholly blind, this *Wolſtan* (if you will believe it from *Capgrave*) by a Miracle reſtor'd her abſolutely to her Eyesight.

Another Daughter of *Harold's* is mentioned by *Saxo Grammaticus*, in his *Daniſh* Hiſtory, to have been well received by her Kiſnman King *Sweyn* the younger, and afterwards married to *Waldemar* King of the *Ruſſians*, and to have had a Daughter by him, who was the Mother of *Waldemar* the firſt King of *Denmark* of that Name, from whom all the *Daniſh* Kings for many Ages after ſucceeded. This Account I have borrowed from Mr. *Speed*, who is very exact in the Pedigrees of our *Engliſh-Saxon* Kings.

We find no Laws made in this King's time, only this, mentioned by *Inglulph*, viz. That King *Harold* made a Law, that whatever *Welſhmen* were found without leave on this ſide *Offa's* Ditch, he ſhould have his Right-hand cut off by the King's Officers: Which Law, I ſuppoſe, was made to reſtrain the pilfering Incurſions of the *Welſh*, who were wont to come in ſmall Companies into the *Engliſh* Borders, to rob, and carry away Cattel.

But as for the Earls, *Syward* of *Mercia*, and *Morchar* of *Northumberland*, Brothers, it is ſaid they withdrew themſelves out of the Battel, with their Followers, almoſt as ſoon as it began, either becauſe they liked not the ſtreightneſs of the Place where they were drawn up, or elſe were diſcontented with the King's Conduct; ſo marching immediately up to *London*, they there met with *Alfred* Archbiſhop of *York*, and *Edgar Atheling*, with divers other Noblemen and Biſhops, and conſulted whom they ſhould make King; divers of them were for *Edgar Atheling*, as the only remaining Branch of the *Saxon* Blood-Royal, under whom they reſolved to renew the War; but he being young and unexperienced, and the Major Part of the Biſhops being againſt it, nothing was done. *William* of *Malmſbury* relates, That the two Earls above-mentioned ſolicited the *Londoners* to make one of them King, which when they found they could not prevail upon them ſo to do, taking their Siſter, the Widow of King *Harold* along with them, and leaving her for ſecurity at *Cheſter*, they retired into *Northumberland*, ſuppoſing that Duke *William* would never march ſo far that Winter.

But how much they were miſtaken, and how they were forced to ſubmit themſelves to him, when the City of *London* and all the reſt of the King-

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Kingdom had acknowledg'd him, must be reserved for the next Volume.

In the mean time the Nobility and Clergy being thus divided in their sentiments, all their designs came to nothing: Thus (as the same Author well observes) that as the *English*, if they had been all of one mind, might have prevented the Ruin of their Countrey; so since they could not agree to have one of their own Nation to reign over them, they were thereby brought under the subjection of Strangers.

Indeed *Guilel. Gemeticensis* and *Ordoricus Vitalis* relate, That the Noblemen and Bishops who had retired to *London*, actually chose *Edgar Atheling* King; but this seems not at all probable, since none of our own Writers mention it; and had *Edgar* been once elected, it is not likely that King *William* would have been so easily reconciled to him, and have not only given him his Liberty, but preferred him.

Having from our *Historians* of best Credit given you this Account of our *English* Monarchs, most of whom mixing Piety with Civil Prudence reigned gloriously for many Generations, it will not be amiss for a Conclusion, to let the Reader see how, not long before this sad Catastrophe, all sorts and degrees of men were now much degenerated from the Simplicity and Sobriety of their Ancestors: And first, as for the state of Religion in this Island, for some Ages before the coming in of the *Normans*, *William* of *Malmesbury* observes, that Piety and all good Literature were commonly grown so much out of fashion even amongst the Clergy, that resting content with a very small share of Devotion as well as Learning, they could scarce read Divine Service; nay, the very Monks were clad in fine Stuffs, and made no difference of Days and Meat; which tho perhaps no fault in it self, yet to them who were under other Principles, it was certainly much otherwise.

Also, that the Great Men being given up to Gluttony and a dissolute Life, oppressed and made a Prey of the Common People, debauching their Daughters whom they had in their Service, and then turning them off to the Stews.

Whilst the meaner sort sat tipling night and day, and spent all they had in Rioting and Drunkennels, and those attended with other Vices which effeminate men's minds: Therefore it came to pass through the just Judgment of God, that King *Harold* and those of his Party being carried away with Rashness and Fury, rather than any True Valour or Military Experience, gave Duke *William* this great Advantage over them, as hath been but now set forth. Not (says he) but that some few of the Clergy as well as Laity were much better; yet for the most part they were, as hath been here described.

But as the long-suffering of God often permits the Bad as well as the Good to enjoy the like Prosperity; so likewise his Justice in punishing oft-times does not exempt even Good Men from partaking in the common Calamities of their Countrey. Therefore I shall conclude this Volume with the like Admonition as Mr. *Milton* does his *Saxon History*; viz. *That if these were (in all probability) the Causes of God's heavy Judgments on our Ancestors, surely every man ought in this corrupt Age to take care to avoid them, lest in the height of a seeming Security, their long continuance in a course of Vice and Luxury should without a speedy Amendment meet with as severe, if not much worse Punishment.*

THIS CHART WILL BE THE
THIRD CHART APPEARING
AT THE END OF THIS FILM.

THIS CHART WILL BE THE
FOURTH CHART APPEARING
AT THE END OF THIS FILM.

· THIS CHART WILL BE THE
FIFTH CHART APPEARING
AT THE END OF THIS FILM.

I N D E X.

Note, *The Numbers signify so many of the same Name.*

A

A Bbey
Abbey-Lands
Abbot
Aberfrw

Abingdon
Abiuring
Acca
Achais
Adda
Adelphius
Adian
Admurum
Adrian
Adulf
Adultery
Æadfige
Æalmond
Æalhstan
Ædan Vradog
Ædan ap Blegored
Ædric
Ægelbyerth
Ægelric
Ælfcege
Ælfer
Ælfgar
Ælfeda
Ælfred, or Alfred
Ælfric 2.
Ælfweard
Ælfwinna
Ælfwold
Ælgiva 3.
Ælla 3.
Ælmer
Æmilianus
Æneon
Æscaldune
Æfcwin 2.
Æsk
Æstel
Æthelbald 2.
Æthelbryht
Æthelburga
Æthelfleda
Æthelgiva

Æthelheard
Æthelred
Æthelfwithe
Æthelwald 2.
Æthelwulf
Ætius
Agatha
Agatho
Agelbert
Agricola
Agrippina
Aidan
Ailesbury
Ailmer
Ailnoth
Ailwin
Akmancafter
Alan 2.
Alaric
Sr. Alban
Albania
Albert
Albinus (Chlodius)
Alburge
Alchluid
Alchmuid
Alchmund
Alcuin
Aldhelm
Aldred
Aldune
Alehoufes
Alemond
Alfeda
Alfred 5.
Alfweard
Alfwinn
Alfwold
Algitha
Algiva
Alfred 2.
Alienation
Alkuith
Allectus
Allegiance
Alms
Alrich 2.
Alstan

Alton
Alwin
Alwold
Alypius
Ambresburg
Ambrosius
Amiens
Ammianus Marcellinus
Anarawd
Andate
Andover
Andragatius
Andredwood
Angild
Angles
Anglesey
Anglia Sacra
Anlaff 2.
Anna
Annals (Saxon)
Antenor
Anwulf
Aper
Appeals, & Vid. Pope
Appledore
Arbogastes
Arcadius
Archbishop
Archenfield
Archigallo
Arch-pyrate
Arderydd
Areans
Ariminum
Arles
Armorica
Armour
Army
Arnulf
Arnwy
Arrian (Herefy)
Arthur
Arviragus
Arwald
Arwan
Araph
Afclepiodorus
Afhdown
(a)

Affault

I N D E X.

Affault
Affer
Affize-Charges
Afterius
Ataulphus
Athelgiva
Athelm
Athelney
Athelric
Athelstan 3.
Athelwald
Athelward
Athelwold
Attacotti
Atticus
Augusta
Augustine
Augustine's-Ake
Augustus Caesar
Avon
Aurelian
Aurelius, Ambrosius
Atticus
Conan
Marcus

Auft
Axanminster.

B

B Achfeg
Badon-Hill
Bakewell
Balbinus (Clodius)
Baldred
Baldwin
Bamborough-Castle
Banbury
Bangor
Banner
Banuwelle
Baptism
Bardeney
Bardsey-Island
Barnwood
Barons
Sr. Bartholomew
Sr. Basile
Basse
Bassianus
Bassus
Bastardy
Bathan
Bathe
Beadricesworth
Beamdune
Beamfleet-Castle
Becancelde
Bedanheafde

Bede
 Bedicanford
 Belinus
 Bells
 Benedict
 Benedictines
 Sr. Benner's *in* Holme
 Bennington
 Beonna
 Beormond
 Beorne 4.
 Beornred
 Beornwulf
 Berferth
 Berkfhire
 Bernicia
 Bertha
 Bertulf
 Beverlie
 Bevorftone
 Billingfgate
 Birds
 Birth Supposititious
 Birthwald
 Bifhops
 Blecca
 Blood
 Boadicia
 Boeland
 Bodotria
 Boetius (Hector)
 Bolanus
 Bonagratia de Villa D
 Bondland
 Bondman
 Bonofus
 Bofa
 Bofenham
 Bofton
 Bottulf
 Bounds
 Bracelets
 Bradanford
 Brandanrelie
 Breach of the Peace
 Brecklefey-Ifland
 Brecknock-Caftle
 Bregowin
 Brennus
 Bridgenorth
 Brigantes
 Brige
 Brightnoth
 Brihtric 2.
 Britain
 Great Britain
 Britains
 Britains of Armorica
 Britifh Church
 Brixftan

Brockmaile
Bronrige
Bruerne Brocard
Brun-Albin
Brute
Bryhtwald
Bryhtwulf
Brythelme
Buchanan
Budington
Buloigne
Buoy in the Nore
Burford
Burgh
Burghmotes
Burhred
Byrinus
Byrričan

C

Cadell
Cadocus
Cadwallader
Cadwallo 3.
Cadwan
Cadmon
Cairialis (Petilius)
Caer-Leon
Caesar
Calais
Calcutthe
Caledonians
Caligula
Camalodunum
Cambden
Canibria
Cambridge
Canelford
Candida Casa
Candidus
Canterbury
Caractacus
Caradoc
Carausius
Carehouse
Careticus
Carlisle
Carron
Carrum
Cartismandua
Carus
Cassibelan
Cassiterides
Castinus
Castor
Castra Exploratorum
Cataract
Cattle

Ceadda

I N D E X.

Ceadda
Ceadwalla
Ceawlin 3.
Cedda
Cendrythe
Cenered
Cenwall
Cenwulf 2.
Ceolfus
Ceolnoth
Ceolred 2.
Ceolric
Ceolwulf 5.
Cerdic
Cerdicsford
Cerne
Chacea
St. Chad
Chanons Secular
Charges at Affizes
Charles 5.
Charters
Chaftity
Cherbury
Chertsey
Chefter
Chichefter
Chiltern
Chipnam
Choiſy
Chriſtianity
Chrift Church, Cant.
Chryſanthius
Church
Cimbric Cherfoneſe
Cimerii
Cippenham
Cirenceſter
Civiliſ
Civil War
Claudia Rufina
Claudian
Claudius 2.
Clergy
Clodius Balbinus
Chlorus Conſtantius
Cloveſhoe
Cnobſbury
Cnute
Cœleſtine
Cogidunus
Coifi
Coil
Coinage
Colcheſter
Coldingham
Coleman
Coludeſburgh
Columba
Comets
Commodus

Commons of England
Compurgators
Conan f.
Congal
Conflans
Conflantine f.
Conflantius 2.
Confeſſeate
Cornwal
Coronation
Corrodies
Coventry
Councils
Counties
Countreymen
County-Court
Coway-ftakes
Crayford
Creed
Creeklade
Creoda, or Crida
Crimes
Criminal
Crown
Croyland
Chryſanthius
Cuckamsley-hill
Cumbrian
Cuneglaſus
Cureſcot
Cutha
Cuthbert
Cuthbryht
Cuthred 3.
Cuthwulf
Cwichelme 2.
Cycle
Cynebald
Cynebryht
Cyneſigils
Cyneheard 2.
Cynoth
Cynric 2.
Cynwulf

C

DAgobert
Dalliance
Danegelt
Danes
Daniel 2.
Darwent
David
Sr. Davids
Deadly Feuds
Death
Decennary
Decianus
Decimation

Decius
Defamation
Degradation
Deglaf-tan
Deira
Demetaz
Denulph
Deomed
Deorham
Deposition
Deprivation
Derawnde
Defertion
Devils-Ditch
Devife of Lands
Deusdedit 2.
Dicul
Didius
Diffilina
Dinoth
Diocelfes
Diocleſian
Dionotus
Domitian
Dorinea
Dover
Dower
Draganus
Drinking
Druids
Dublin
Dubritius
Duduc
Dulcitus
Dun
Dunbritton
Dunmoc
Sr. Dunftan
Dunwallo Molmutius
Dunwich
Durham
Duty to Parents.

F

E Adbald 2.
Eadbert 2.
Eadbryht
Eadburga
Eadesbyrig
Eadfrid
Eadhed
Eadmund Ætheling
Eadred
Eadlige
Eadulf
Eadwig Ætheling
Eadwin
Eagle

Ealcher

I N D E X.

Ealcher
Ealchstan
Ealerd
Ealfert
Ealfric
Ealfwicthe
Eanbald
Eanbryht
Eanfrid
Earcumbert
Earcongath
Eardulf
Eardwulf
Earnred
Earnwulf
East-Angles
Easter
East-Saxons
Eatta
Ebba 2.
Eborius
Eclipses
Eddobeccus
Edelwalch
Edgar
Edgar Ætheling 2.
Edgitha 2.
Edingburgh
Editha
Edmund the Martyr
Edmund *Son to Edward the Elder*
Edmund *Son of King Alfred*
Edmund Ætheling
St. Edmundsbury
Edred 2.
Edric
Edwal ap Meyric
Edwal Ugel
Edwal Ywrcb
Edward the Elder
Edward Ætheling
Edward the *Martyr*
Edward the *Confessor*
Edwi
Edwin 3.
Edwin Ætheling
Edwold
Egbert 7.
Egelfeda
Egelnoth
Egfrid
Eglesburgh
Egonefham
Egric
Egwin
Egwinna
Eighth
Elbodius
Election of King, *V. Kings,*
& Sparfim.

Eleutherius
Elfeage 2.
Elfer
Elfgar
Elfin
Elfreda
Elfric
Elfwald
Elfwinn
Elfwinn
Elgiva, *V. Ælgiva*
Elidurus
Ellendune
Ellwye
Elutherius
Ely-Monastery
Emma
Emperor
Eneon
England
Englisferic
English-men
English-Saxons
Entail
Eoppa
Eoric
Eorpenwald
Eorpwald
Eowils
Ercenbryht
Eric
Erkenwald
Ermenred
Esfylt
Ethelard
Ethelbald 2.
Ethelbert 4.
Ethelbryht
Ethelburgh
Etheldrethe
Etheldrith
Etheler
Ethelfeda
Ethelfred
Ethelfreda
Ethelfrid
Ethelgar
Ethelheard 2.
Ethelnoth
Ethelred 8.
Ethelwald 2.
Ethelward
Ethelwerd
Ethelwin
Ethelwold 2.
Ethelwulf
Evelham
Eugenius 2.
Evil Councils
Europe
Eustatius

Eutherius
Excommunication
Exeter
Exmouth.

F

Faith
Falfc News
Famine
Farrington
Fealty
Fee or Feuds
Fee-tayl Estate
Feologild
Fergus
Fernham
Festidus
Fidelity
Fighting
Finan
Fines
Finkley
Fire
First Fruits
Five Burghs
Flanders
Flattery
Fleet
Felix
Folcmote
Folcstone
Foreign Tongue
Forefts
Forfeitures
Formofus
Fornication
Framarius
France
Frank-pledges
Franks
Freemen
Freodguald
Freothwulf
Frethanleage
Friburg
Friefland
Frijians
Fritheftan
Frithogithe
Fritwald
Fugitives
Fullenham
Furfus.

Gacon

I N D E X.

G

Gacon
Gaini
Gainsborough
Galgacus
Galenus
Gallio
Game
Gavelkind
Gaule
Gemore
General
Gentlemen
Geoffrey of Monmouth
Gerent
Germanus
Gerontius
Gefloriacum
Geta
Gethic
Gewiffes
Gildas
Girwy
Gifa
Glan-morgan
Glappa 2.
Glaſ
Glaſtenbury
Gleni
Glewancefter
Glotta and Bodotria
God
Goda
Godfathers
Godfred
Godiva
Godmundingham
Godwin
Gogmagog
Gordianus
Gormond
Gofpatrick
Gofpel
Government
Gratanleage
Grand Inqueſt. *Vid. Inqueſt*
Gratian
Gratianus
Gregory
Griffyn
Griffyth ap Llewelin ap Sir-
fyle
Griffyth ap Madoc
St. Grimbald
Grime
Grifons

Grymkytel
Guarinus
Gueld
Guendelew
Gueniver
Guiderac
Guild
Guintelin
Gunhilda
Gunhildis
Gurgi
Gurguint
Gurhfrith
Guthlac
Guthrun
Guy
Gwgan
Gwido
Gwyn, or Gwyr
Gwyneth
Gyrth

H

Hacon
Hadrian
Hæfe
Halfdene
Hamtune
Hardecnute
Harold 4.
Harwood-Foreſt
Haftings
Hatred
Heacca
Headda
Heads
Healfange
Healfden
Heathens
Heavens
Hedda
Heddi 2.
Heliogabolus
Helmeflan
Helmham
Hemeida
Hengeft and Horfa
Hengeftdune
Henwald
Heofenfield
Heraclitus
Herefrith
Hereman
Herefy
Herethaland
Heriors
Hethfield

Hiberni
Higbald
Higbert
Hilda
Hinguar and Hubba
Hlothe. *Vid. Troops*
Hock-Wedneſday
Holland
Homage
Honorius 3.
Hooc Norton
Horeſti
Horfa. *Vid. Hengeft*
Horſes
Hoſtages
Hoſtilianus
Houſes Religious. *Vid. Mo-
naſteries*
Howel
Howel and Mcredyth
Hubba
Hubbleſtones, or Hubbleſtow
Huda
Huena
Hugh
Hundred Courts
Hundred
Hunferth
Hungus
Hunting
Huntington
Huſſa
Hyde
Hye

J

Jago and Jevaf
Jago ap Edwal
Janbryht
Japhet
Iberi
Icanho
Iceni
Ida
Idel
Idols
Jerne
Jerufalem
Jews
Iſi
Igmond
Ilford
Ilutrus
Images
Impoſtor
Ina
Indian Apoſtles
b

I N D E X.

Indians
Ingerlingum
Ingild
Ingwar
Inquest (Grand)
Intestates
Inundation
Invasion
John of Beverlie
John Scotus
Jointures
Joseph of Arimathea
Jovian
Ipswich
Ireland
Iland
Ithamar
Ithancester
Ivor
Judges
Julia
Julian
Julianus
Jury
Justice
Justin the Elder
Justus
Jutes

K

K Eawlin. *Vid.* Ceawlin
Kemsford
Kenbryht
Kened 2.
Kenelm
Kenefwith
Kener
Kenred
Kent
Kentigern
Kentilamen
Kentwyn
Kenulf
Kenwak. *Vid.* Cenwalch
Kenwulf
Kings
Kingsbury
King's Evil
King's Household
Kingtice
Knights Service
Knute. *Vid.* Cnute
Kynan. *Vid.* Conan
Kynobelin

L

L Ancafter
Land's End
Langoemagog
Lanthorns
Lashlite
Lawrence
Laws
League
Learning
Leaf
Lee
Leeds
Legancester
Legion (Roman)
Legions
Leicester
Leighton
Lent
Leo 2.
Leof
Leofgar
Leofred
Leofric 2.
Leofwin
Leotheta
Lethard
Levatriæ
Leutherius
Lewelin 2.
Liblacum
Licinius (Priscus)
Lideford
Lifing
Lightning
Limene
Lindisfarne
Lindisse
Lindissi
Litchfield
Living 2.
London
Lords
Lord's-Day
Lord's-Prayer
Lothaire 2.
Lothebroc
Lots
Lucius
Lucullus (Salustius)
Ludgate
Ludican
Lugeanburh
Lupicinus
Lupus
Lupus (Virius)

M

M Accuse
Macrinus
Maelgwyn
Magnentius
Maildulf
Maims and Wounds
Malcolm
Maldon
Malgo, *or* Malgoclinus
Mallings
Malmesbury
Man, *the City*
Man, *the Isle*
Manchester
Mancufes
Mandubratius
Manlaugther. *Vid.* Murther
Marcellus (Ulpus)
Marcus Aurelius. *Vid.* Aurelius
Marcus
Margaret
Mariage
Marinus
Marius
St. Martin
Martinus, *a Prefect*
Martinus, *the Pope*
Martyrdom
Maserfield
Maxentius
Maximinian
Marcus Aurelius Maximinianus
Maximinus (Julius)
Maximus 3.
Meanwari
Medcant
Medefhamsted
Melgas
Mellitus
Members
Menai
Menavia
Mercevenlage
Mercia
Mercy
Meredyth
Meredyth *and* Howel
Merchwit
Merefige
Merton
Merwina
Midletune
Militia

Milred

I N D E X.

O

O Akly in Surrey
Oath of Fidelity. *Vid.* Fealty
Odo
Offa 2.
Offerings at the Altar
Olaff
Olanage
Old Saxony
Orcades
Ordeal
Order
Ordgar 2.
Ordination of a Bishop
Ordovices
Orgiva
Orkeney
Orotius (Paulus)
Osald
Osberge
Osbert
Osfrid
Oskytel
Osmund
Osfred 2.
Osfic 3.
Ostorius Scapula
Oswald *and* Oswic
Oswald Ætheling
Oswald 3.
Oswestre
Oswin
Oswulf
Osvy
Orford
Outlawry
Oxford

P

P Acnius Posthumus
Pagan Rites
Pagans. *Vid.* Heathens
Palace-Royal
Palladius
St. Pancrace Church
Papinian
Pardon. *Vid.* Prerogative
Paris
Parish-Fcasts
Parker
Parliament
Paschalis
Pasham
Patern
Paulinus
St. Paul's Church
Paulus
Peace of the King
Peace, *or* League
Peadda
Pecuniary Fines. *Vid.* Punishment
Pedidan, *or* Pendrid's-Mouth
Pelagius
Pen
Penda
Pentarchy
Pentecost-Castle
Penvabel
Pepin
Perennis
Perjury
Pertinax
Pestilence
Peter
Peterburgh
Peter-Pence
Petroc
Philip
Philippus (Marcus Julius)
Philippus (Nonnius)
Phoenicians
Picts
Pightwin, *or* Pechtwin
Pinchenbale, *or* Finkenbale
Pius (Antoninus)
Plague
Plautius
Pledge
Plegmund
Plenty
Polidore Virgil
Polycletus
Pope
Port
Portlock-Bay
Portsmouth
Portus Ictius
Posentesbyrig
Prædialis
Præfatagus
Prayer
Prædur
Prerogative
Priests
Priscilla
Probus (M. Aurel. Valer.)
Prodigies
Protection
Provision for the King's Household
Punishments

Pur-

N

Milred
Milton
Mints
Miracles
Modwina
Mollo
Mona
Monarch
Monasteries
Money
Monks
Morchar 2.
Morgant
Morindus. *Vid.* Morvidus
Morini
Mortality
Morvidus
Moston
Mould
Mouric
Mulcts
Murrain. *Vid.* Plague
Murther
Myranheofod
N Aitan
Nation
Nazaleod
Nennius
St. Neot
Nero
Nerva
Nesse-Point
Newenden
Nice
Nicholaus
Niger (Pescenius)
Night-Mare
Nobility
Normandy
Normans
Northalbingia
Northampton
Northern People of Britain
Northumbers
Northumbrian Kingdoms
North-Wales
Norway
Norwich
Nothelm
Numerianus
Nunnery. *Vid.* Monastery
Nunnichia

I N D E X.

Purgation
Pufa
Putta

Q

Quarrel, or Deadly Feud
Queen
Quenbarga
Quendride
Quendrieth
Quichelme

R

Radnor
Radnorshire
Raven. *Vid.* Banner
Reculf
Redburge
Redwald
Rees
Reginald
Regni
Reiderch-hoel
Religion
Religious Houfes. *Vid.* Mona-
steries
Reignation of Bifhopricks
Reftitutus
Revenge
Rhine
Richard the Elder of Nor-
mandy
Richbert
Richge
Ripendune
Ripon
Ritheric ap Iuftin
Ritherch and Rees
Robber
Robert, Duke of Normandy
Robert, a Norman Monk
Rodoric, or Rodri
Rodri Maur
Rofcaefter
Rollo the Dane
Roman Affairs
Empire
Language, &c.
Romans
Romanus
Rome
Romelfcot
Rowena
Rufina (Claudia)

Run, or Reyn
Runick Characters
Runkhorne in Cheshire
Rufticus Decimius
Ryal in Rutlandfhire

S

Sacrilege
Salaries
Sale of Goods, &c. *Vid.* Traf-
fick
Sampfon
Sanctuaries
Sandwich
Saragofa in Spain
Sardica
Sarum (Old)
Saturninus (Seius)
Saxon Annals
Saxon (English)
Saxony
Saxulph
Scapula. *Vid.* Oftorius
Sceapige
Sceortfan
Sceva
School
Scotch Hiftorians
Scotland
Scots
Scriptures
Sea
Seals
Sebba. *Vid.* Siger
Sebbi
Sebert
Secington
Security
Selred
Sempingaham
Seneca
Scolefeu
Sermon
Serpents
Servants
Setter
Severn
Severus
Severus (Alexander)
Severus (Germanus)
Seward
Sexburga
Shaftsbury
Shaving of Crowns
Sheovelham, or Secvelham
Shepholme
Sheriffs

Sherwood Foreft
Ships
Shireburne
Shiremotes
Shrophire
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Builds two Monasteries, the one for men at Athelney in Somersetshire, the other for Nuns at Shaftsbury, where Alfgiva his Daughter was Abbess, Id. p. 298.

Overcomes Hastings the Danish Commander, who was forced to surrender, and accept of Conditions of Peace, Id. p. 299, 300.

Fights the Danes near Fernham, &c. and puts them to flight, recovering great Prey, Id. p. 300, 301.

Builds divers Gallies after a new Model, such as he thought more advantageous, Id. p. 302.

His Death, Burial, Character, and Devotion, Id. p. 304, 305, 306, 307.

His Translation of several Books into the English-Saxon Tongue, Id. p. 304.

Builds divers Houses with great Magnificence. His division of the Hours both by Night and day, before Clocks were known. The first Invention of Lanthorns in England, Id. p. 305.

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- The Bishops and Priests who assisted him in his Learning, and in founding the University of Oxford, Id. p. 306.
- The several Kings of Wales that sought his Protection, and submitted to him. His wonderful Bounty, Generosity, and Justice to his People, Id. p. 306, 307, 308.
- His Last Will and Testament, Id. p. 308, 309, 310.
- His Issue, Id. p. 310, 311.
- To what place the Bones of this King were removed by his Son, King Edward the Elder, Id. p. 312.
- Alfred (Son to King Ethelred) supposed to be Grandfather to Ethelwerd, called Quæstor the Historian, l. 5. p. 276.
- Alfred, some considerable Person, (with the factious men of his Party) conspires against Athelstan's coming to the Crown, whereby he forfeited his Lands, which the King conferred on the Church of Malmesbury. He is sent to Rome to purge himself of this Treason, and dyes there, l. 5. p. 329, 331.
- Alfred, and Edward his Brother, (Son to King Ethelred) Cnute agreed with Robert Duke of Normandy, their Uncle, that they should peaceably enjoy one half of the Kingdom during his life; though they never did, but continued still in Exile, l. 6. p. 54.
- The most treacherous and cruel treatment of this Prince and his Followers by King Harold, (through Godwin's Instigations), who caused his eyes to be put out, so that he died soon after, Id. p. 62, 63.
- Earl Godwin accused by Edward the Confessor in the Great Council, of being the cause of this Prince's Murder, Id. p. 83.
- Alfward, or Ælfward, Son of King Edward the Elder, deceased at Oxenford not long after his Father. His Mother was Ælfeda the Daughter of Earl Æthelam. His Character, l. 5. p. 324, 327.
- Alfwine, the Bishop, deceases at Suthury in Suffolk, and is buried at Dunwich, l. 4. p. 242.
- Alfwold, the Son of Oswulf, takes the Kingdom of the Northumbers, Ethelred being expelled the Land, l. 4. p. 231.
- Sends to Rome to demand the Pall for Eanbald, Archbishop of York, Id. p. 232.
- Is slain by Sicga, one of his chief Noblemen, by treachery at Cilceaster, near the Picts-Wall, and where buried. His Character, Id. 231, 236.
- Algiche, King Harold's second Wife, Widow of Griffyth ap Lhewelyn, King of North-Wales, l. 6. p. 114.
- Algiva, or Æthelgiva, King Alfred's Daughter, Abbess of Shaftsbury, which Monastery her Father built, l. 5. p. 298, 307, 311.
- Alhred, King of Northumberland, when he began (and how he came) to reign: He was of the Offspring of Ida, l. 4. p. 229.
- Is expelled by the Northumbrians, who elect Ethelred the Son of Moll for their King, Id. p. 230, 236.
- Alred the Ealdorman, who slew King Ethelred, killed by one Thormond, l. 4. p. 242.
- Alienation of Lands by Bishops, &c. committed to their trust, in Fee, or for longer than one Life, without the Consent of the Heir, forbidden by the Seventh Canon of the Synod at Calcuith, l. 5. p. 251.
- Alkuith, a City in Scotland, delivered up to Eadbert King of Northumberland, l. 4. p. 227, 228.
- Allectus slays Carausius by Treachery in Britain, and for three years usurped the Empire. Encountered by Alclepiodorus, was overcome and slain with little loss to the Romans, l. 2. p. 81.
- Allegiance, if due by Birth in the Saxon times, or not till a man had actually performed his Homage, or sworn Fealty to the King, l. 6. p. 83.
- Alms, or Peter-pence of King Alfred, how rewarded, l. 5. p. 281.
- Alfred sends the Alms he had vowed to Rome, and other Alms into India, Id. p. 286, 291, 298.
- Alrich, King of Kent; why neither He nor his Noblemen would be at the Council of Calcuith, l. 4. p. 235.
- Son to Withred, reigned 34 years, dies, and in him the Race of Hengest ended, Id. p. 238.
- Alic, the Son of Eadbert, slain in the Battle of Whalley in Lancashire, l. 4. p. 241.
- Alstan, or Æalhstan, Bishop of Shireburne; by the Wisdom of this Bishop, and St. Swithune Bishop of Winchester, Ethelwulf was enabled to support the Calamities the Kingdom suffered by the frequent Inruptions of the Danes, l. 5. p. 266, 267.
- After he had held the See fifty years, died, and was buried in the Town, l. 5. p. 268.
- Alswithe, King Alfred's Consort. Vid. Ealswitha.
- Alton in Hampshire, anciently supposed to be called Ætheling-gadene, l. 6. p. 28.
- Alwin, Bishop of Winchester, reported to have been too familiar with Queen Emma, and committed to Prison upon that Accusation, l. 6. p. 79.
- Alwold, Bishop of London, (before Abbot of Evesham) being unable to perform his Episcopal Function, would have retired to his old Monastery; but the Monks being against it, he resented it so ill, that he goes to the Abbey of Ramsey, with all his

Books

- Books and other Ornaments, which he bestowed on that Abbey, though formerly they had been conveyed on the other, and soon after dies, l. 6. p. 73.
- Alypius, a Hunbar Lieutenant of Britain, l. 2. p. 90.
- Ambresburg, or Ambresburi, a Town that had some relation to Ambrosius, l. 3. p. 131.
- A Monastery in Wiltshire; to whom it was granted by King Alfred, l. 5. p. 307.
- A great Synod or Council held there, l. 6. p. 17.
- A Nunnery there built by Ethelfreda, Id. p. 20.
- Ambrosius. Vid. Aurelius.
- Amiens in Picardy, anciently called Embenun, l. 5. p. 286.
- Ammianus Marcellinus, the first Roman Author that mentions the Scots, l. 2. p. 91.
- Anarawd, the Eldest Son of Rodoric the Great, when he began his Reign over North-Wales, l. 5. p. 280.
- Makes War upon his Brother Cadell, Prince of South-Wales, and destroys his Countries, Id. p. 295.
- Submits himself and all his Subjects to King Alfred's Dominion, Id. p. 306, 307.
- His Decease and Issue, Id. p. 316.
- Pitying the distressed condition of the Northern Britains, gave them great part of Cheshire to dwell in, if they could beat out the Saxons thence, Id. p. 317.
- After a bloody Fight with the Saxons, obtains a complete Victory over them, Ibid.
- Andate, the Goddess of Victory among the Britains, l. 2. p. 48.
- Andover, a Town not far from Winchester in Hampshire, l. 6. p. 10.
- Anciently called Andefer, Id. p. 25.
- Andragarius, Maximus his General, kills the Emperor Gratian near the Bridge of Singidunum, and establishes his Master in his usurped Empire, l. 2. p. 95.
- And bearing off the ill news of Maximus, casts himself headlong out of a Ship, being then at Sea, and so drowns himself, Id. p. 96.
- Andredwood in Kent and Sussex, is in length from East to West at least One hundred and twenty Miles, and in breadth Thirty, containing all that which is called the Wilde of Kent, l. 5. p. 299.
- St. Andrew's Church at Rochester built by Ethelbert King of Kent, l. 4. p. 160.
- Angild, the Forfeiture of the whole value of a man's Head, and that Hand which stole was to be cut off, unless redeemed, l. 5. p. 297.
- Angle, supposed to be derived from the Ancient Cimbrri, l. 3. p. 123.
- Anglesey, anciently called Mona, l. 2. p. 46.
- and Manige, l. 6. p. 28.
- The whole Isle subdued by Godfred the Son of Harold the Dane, Id. p. 7, 20.
- Destroyed by the Danes, Id. p. 23.
- And by King Ethelred's Fleet, Id. p. 28.
- They cast off Meredyth, and receive Edwal ap Meyric for their Prince, Id. p. 24.
- Anglia Sacra, published by the Learned Mr. Wharton, l. 4. p. 166.
- Anlaff, Son of Syhtric, King of Northumberland, flies into Ireland, l. 5. p. 332.
- Supposed the Son of Syhtric. His getting into Athelstan's Camp in the disguise of a Musician, and the Observations he made there, Id. p. 335.
- His ravaging and wasting the Countries wherever he came; the Battle he had with King Edmund, and the Agreement between them both at last. His marrying Alditha, the Daughter of Earl Orme, Id. p. 243.
- Called Olaf, a Dane and Norwegian by Extraction, who had been expelled (in the time of King Athelstan) the Kingdom of Northumberland; but being some time after recalled by these Rebels, he was again expelled by King Edmund, who added that Country to his own Dominions, Id. p. 343, 344.
- Returns again in King Edred's time, and with joy is restored to his Kingdom by the People; three years after they expel him a third time, and set up Eric for their King, Id. p. 350.
- Another of this Name (Son to the King of Dublin) comes with a great Fleet into Yorkshire or Lincolnshire, and lands; but he is miserably beaten by King Athelstan, Id. p. 334, 335.
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- Is brought with great honour to King Ethelred. After Baptism he returned into his own Country, Id. p. 25.
- Anna, King of the East-Angles, enriches Cnobisbury Monastery with Noble Buildings and Revenues, l. 4. p. 180.
- Is slain in fight by King Penda, together with his whole Army, Id. p. 185.
- His youngest Son Erkenwald was made Bishop of London, Id. p. 196.
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Elected General of the Britains, Vortigern being as then King, though only in name so. Id. p. 129, 130.
His mighty Victory over the Saxons, and his ordering the Churches to be repaired, which the Saxons had destroyed. p. 130.
Marches up to London, and going about to repair that, He is crowned at Stonehenge, and not long after buried there. At a solemn Council he appoints two Metropolitans for the Vacant Sees, viz. York and Caer-Leon. Id. p. 131.
A Rebellion raised against him in the North, among the Britains, who were put to flight. Ibid.
Chosen King of the Britains, and reigned 19 years. Id. p. 132.
Died, being poisoned by procurement of Pascen-tius, Son to Vortigern, who before had rebelled against him. Id. p. 131, 133.
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Aurelius Conan, King of Powis-Land, or of some other Southern Province. l. 3. p. 139, 146.

Aurelius Marcus succeeds Antoninus Pius in the Empire; the Britains raise new Com-motions against him, but they lasted not long after Calphurnius Agricola's Arrival. l. 2. p. 68.
Aust (where is a Ferry to pass out of Somer-setshire into Wales) anciently called Au-stelin. l. 5. p. 328.
Axanminster, now Axminster in Devonshire. l. 4. p. 233.

B

Bachseg, a Danish King (whom their His-tory calls Ivor, the Son of Rey-nere) is slain by King Athelred, and Ethel-fred his Brother, in Battle near Reading, where most of his Troops being cut off, the rest were forced to fly. l. 5. p. 275.
Badon-hill, supposed to be the same with Ban-el-down near Bath, where the great Battle was fought by Prince Arthur against the Saxons. l. 3. p. 136.
Bakewell in Derbyshire, anciently called Bede-canwell. l. 5. p. 324.
Balbinus Clodius, with Pupienus Maximus, elected Emperors by the Senate, but were soon after slain by the Prætorian Bands. l. 2. p. 81.
Baldred, King of Kent, forced to fly from King Egbert's Army over the Thames into the Northern parts. l. 5. p. 253.
Bestows the Manor of Mallings in Suffex, on Christ's Church at Canterbury; which being afterwards taken away for some rea-sons, was confirmed to it by the Common-Council of the whole Kingdom under King Egbert. Id. p. 257.
Baldwin, Earl of Flanders, assigns Ælfgiva (whom Harold had banished England) Bruges for her Retirement, and built pro-tected, and provided for, her, as long as she staid there. l. 6. p. 64.
Bamborough Castle, in Northumberland, an-ciently called Bebbanburgh, when built, and by whom. l. 3. p. 142, 143. l. 4. p. 230.
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The Town destroyed by the Danes, and the great Booty they got there. l. 6. p. 24.
Banbury, anciently called Berinbyrig, where Cynric and Ceawlin his Son fought with the Britains, and routed them. l. 3. p. 143.
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One Dynoth the Abbot there, pretended he was instructed (and by whom) how to know whether Augustine's Preaching was from God, or not. l. 4. p. 161, 162. Not

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Banner, the famous one called Reafan (that is, The Raven), which was so enchanted by Magic Art, that it would clap its Wings upon the prospect of good Success, or let them fall at that if bad, as if it were alive. l. 5. p. 281, 282.
Banuuelle Monastery, to whom granted by King Alfred. l. 5. p. 307.
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To be performed at the times appointed by the former Canons of the Church. Id. p. 233.
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Bardsey-Island, where Archbishop Dubritius be-came an Anchorite. l. 3. p. 149.
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Barons; by this word Thanes are to be under-stood. l. 6. p. 83.
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The Law concerning those Barons, who have Courts and Customs of their own. Id. p. 102.
St. Bartholomew, called an Indian Apostle, be-cause of his Martyrdom there. l. 5. p. 286.
St. Basile, the Monks of that Order were the same with the Monks of Ireland; and those Mo-nasteries founded in the Kingdom of Nor-thumberland followed this Rule. l. 4. p. 167.
Basse, the Priest, builds the Monastery of Recul-ver in Kent. l. 4. p. 192.
Bassianus, Eldest Son of Severus the Emperor, by his wicked Carriage gave him perpetual trouble; for as soon as he had Power, he aim-ed to kill both his Brother and Father. l. 2. p. 77.
Was not long after his Father's Death, destroyed. Id. lb.
Cruelly murdered his Brother Geta in his Mo-ther's Arms, and would have had Papi-nian the great Civil Lawyer to have wrote a Defence of it. Id. p. 79.
Bassus, a valiant Captain of King Edwin's, conducted Athelburga, &c. into Kent, from Cadwalla's Rage and Cruelty. l. 4. p. 176.
Bastardy, the first Decree found in this kind, That Bastards, and those begotten of Nuns, should not inherit. l. 4. p. 234.
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Beadricefworth, (i. e. St. Edmundsbury) where King Cnut built a Noble Monastery. l. 5. p. 322.
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Beamdune, now Bindon in Dorsetshire, where a great Battle was fought between the West-Saxons and the Britains, and the latter were overcome. l. 4. p. 166.
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Demolished, and his Army routed by King Al-fred's Forces. Id. p. 300.
Becancelde, perhaps Beckenham near Surrey, but not certain. l. 5. p. 269.
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Lived and died a Monk in the Monastery of St. Paul at Girwy, now Yarrow. l. 4. p. 194.
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Maries Emma, Widow of the King his Predecessor, and the Reason of State for it. Goes to Denmark to subdue the Vandal, carrying along with him an Army of English and Danes; the former behaving themselves so bravely against the Enemy, that after that Battle he had the English in as much esteem as his own Native Subjects. Holds a Great Council at Cyrencester, and what is transacted therein, Id. p. 51.

A Parliament called by him at Winchester, and who present, and what decreed therein, l. 6. p. 52.

Founds the Monastery of Beadriceworth, where a Church had been built before, and endows it, which was one of the Largest and Richest in England, Ibid.

Goes again into Denmark with his Fleet, and engages with the Swedes both by Land and Sea, the latter getting the Victory. Two years after he drives Olaf out of Norway, and conquers it for himself. Banishes Hacun a Danish Earl (his Nephew by Marriage), under pretence of an Embassy, Id. p. 53.

Agrees with Robert Duke of Normandy, that King Ethelred's two Sons should have half the Kingdom peaceably during his life. Gives the Port of Sandwich to Christ Church in Canterbury, with all the Issues, &c. And founds a Monastery for Benedictines in Norfolk, called St. Bennet's in Holme, Id. p. 54.

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Coifi, chief of King Edwin's Idol Priests, consents to receive the Christian Religion, confessing his own to be good for nothing, l. 4. p. 173.

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Make one Egbert King over the Northumbers, though under the Danish Dominion, Id. p. 268.

Force the Mercians to make Peace with them, Id. p. 269.

Return to York, where they stay Twelve Months, and commit horrible Cruelties there, and in the Kingdom of the East-Angles, which they wholly conquer, Id. p. 269, 270.

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Going into the West-Saxon Kingdom to Reading in Berkshire, are routed, Id. 274, 275.

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Enter into a Peace with the English Saxons to depart the Kingdom, which they did not long observe; for the next year they land again, and take up their Winter-Quarters in London, and the Mercians forced to make peace with them. They destroy Alclud in Scotland; oblige Burhred, King of Mercia, to desert his Kingdom and go to Rome; and bring the whole Kingdom under their Dominion and Vassalage, Id. p. 277.

Destroy the whole Country of Northumberland, and ravage up to Galloway; run Warham in Dorsetshire, a strong Castle of the West-Saxons; give Hostages to King Alfred, but upon breach of their Oath are all put to death. From whence they date their Reign over the King of Northumbers. A Hundred and twenty of their Ships cast away in a storm near Swanwick in Hampshire, Id. p. 278.

Fix their Quarters in West-Saxony, and make Elfred very uneasy, Id. p. 280.

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Are signally beaten by King Ælfred, so as to desire Peace on Conditions, Id. p. 282, 283.

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They land in Dorsetshire, and spoil the Isle of Portland, Id. p. 21.

Destroy Weedport (that is Watchet) in Somersetshire, Id. p. 22.

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k and

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 Elfwinn, Daughter and Heir of Ethelfleda, is deprived of the Dominion of the Mercians by King Edward the Elder (upon Contracting her self in Marriage with Reginald King of the Danes) and brought into West-Seax by him, l. 3. p. 320.
 Elgiva, Vid. Ælgiva.
 Elidurus the Pious, resigns the Crown (which the Kingdom had given him) to Reinstate his Brother who had been Deposed, l. 1. p. 14.
 After his Brother's Death, he receives the Crown the Second time, but is soon Deposed by the Ambition of his Brethren, who Seized and Confined his Person to the Tower of London for several years, whilst they divided the Kingdom betwixt them; but they dying, he Resumes the Crown the Third Time, and Governs for Four years to the general Satisfaction of all, Id. p. 15.
 Ellendune, supposed to be Wilton near Salisbury, where a Battle was fought between Egbert, King of the West-Saxons, and Beornwulf, King of the Mercians, l. 5. p. 253.
 Ellwey in North-Wales, a Bishoprick, now known by the Name of St. Asaph, l. 3. p. 149.
 Elutherius a Priest, comes from France to King Cenwalc, and is Ordained Bishop of the West-Saxons (that is, Winchester) by Theodore Archbishop of Canterbury, l. 4. p. 182, 192.

His Death and Succession, Id. p. 193.
 Ely-Monastery Founded by Etheldreda, late Wife to King Egfrid, in which she became the first Abbess, l. 4. p. 193.
 Is destroyed by the Danes, and when; and afterwards Re-edified by King Edgar, Ibid.
 Emma, said to be King Ethelred's only Wife, had Edward and Alfred by him, l. 6. p. 45.
 Is Married afterwards to King Cnut, and how she is Censured for it, Id. p. 51.
 Her Son Hardecnute, his Father before his Death appointed to be King of Denmark, Id. p. 56.
 Decreed in a Great Council that she should reside at Winchester with the Domesticks of the late King her Husband, and possess all West-Saxony: She is also called Elgiva, Id. p. 61.
 Her Decease and Character; is accused of having been too Familiar with Bishop Alwyn, for which she undergoes the Ordeal, Id. p. 79.
 Emperor, the First Emperors that were not Romans, were Trajan and Hadrian, who were both Spaniards, l. 2. p. 67.
 Encon, the Son of Owen, Prince of South-Wales, subdues all the Country of Gwyn, or Gwyrr, in North-Wales, l. 6. p. 6.
 Destroys it again the second time, Id. p. 16.
 The greatest part of Earl Alfred's Army is slain by him and his Forces, and the rest put to flight: But the Year after the Gentlemen of Guentland in South Wales cruelly slay him, His Character, Id. p. 21.
 England; Old England seated between the Saxons and the Jutes, having for its Capital City that which is called in the Saxon Tongue Sleswic, but by the Danes Heathaby, l. 3. p. 118.
 When the Nation came under this General Name, l. 5. p. 246, 247, 255.
 Never had any long respite from Invasions by the Danes, &c. from King Egbert's time to the beginning of the Reign of William the First, l. 5. p. 247.
 Wasted for many years by the Danes, Norwegians, Goths, Sweeds, and Vandals, Id. p. 255.
 Is divided first into Counties, and these into Hundreds and Tythings, by King Alfred, Id. p. 291.
 Englisherie, what, and the Law made concerning it in Edward the Confessor's time, l. 6. p. 101.
 English-men, by the general Consent of the Clerus and Populus Assembled in the Great Council, it is Enacted, That those who before were called Jutes, or Saxons, should now be call'd by this Name, l. 5. p. 255, 292.
 English-

English-Saxons, their Character, vid. Saxons.
 Is one year had fought eight or nine Battles against the Danes, &c. besides innumerable Skirmishes, l. 5. p. 277.
 Entail of the Crown, mentioned by Alfred in his last Will to have been made formerly in a General Council of the West-Saxon Nobility at Swinburne, l. 5. p. 309.
 Of Lands also to be in force in his time, Ibid. & 310.
 Eoppa, who he was, and what his Pedigree, l. 4. p. 217.
 Eoric, a Danish King of the East-Angles, killed in Battle by the Kentish men, l. 5. p. 313.
 After his Death the Danes there yielded themselves up to Edward the Elder, l. 5. p. 322, 323.
 The Ecclesiastical Laws made between this Eoric (who succeeded Guthorne in the Government of East-England) and King Edward, Id. p. 326.
 Eorpenwald, King of the East-Angles, Son to Redwald, when he began his Reign, l. 4. p. 157.
 Is succeeded by his Brother Sigebert, whom formerly he had Banished, Id. p. 179.
 Eorpwald, or Eorpald, King of the East-Saxons, Baptized, but not long after is slain by one Richbert, a Heathen, l. 4. p. 175.
 Eowils, slain in battle with many thousands of his Danes, at a place called Wodnesfield, by King Edward the Elder's Army, l. 5. p. 315.
 Ercenbright, or Ercombert, Vid. Earcombert.
 Eric, the Son of Harold, whom the Northumbrians set up for their King, and about a year or two after, drove him out again, l. 5. p. 350.
 Erkenwald, Younger Son to Anna King of the East-Angles, is Consecrated Bishop of London by Theodore Archbishop of Canterbury; He founded Two Monasteries before he came to be Bishop, and for whom, l. 4. p. 196.
 Continued Bishop thereof till after the Reign of King Ina, Id. p. 201.
 Ermenred, The Eldest Son of Eadbald, craftily supplanted by his Younger Brother Earcombert, who got the Kingdom from him. He had Two Sons who were cruelly Murdered by Thunore, one of the King's Thanes, whom he employed in that Execution, l. 4. p. 180, 185.
 Efsylht, Daughter to Conan, King or Prince of North-Wales, Marries Merwyn Urych a Nobleman, the Son of Gwyriad, who afterwards was King in her Right, l. 5. p. 251.
 Ethelred Ordained Archbishop of York, l. 4. p. 238.

Ethelbald succeeds Ceolred in the Kingdom of Mercia, and holds it One and Forty years, l. 4. p. 217.
 Ethelbald after his Father's Death succeeds him in West-Saxony, l. 5. p. 265.
 Marries his Father's Widow, but afterwards Repenting of the Incest, puts her away from him. His Character, Reign, Death and Burial, Id. p. 266. Vid. Ethelbald.
 Ethelbert King of Kent, in his time Pope Gregory made the English-Saxons Christians, l. 3. p. 143, 153.
 Beaten by Ccawlin and Curtha his Brother; his double Character and Alliance, l. 3. p. 145.
 The most powerful Prince that had Reigned in Kent, having extended the bounds of his Dominions as far as Humber; he Marries Bertha, a Christian Lady, the King of France his Sister, and upon what Conditions, l. 4. p. 153.
 By Augustin's persuasion builds the Church of St. Peter and St. Paul in Canterbury, Id. p. 157.
 Is Baptized in St. Pancrace Church there, which before had been a Heathen Temple, Ibid.
 Had many noble Presents sent him by Pope Gregory, with a Letter full of Senatorial Advice, Id. p. 158, 159.
 Builds the Church of St. Andrew at Rochester, and endows it, Id. p. 160.
 Confirms in a Great Council both of Clergy and Laity, all the Grants and Charters, whereby he had settled great Endowments on both Christ-Church and that of St. Pancrace, Ibid.
 But his Charters are very suspicious of being Forged in many respects, Id. p. 163.
 The Secular Laws that were Enacted in the Great Council in his time, Id. Ibid.
 His Death and Burial in St. Martin's Porch in the Church of St. Peter and St. Paul. He was the First English King that ever received Baptism, and lived above Twenty years after his Conversion, Id. p. 168.
 He was the Third King that Ruled over all Britain, l. 5. p. 254.
 Ethelbert is Consecrated Bishop of Witerne (called in Latin, Candida Casa) at York, l. 4. p. 231.
 One of his Name, Bishop of Hagulfstad, Deceases, l. 4. p. 241.
 Ethelbert, the Son of Ethelred, King of the East-Angles, is slain in the Court of King Offa, and by whose Infigurations, l. 4. p. 237.
 Ethelbert, or Ethelbryht, after his Brother Ethelbald's Decease, takes the Kingdom, and holds it in great Peace and Quiet from Domestick Commotions, l. 5. p. 266.
 His

His Death lamented, after having Governed Five years to general satisfaction; buried at Shireburne, and is supposed to have a Son, called Ethelwald, Id. p. 267.

Ethelbryht, the Son of King Withred, succeeds Eadbryht King of Kent, l. 4. p. 225. Nothing remarkable, but that the City of Canterbury was Burnt in his Reign, Id. p. 228. Ibid.

His Death, Ethelburgh. Vid. Æthelburga.

Etheldrethe, twice married, but would let neither of her Husbands enjoy her, which was accounted in those days a great piece of Sanctity, l. 4. p. 193, 198.

Is Foundress of the Monastery of Ely, in which she herself became the First Abbess, Id. p. 193.

Daughter to Anna, King of the East-Saxons, her Death; and after Sixteen Years Buried, her Body being taken up as whole as at first, she was Canonized, and called St. Audrey of Ely, Id. p. 198, 199.

Etheldrith, Daught^r to King Offa (and once the Spouse of Ethelbert, King of the East-Angles), a holy Virgin that lived in a Cell; whereafter Withlaff King of the Mercians found a safe Retreat from the high Displeasure of Egbert for Four Months, till he was reconciled to him, l. 5. p. 254.

Etheler, King of the East-Angles, taking part with Penda against Oswy, is slain, l. 4. p. 185.

Ethelfleda (the Lady of Mercia) builds many Castles, to secure the Mercian Frontiers against the Danes and Welsh, l. 5. p. 316. Sends an Army against the Welsh, which took Breccanmere (supposed to be Brecknock Castle), and the King's Wife, and about Four and thirty Prisoners, Id. p. 319. Takes the Town of Derby, and the City of Canterbury. Reduces Leicester under her Dominion, and the Danes become subject to her. Dies at Tamworth in the Eighth Year of her Government, and lies buried at Gloucester, in the East-Isle of St. Peter's Church. Her Character, Id. p. 320.

Vid. Ethelred, Duke of Mercia, her Husband.

Ethelfred (the Son of Ethelric, the Son of Ida) reigns over both the Northumbrian Kingdoms, l. 3. p. 148. l. 4. p. 159. A Warlike Prince, that wasted the Britains more than any other Saxon Kings, l. 4. p. 159.

Leads his Army to Leger-Cæster, and there slays a great multitude of Britains, Id. p. 164.

His Pursuit of Edwin, after his Banishment, though he was of the Blood-Royal, Id. p. 165.

Is slain by Redwald, King of the East-Angles, and his Sons banished by Edwin, Id. p. 170.

Ethelfreda, or Elfrieda, Daughter to Earl Ordgar, and Widow of Ethelwald Earl of the East-Angles, married to King Edgar, and her Children by him, l. 6. p. 5, 6.

The Trick her first Husband plaid to obtain her, and the return she made him for it, Id. p. 9, 10.

Builds a Nunnery in the place where her first Husband was slain, Id. p. 10, 20.

She is crowned Queen, to the great displeasure of Archbishop Dunstan, Id. p. 10.

Contrives the Death of Edward the Martyr, and how; but being convinced of her wickedness for it, she betook herself to very severe Penalties, Id. p. 17, 18.

Her violent Passion to her Son Ethelred, a Youth, in beating him unmercifully with a Wax-Taper, and why, Id. p. 19.

Takes upon her the Habit of a Nun at Werewell, a Nunnery which she had lately founded; and also builds another at Ambresbury, Id. p. 20.

Ethelfrid, a Prince most skilful in War, though utterly ignorant of the Christian Religion, l. 4. p. 171.

Ethelgar (Bishop of Selsey) succeeds Archbishop Dunstan in the See of Canterbury, enjoys it but a Year and Three Months, and then dies, l. 6. p. 22.

Ethelheard, his Kinsman, succeeds Ina in the Kingdom of the West-Saxons, l. 4. p. 219. Fights with, and worsts Oswald Ætheling, the Son of Æthelbald, and forces him to flee, l. 4. p. 220.

Ethelheard. Vid. Æthelheard.

The Abbot is elected Archbishop of Canterbury, upon the Death of Janbryht, l. 4. p. 236.

Calls a Synod, that confirms all things relating to the Church, which had been made before by King Withgar, Id. p. 241.

Goes to Rome to obtain his Pall, Id. p. 242.

Ethelnoth, Ailnoth, or Egelnoth, a Monk and Dean of Canterbury, is consecrated Archbishop of that See, by Wulfstan Archbishop of York, l. 6. p. 51.

Goes to Rome, and is honourably received by Pope Benedict, who put on his Pall with his own hands, Id. p. 53.

Consecrates Ælfric Archbishop of York at Canterbury, and translates the Reliques of Ælfeage his Predecessor, from London to Canterbury, Id. lb.

A Letter sent to him by Cnute, upon his Return from Rome, of what he did there, Id. p. 55.

His Decease, Id. p. 65.

Ethel-

Ethelred, Brother to Wulfher, succeeds him in the Kingdom of Mercia; his notable Expedition into Kent, and recovering all Lindsey from Egfrid, and his Fame for Devotion, l. 4. p. 195, 196.

Wastes Kent, destroys Rochester, and carries away a great deal of Spoil, Id. p. 196.

A Battel fought, and Peace made, on condition that this King should pay Egfrid a Pecuniary Mulct, Id. p. 198.

His Charter to the Monastery of Medeshamsted, justly suspected of Forgery, Id. p. 200, 201.

He receives Bishop Wilfrid with great Honour, Id. p. 206.

Refuses his Kingdom (passing by his Son Ceolred, whom he had by his Wife Ogilde) to his Cousin-German Cenered, Son of his Brother Wulfher, and himself turns Monk, Id. p. 212.

Ethelred, the Son of Moll, is chosen by the Northumbrians for their King, in the room of Alfhred, whom they had expelled from York, l. 4. p. 230, 236.

Is expelled the Land, for causing three of his Nobles to be treacherously slain by two of the same Order, Id. p. 231.

Is again restored to the Kingdom, upon Ofred's being driven out, Id. p. 236, 239.

Betroths Elfreda, the Daughter of King Offa, Id. p. 237.

Is slain by his own People, and said deservedly, as having been the Death of Ofred his Predecessor, Id. p. 239, 240.

Ethelred, the Ealdorman, deceases; a famous Commander at first, but a Monk in the City of York, when he died, l. 4. p. 240.

Ethelred, Son to Eanred, succeeds his Father in the Kingdom of Northumberland; is driven out from his Kingdom, but soon after restored to it, and about three years after is slain, l. 5. p. 260.

Ethelred, Son of King Ethelwulf, reigned in Kent, as also over the East and South-Saxons, l. 5. p. 265.

Began his Reign in West-Saxony, after his Brother Ethelbert's Decease, Id. p. 267.

Makes (with his Brother Ælfred) a great Slaughter of the Danes at Reading, Id. p. 275.

Deceases, and is buried in the Monastery of Winburne in Dorsetshire; but whether slain in Battel, or died a Natural Death of the Plague, which then reigned, is uncertain; though this latter is the more probable, Id. p. 276.

An Account of his Children, Ibid.

Ethelred, Bishop of Wiltunscire, is elected Archbishop of Canterbury, upon the Decease of Ceolnoth, his Predecessor, l. 5. p. 274. His Death, Id. p. 298.

Ethelred, Duke, or Ealdorman of Mercia, and Elfheda his Wife, by their Care is Leicester repaired, l. 5. p. 314.

By their command Caer-Legion (that is now Westchester) is repaired, Id. p. 315.

His Decease, Id. p. 316.

Ethelred, Brother to Edward the Martyr, elected King, and crowned; being a lovely Youth, l. 6. p. 19.

He rather distressed than governed the Kingdom for Seven and thirty years. His aversion to Wax-Lights, and for what reason, Ibid.

Lays waste the Bishoprick of Rochester, because of some Dissentions between him and the Bishop. His sordid Covetousness, Id. p. 21, 22.

A weak and unwarlike Prince, and most of the Nobility as bad as himself. His Fleet designed to encompass that of the Danes, but he was betrayed by Ælfric, one of his Admirals, who went over to them, Id. p. 23.

Commands the Eyes of Ælfric's Son to be put out, and for what, Id. p. 24.

Calls a Council, who agree (upon reading the Pope's Letters to the King) to send Ambassadors to the Marquis of Normandy, to treat of Peace. He receives King Anlaff with great Honour, who promises never to injure the English Nation more, Id. p. 24, 25.

Sends for the valiant Son of Waltheof Earl of the Northumbers, and for a Reward of his Bravery in overcoming the Scots, gives him not only his Father's Countrey, but adds to it that of Yorkshire, Id. p. 27.

Lays Cumberland almost waste, because the Prince thereof denied to bear his share in the Tribute paid to the Danes, Id. p. 28.

Elgiva, Daughter of Richard Duke of Normandy, comes hither to be married to the King, Id. p. 29.

At the instigation of Huena, one of his Evil Counsellors, he commands all the Danes in England to be slain at the Feast of St. Brice, because he was told that they endeavoured to deprive him and all his Great Men of their Lives, and to seize the Kingdom for themselves, Ibid.

The Calamities that befel him and his Kingdom hereupon, by the coming over of King Sweyn from Denmark, with a mighty Fleet, Id. p. 30.

His Displeasure against two Noblemen, depriving one of all his Honours, and putting out the eyes of the other, Id. p. 31.

Enters into several Treaties of Peace with the Danes, and pays them Tributes in Money, as well as Maintenance and Provision; but nothing did long oblige them, Id. p. 25, 29, 32.

Perceiving

Perceiving his error in the want of a good Fleet, commands over all England, That out of every Hundred and ten Hides of Land a Ship should be built, &c. But his Fleet is much destroyed either by Tempest or Fire, Id. p. 33.

Is betrayed, and hindered from falling upon the Danes, when his whole Army had hemm'd them in, and were just ready to give them Battel. His Forces too signified but little to him, for when the Enemy went East, they were sure to be taken up in the West, &c. Id. p. 34.

He demands of the Londoners full Pay and Victuals for his Army; and is in such distress by Sweyn, that he is forced to send his Wife and Children into Normandy, and afterwards to go thither himself, where he tarried till Sweyn died: But upon his return into his own Kingdom, he is received, on conditions to govern them better than he had done before, and then is again solemnly crowned at Westminster, Id. p. 38, 39.

But he was not very long mindful of his Promise to his Subjects, Id. p. 40.

Through his Covardice or Ill Fortune, he was constantly attended with ill success, Id. p. 41.

He is called, **THE UNREADY**, (and justly) by our English Historians. His Decease, and Burial at St. Paul's Church in London, Id. p. 42.

His Character, and excellent Laws, Id. p. 19, 42, 43.

The Issue he had by his Queen, Id. p. 38, 42.

Ethelwald, succeeds his Brother Ethel in the Kingdom of the East-Angles, l. 4, p. 186.

His Death, and who succeeds him, Id. p. 190.

Ethelwald, Earl of the East-Angles, by what Tricks he got Ethelfreda for his Wife from King Edgar, but which cost him his Life, l. 6, p. 9, 10.

Ethelward, the Third Synod at Cloveshoe was held under him, and twelve Bishops of his Province, and what was therein transacted. The next year he dies, l. 5, p. 248.

Ethelward, King Alfred's Youngest Child, bred up at Oxford; his Death, and Issue, l. 5, p. 311.

Was learned above that Age. He was buried at Winchester, Id. p. 324.

Ethelwin. *vid.* Edwin and Ethelwin.

Ethelwold, Bishop, by King Edgar's Command runs out the Chanons at Winchester, and places Benedictines in their rooms, l. 4, p. 181.

His Decease, when, Id. p. 223.

Ethelwold, fornamed Moll, when he began to reign over the Northumbers. Slays Duke Olwin in a Fight at Edwinclyffe, l. 4, p. 228.

Is murdered by the Treachery of Alhred, who succeeded him, Id. p. 229.

Ethelwulf, the Son, succeeds Egbert in the Kingdom of the West-Saxons, who gave him good Advice how he might be happy in his Kingdom, l. 5, p. 257, 258.

Comes to the Crown by virtue of his Father's Testament. His Education and Tutors during his Elder Brother's life. His Character, and what Kingdoms he made over to Athelstan his Son, Id. p. 258.

Fights against Five and thirty Danish Ships at Charmouth, Id. p. 251.

A Son, called Ælfred, is born to him by Osberge his Wife, Id. p. 261.

He and Ethelbald his Son, with the Forces of the West-Saxons, fight with the Pagan Danes, and make a greater slaughter of them than ever before, *Ibid.*

Assisting Burhred, makes the men of North-Wales subject to him, Id. p. 262.

His Famous and Solemn Grant of Tythes throughout his Kingdom, Id. p. 262, 263.

Goes to Rome, carrying Ælfred his Son along with him, Id. p. 263.

In his return marries Leotheta, the Daughter of Charles the Bald, King of the Franks, *Ibid.*

A most infamous Conspiracy is formed in the West of England against him, on the account of his new Wife, Id. p. 263, 264.

Divides the Kingdom (which was before united) with the Consent of all his Nobility, between him and his Son Ethelbald. And to prevent Quarrels between his Sons, he orders by his Will how his Kingdom should be enjoyed amongst them, l. 5, p. 264.

By his Last Will grants Corrodies for the Maintenance of Poor People, a Yearly Allowance of Three hundred Mancuses to Rome, and one hundred of them to the Pope. His Death, and Burial at Winchester, after he had reigned Twenty Years, Id. p. 264, 265.

St. Swithune, Bishop of Winchester, and Alstan Bishop of Shireborne, were this King's two Principal Counsellors in all Affairs, Id. p. 267.

Evesham-Abbey, concerning the Forging of the Charters about it, l. 4, p. 216, 217.

Is repaired by Leofric, with the Consent of his Lady Godiva, l. 6, p. 72.

Eugenius, set up against Valentinian the Second, by Arbogastes, the former's General, but he was soon after put to death by Theodosius, l. 2, p. 97.

Eugenius, Prince of Cumberland, assists Anlaf against King Athelstan, l. 5, p. 334, 335.

The

The Scotch call him King of Deira, and own he died in this Battel, Id. p. 336.

Evil Councils bring all the Affairs in trouble on a Nation, l. 6, p. 23, 27, 32, 35.

Europe, first peopled by the posterity of Japhet, either from one Alanus, supposed to have been his Grandson, or from Gomer his Son, l. 1, p. 4.

Eustatius (Earl of Boloigne, Edward the Confessor's Brother-in-Law), with his Retinue entering Dover, and resolving to quarter where they pleased, was resisted by the Townsmen, upon which ensued a great deal of Bloodshed on both sides, l. 6, p. 76.

Eutharius, Archbishop of Arles; Augustine and the Monks recommended to his Care and Protection, l. 4, p. 153.

Ordains Augustine, Archbishop of the English Nation, Id. p. 154.

Excommunication bad in King Withred's time no other Temporal punishment than a pecuniary Mulct, l. 4, p. 211.

Exeter, anciently Exancester, Besieged, and where King Alfred pinjed the Danes, l. 5, p. 300, 306.

The removal of the See from Crediton to this City, l. 5, p. 333.

Is made a Bishops See instead of Credington in Cornwall, at the request of Pope Leo, l. 6, p. 78.

Exmouth, anciently called Exanmuthan, l. 6, p. 28.

F

FAith, the first People that were ever Executed by any Christian Prince for meer matters of Faith, l. 2, p. 96.

False News, the spreaders of it against the Government to be punished with loss of Tongue, or to Redem themselves by the value of their Head, and to be of no credit afterwards, l. 5, p. 294.

Famine, a dreadful one about the Year CCCC XLVI in Britain, l. 3, p. 115.

Another among the South-Saxons, wherein multitudes of the poorer People perished daily, it being said not to have rained in that Country for Three years before, l. 4, p. 198.

A cruel one followed strange Prodigies in the Country of Northumberland, Id. p. 238.

A little after the Death of King Edgar a very great Famine happened, l. 6, p. 15, 16.

In Ethelred the Unready's time, so great a Famine raged, as England never underwent a worse, Id. p. 31.

And in the Reign of Edward the Confessor there was another so great here, that a Sester of Wheat was sold for Sixty Pence and more, Id. p. 72.

Farrington in Berkshire, anciently called Fearn-dune, where King Edward the Elder died, l. 5, p. 324.

Fealty, or Fidelity, the Oath required by Law to be taken by all Persons to King Edmund, l. 5, p. 346.

King of the Scots Swears Fidelity to King Edmund, and all the Northumbrian Lords do the same, Id. p. 349.

Two joint Princes of North-Wales, upon his Grant of it to them, Swear Fealty to Edward the Confessor, and likewise to Earl Harold, l. 6, p. 90.

Fee, or Feuds, the first footsteps of Military Feuds, afterwards so much in use amongst the Goths, Normans, and other Nations, l. 2, p. 80.

Fee-tayl-Estate, much more Ancient than the Thirtieth of Edward the First, appears by the Thirty seventh Law of King Alfred concerning Bockland, l. 5, p. 295, 296.

Feoligild the Abbot, his being said to be chosen Archbishop of Canterbury, (but certainly a mistake). His Death, l. 5, p. 255.

Fergus, the Son of Erk, bringing great Supplies of the Scots from Ireland and Norway, they came to recover their Country: With a Relation of Fergus his Action, l. 2, p. 98.

King of the Scots is slain in Battel, and by whom, Id. p. 102.

Fernham, the place where King Alfred fought with the Danes, and put them to flight, l. 5, p. 300.

Festidus, a Learned British Bishop, if not an Archbishop, l. 2, p. 107.

Fidelity, *vid.* Fealty.

Fighting, the Punishment of such as do so, either in the King's House, Church, or Earl-dorman's, Nobleman's, or Villager's House, or in the open Field, l. 4, p. 208.

The Punishment of those in Holy Orders if they chance to fight, l. 5, p. 284.

The Law against Fighters in the King's Palace, and the punishment of an Offender that flies, Id. p. 293, 295.

No Fyhtwite, or Manbote, (that is, Fine for Fighting or Killing) to be Remitted, Id. p. 347.

Finan, a Bishop, calling to him Two other Bishops, Ordains Ceda Bishop over the East-Saxons, l. 4, p. 184.

Fines, *vid.* Pecuniary Fines and Mulcts.

Finkley, in the Bishoprick of Durham, and Kingdom of the Northumbers, anciently called Pynchanhale, or Finekanhale, where a General Synod Assembled, l. 4, p. 236.

Fite, great mischief done thereby at London, Winchester, and other places, l. 4, p. 229.

m

Fid.

Vid. London and Winchester.
 First-Fruits, *vid.* Tythes.
 Five Burghs, not known where, but somewhere in Northumberland, l. 6. p. 37, 40.
 Flanders, what we now call so, was anciently accounted part of France, or Frankland, l. 5. p. 283.
 Flattery, notorious in Two of King Leir's Daughters to their Father, l. 1. p. 11.
 Of the Bishops, Ealdormen, and Chief Men throughout the Kingdom, about making Crute (upon the Death of Edmund Ironside) King of all England, to the Exclusion of his Children and Brethren, l. 6. p. 49.
 Fleet, set out against the Danes, but continually delayed from doing any good, l. 6. p. 27, 33.
 Out of so many Hydes of Land to build a Ship, in order to set out a great Fleet against the Danes, *Id.* p. 33.
 Absolutely necessary for an Island to maintain a Powerful Fleet, *Id.* p. 35.
 Fœlix, a Bishop, Preached the Faith of Christ to the East-Angles; he was a Burgundian, and the first Bishop in Dunwich in Suffolk, l. 4. p. 179.
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Gratianus, surnamed Funarius (from his great strength in pulling a Rope from Four Men) made General of all the Forces throughout Britain, l. 2. p. 89.

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Griffyn, Prince of Wales, entering England, spoils great part of Herefordshire, and carries away much Booty, l. 6. p. 84, 86, 87.

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St. Grimbald sent for from France by King Alfred to assist him in his Learning, l. 5. p. 306.

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Grymkytel, made (upon the Death of Ethelric) Bishop of the South-Saxons, that is, of Selfey, l. 6. p. 65.

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Guild, that is, Tribute, l. 4. p. 187.

Guendelew, Son of Keidiaw, a Prince of the North parts of Britain, l. 3. p. 146.

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Guiderac in the British Tongue, is Mould in Flintshire in the English; the place is called Maes German, that is German's-Field, where the Britains got a great Victory over the Picts and Saxons, by the means of Germanus a French Bishop, l. 2. p. 108, 109.

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Hardecnute's Sister sent over to the Emperor Henry, to whom she had been before Betrothed, and was kindly received by him for some time, till she was accused of Adultery, and how her Honour was vindicated at last by her little Page, Id. p. 66, 67.

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The Noble Matron was Banished England with her Two Sons, Id. p. 73.

Gunhildis, a Beautiful Young Lady (Sweyn's Sister) Beheaded, and bore her death with great bravery, having seen her Husband and her Son slain before her face, l. 6. p. 37.

Gurgi, a British Prince, Son of Gliver Gofgard Vawr, a Prince of Cumberland, l. 3. p. 147.

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Guthfrith, or Godfred, Son to Syhtric, a Danish King of Northumberland, succeeds his Father there, but was soon expelled by Athelstan, who added those Dominions to his own, l. 5. p. 330.

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Guthlac, first a Monk, then a professed Anchorite, builds a Cell at Croyland; the incredible Miracles told of him, l. 4. p. 216.

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The Danes break open his Tomb, and those of the Princes there buried, and finding no plunder, set the Church on fire, and burn their dead bodies, l. 5. p. 271.

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His Christian Name, Ethelstan; called King of the Normans; his Decease, l. 5. p. 298.

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Guy, Earl of Warwick, returning from the Holy Land in a Pilgrim's Habit, Fights one Colebrand, a monstrous Danish Giant near Winchester, and kills him, and retiring to a Hermitage near Warwick, there ends his days, l. 5. p. 337, 338.

Gwgan, King or Prince of Cardigan, his death; some say he was drowned by misfortune, l. 5. p. 277.

Gwido, Earl of Ponthieu, detains Earl Harold Prisoner, but soon sets him at Liberty by the Command of William Duke of Normandy, l. 6. p. 92.

Gwyn, or Gwyr, a Countrey in North-Wales, subdued by Eneon, Son of Owen, Prince of South-Wales, l. 6. p. 6.

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Gwyneth, that is North-Wales, l. 3. p. 147.

Gyrth, King Harold's Youngest Brother, his excellent Advice to him not to fight in Person against

against Duke William, rejected, which cost Harold his Life, l. 6. p. 111.

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Hacun, a Danish Earl, Banished England (under pretence of an Ambassy) by King Cnute, who was afraid of him, and why, l. 6. p. 53.

Hadrian (Ælius) a Spaniard, succeeds his Uncle Trajan in the Empire; his Politicks, l. 2. p. 67.

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Hæfe, supposed to be Hatfield in Northumberland, l. 4. p. 215.

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Divides that Kingdom amongst his people, from whence they date their Reign there, Id. p. 278.

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Hamton (that is now Southampton) where Wulfheard the Ealdorman fights with a Fleet of Three and thirty Danish galleys, and obtains a signal Victory over them, l. 5. p. 258.

Hardecnute, Son to King Cnute by Queen Emma, is appointed by his Father to be King of Denmark, l. 6. p. 56.

But is Deceit in the Great Council at Oxenford, upon the fierce disputes of the contending Parties, That this Kingdom should be divided between Harold and him, and Hardecnute to enjoy all the Southern provinces; but he never did all the time of his Brother Harold, Id. p. 62.

He being at Harold's Death in Bruges with his Mother, is invited by the Chief Men of England to come over and receive the Crown, which he accordingly did with all possible convenience, and so is Elected King. The several Taxes he raises. His Consecration. His revenging the Injury Harold did to his Mother, and sending his Sister Gunhilda to the Emperor Henry, to whom she had been before Betrothed, and the Feast he kept for her Nuptials, Id. p. 66.

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Plunders and Burns the City, and wastes the County of Worcester, and upon what account; Deceases at Lambeth, and is Buried in the New Monastery of Winchester.

His Character. A Holyday kept to his remembrance, Id. p. 68.

Harold King of Norway, his Present to King Athelstan of a Ship, whose Stern was Gilded, and its Sails Purple, l. 5. p. 339.

Harold, Son to King Cnute by Ælgiwa, he appoints to be King of England after him, l. 6. p. 56.

Is Chosen King by the Great Council held at Oxenford, though opposed by the Great Men of the West-Saxons, upon the pretence of a Supposititious Birth, and the Disputes rise so high about the Election, that many fearing it would issue in a Civil War, left their Habitations upon it, Id. p. 61, 62.

Sends a Guard to Winchester, and Tyrannically seizes on his Father's Treasures there, which he had bequeathed to the Queen his Mother-in-law, Id. p. 62.

Dies at Oxenford, and is Buried at Westminster; how long he Governed England, Id. p. 65.

The Tax he raised for setting out Sixteen Sail of Ships whereof every Port was to bear their proportion, incenses the minds of the English against him. His Character, and the reason of his being called Harefoot, l. 6. p. 65.

His Body is dug up by Hardecnute's Order, his Head cut off, and flung into the Thames, but afterwards taken up by Fishermen, and Buried in St. Clement's Church-yard, Id. p. 66.

Harold, surnamed Hairfax, King of Norway, and Brother to King Olaf, putting Sweyn King of Denmark to flight, subdues that Kingdom, but dying soon after, Sweyn recovers it again, l. 6. p. 74.

Harold, Son of Earl Godwin, the Quarrel that arose between Edward the Confessor and his Father, his Brother Sweyn and him, and how he is forced to fly into Ireland for Protection, l. 6. p. 75, 77, 78.

Returns from Ireland, and kills and plunders all that comes in his way, but is in a Great Council restored to his former Honour and Estate, Id. p. 80, 81, 82.

Is Founder of the Abbey of the Holy Cross at Waltham in Essex; goes (with Earl Tostige his Brother) with a great Army both by Land and Sea into Wales, and subdues that Countrey, Id. p. 89.

Seems to be the Adopted and Declared Heir of the Crown, Id. p. 90.

Endeavours to appease the Northmen about his Brother Tostige, but in vain; his Character of being a Valiant and Worthy Prince, Id. p. 90, 91.

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would deliver up Dover-Castle to him, and procure him the Succession; but yet he succeeded the Confessor, who declared him his Successor in the Kingdom, Id. p. 92.
The various Reports how he was advanced to it, whether by Election, or otherwise, Id. p. 105.
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The precipitate Answer he gave to the Monk whom Duke William sent to him with Proposals; telling him, He would leave it to God to determine between them, Id. p. 111.
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Maximinus (Julius) succeeds Alexander Severus, but being condemned by the Senate, is slain by the Soldiers, l. 2. p. 80.

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Meanwari, supposed to be People of that part of Hampshire, lying over against the Isle of Wight, l. 4. p. 188.

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Pope Agatho's Bull of Privileges to it, supposed to be Forged long after, and by whom, l. 4. p. 200.

Is burnt and destroyed by the Danes (who killed all the Abbots and Monks they found there) with a Noble Library, and all its Charters, and they carried away all the rich spoil of that place, l. 5. p. 270, 271, 272.

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A new Charter of Confirmation, with many other Endowments granted by King Edgar; the Lands granted by him to this Monastery to be a distinct Shire, having Sac, Soc, &c. Is more enriched in Lands by Abbot Adulf, who is succeeded by Kenulf, that changed its name into Burgh. It has been the Episcopal See of the Bishops of Peterburgh almost ever since the Dissolution of this Abbey in H. VIII's time, Id. p. 5.

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His departure into France, and for what reason, Id. p. 169.

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The Mercians, or Southumbers, Kill Ostrythe, the Wife of Ethelred their late King, Id. p. 210, 212.

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Anciently was called Mercwarum, l. 5. p. 259.

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Mercy, King Cnute's Law to have it used, and that none should die for small Offences, l. 6. p. 58, 59.

Meredyth, Conquers the whole Countrey of North-Wales for himself, l. 6. p. 22.

Others laying waste his Countrey of South-Wales, Id. p. 23.

Cast off by the Inhabitants of the Isle of Anglesey, for not well Protecting them; but afterwards resolving (if he could) to recover so considerable a part of his Dominions, he Fights with Edwal ap Meyric (who had Usurped upon him) but is worsted by him in a set Battel, Id. p. 24.

Meredyth and Howel, the Sons of Edwin or Owen, how they got the Government of South-Wales, but were afterwards slain by the Sons of Conan ap Sitsylt, Brother to Prince Lewelin, l. 6. p. 56.

Merehwit, Bishop of Somersethire (that is, Wells) Deceases, and is Buried at Glastenbury, l. 6. p. 56.

Merefige (now Mercey) in Essex, an Island near the Sea, l. 5. p. 301.

Merton in Surrey, anciently called Merinton, l. 4. p. 232.

Merwina, an Abbess of the Nunnery of Rumsey in Hampshire, l. 6. p. 6.

Midletune in Kent, where the Danes built a Fort to infect the English, l. 5. p. 298, 300.

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Offa, the Son of Sigher, King of the East-Saxons, marries Kenelwith, but not long after, through her persuasions, takes upon him a Monastick Life, and goes to Rome for that end, l. 4. p. 214. *Vid.* 217.

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Offa, expels the Usurper Beornred, King of the Mercians, (His Pedigree.) and succeeds him by the General Consent of the Nobles, and afterwards becomes a Terror to all the Kings of England, l. 4. p. 227.

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Subdues the Nation of the Heftings, but who they were, is not known, l. 4. p. 230.

And Cynwulf King of the West-Saxons, fight at Benlinton in Oxfordshire, where Offa prevails, l. 4. p. 236.

Is forced to make a Peace with the Saxon Kings, l. 4. p. 231.

Seizes on the whole Countrey of North and South-Wales, planting Saxons in their places, and annexes them to his own Kingdom, making a famous Ditch from Sea to Sea, to defend his Countrey from the Incursions of the Welsh, called Offa's Ditch, l. 4. p. 239.

His Eldest Son Egfred (or Egbert, as in the

Saxon Annals) is anointed and crowned King with him, l. 4. p. 233, 235.

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His Death, after he had reigned forty years, and Burial in a Chappel at Bedford, near the River Ouse. He had a great mixture in him of Virtues and Vices, and seems to have been the first of our English-Saxon Kings, who maintained any great Correspondence with Foreign Princes, l. 4. p. 238.

His Enmity with Charles the Great, and afterwards his firm League with him, l. 4. p. 239.

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Olaff, is driven out of Norway, Cnut conquering that Countrey for himself, l. 6. p. 53.

Returning to regain his Right, he was slain by the people, but afterwards was canonized under the Title of a Martyr, l. 6. p. 54.

Olanage, an Island in the River Severne, now called the Eighth, l. 6. p. 47.

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Orkades, the Islands in the Northern Ocean, near Scotland, l. 2. p. 94.

Governed long by English and Danish Kings, l. 5. p. 259.

Ordeal, not to be used to a person accused of a Crime, unless there be no direct proof against him, l. 5. p. 285.

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Order; that of St. Basil, l. 4. p. 167.

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Ordgar, the Abbot, rebuilds the Abbey of Abingdon, which had been destroyed by the Danes, l. 4. p. 196.

Ordgar, Earl of Devonshire, and afterwards Father-in-Law to King Edgar, founded the Abbey of Tavistock, which was not long after burnt by the Danes, l. 6. p. 4.

Ordination of a Bishop, whether without the presence of other Bishops, or not, l. 4. p. 156.

Ceadda renews his Ordination, and upon what account, l. 4. p. 191.

Bishop Wilfrid is sent into France to be re-ordained, l. 4. p. 192.

Ordovices, those people now of North-Wales, l. 2. p. 42.

Almost destroyed a whole Squadron of Roman Horse, l. 4. p. 55.

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Orgiva.

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Orkeney, the Isles, when first discovered by the Romans, l. 2. p. 63.

Orotius (Paulus) took what he wrote from an History of Suctonius, which is now lost, l. 2. p. 35.

Osbald, a Nobleman, is made King of Northumberland, but held it not long, being forced to fly; and going to the King of the Picts, dies there an Abbot, l. 4. p. 239, 240.

According to Simeon of Durham, he was buried in York Minster, l. 4. p. 242.

Osberge, the Daughter of Aslaf, or Olac, chief Butler to King Æthelwulf, to whom she was married, and became the Mother of Alfred, who was afterwards King, l. 5. p. 261.

Her Character, l. 5. p. 261.

Osbert, or Osbryht, succeeds Ethelred in the Kingdom of Northumberland, and afterwards is killed by the Danes, l. 5. p. 260.

Their lawful King, is expelled by the Northumbrians, who set up an Usurper, not descended from the Royal Line, l. 5. p. 267.

Lies with the Wife of one of his Noblemen; who, complaining of the Affront to the King of Denmark, causes a great Army to come over to revenge that Injury, l. 5. p. 268, 269.

Osfrid, a Son of King Edwin by Quenburga, the Daughter of Ceorle, King of Mercia, l. 4. p. 174.

Is slain, with his Father, in the Battel of Hethfield, l. 4. p. 176.

Oskeytel, first consecrated Bishop of Dorchester, then made Archbishop of York; his Death and Burial, l. 6. p. 7.

Osfrid, succeeds his Father Alfred in the Kingdom of the Northumbrians, l. 4. p. 213.

Is reconciled to Wilfrid, with his Great Men and Bishops, l. 4. p. 214.

Becomes Bishop Wilfrid's adopted Son, l. 4. p. 214.

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Osfrid, the Son of Alchred, Nephew of King Alfwold, reigned after him, and is betrayed and driven out of his Kingdom, and who succeeded, l. 4. p. 236.

Is put to death by King Ethelred's Command, and where buried, l. 4. p. 237.

Ofic, the Son of Elfric, obtains the Kingdom of Deira, abjures the Christian Religion, and is cut off by Cadwallo, with all his Army, l. 4. p. 176.

Ofic builds a Nunnery at Bath, l. 4. p. 196.

And the Nunnery of St. Peter in Gloucester, which afterwards was destroyed by the Danes, and then rebuilt; and after was King of the Northumbrians, l. 4. p. 201.

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Ostorius Scapula, succeeds Plautius in the quality of Procurator, and reduces the most Southerly parts of Britain to the form of a Province, l. 2. p. 41.

Overcomes the Iceni; engages with the Silures and Caractacus, and his Success over them, l. 4. p. 43.

Is decreed by the Senate all the Emblems of a Triumph; and being worn out with cares and troubles, dies, l. 4. p. 44, 45.

Oswald and Oswic, with Eanfrid their Elder Brother, all Sons of King Ethelfrid, are banished by Edwin, l. 4. p. 170, 171.

Oswald, Edwin's Successor in the Kingdom of Northumberland, finishes St. Peter's Church in York, l. 4. p. 174, 176. l. 5. p. 254.

Routes Cadwallo, with all his Forces. His Speech to his Army, l. 4. p. 177.

His Kingdom extended over both Deira and Bernicia. He would interpret Bishop Aidan's Sermons to his Subjects that heard, but did not understand them. In his Reign Churches were built in divers places of his Kingdom. His Great Character, l. 4. p. 178.

His Charity. He was Edwin's Nephew by his Sister Acca, l. 4. p. 179.

Fights a great Battel with Penda, and was therein slain, l. 4. p. 180.

The many Miracles supposed that he wrought after his death, l. 4. p. 180.

He was the sixth King that ruled over all Britain, l. 5. p. 254.

His Body (under the Title of Saint) long after translated from Bardene in Lincolnshire, into Mercia, l. 5. p. 315.

Oswald Ætheling, fighting with Ethelhard, is worsted, and the next year dies, l. 4. p. 220.

Oswald, Son to King Ethelred, is mentioned by his Father in his Charter to the Abbey of Abingdon, l. 5. p. 276.

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*Month at Adefrin in doing, &c. any thing
else but Catechizing and Baptizing,* l. 4.
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South-Wales, the Seat of War a long while for the Supremacy between Jevaf and Jago, the Sons of Edwal Voel, and the Sons of Howel Dha, and the Danes, l. 5. p. 349, 350. l. 6. p. 6, 7, 16, 20, 21, 22, 23, 26, 27, 53, 64.

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Is molested by Conan the Son of Jago, who had fled into Ireland for the safety of his life, Id. p. 70.

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Sparhafock, a Monk of St. Edmundsbury, made Abbot of Abandune; and afterwards Bishop of London, upon the Translation of Robbyrd to the See of Canterbury, l. 6. p. 74, 75.

But the Archbishop refused to consecrate him (tho he came to him with the King's Letters and Seal), because the Pope had forbid him. However, he held his Bishoprick, Id. p. 76.

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Spor Wulfric, a Countier, builds the Monastery of Burton in Staffordshire, with his own Paternal Inheritance, and gets King Ethelred to confirm it, l. 6. p. 31.

Stamford, a Castle, commanded by King Edward the Elder to be built on the South-side of the River Weland, l. 5. p. 323.

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Stephanus, the Pope, succeeds Leo, and the next year dies, l. 5. p. 251.

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And upon the death of Alfwyn, is promoted to the See of Winchester, Id. p. 73.

At last is made Archbishop of Canterbury, Id. p. 81.

That the Pope sent him by Pope Benedict.

William of Malmesbury his Character of him. He consecrated the See of a Monk of Christ-Church, Bishop of Chichester, and Syward the Abbot, Bishop of Rochester, Id. p. 83.

Stilico, Governor to the Emperor Honorius, during his Minority; his Character, l. 2. p. 97.

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Is called Mons Ambrosij, said to be the Monument of Ambrosius, and thought by the latter Antiquaries to be founded by him, *Ibid.*

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The Law against buying and receiving Strangers Cattle, Id. p. 346.

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Streamshale Monastery, founded by Hilda, l. 4. p. 188.

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Strikers in open Court, before the King's Ealdormen, their Punishment, l. 5. p. 295.

Stufe and Withgar (Nephews to King Cerdic) fight against the Britains, and put them to flight, l. 3. p. 135.

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Supposititious Birth, said to be put upon King Cnute (viz. the Son of a Shoemaker then newly

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Every Lord to be Surety for the appearance of every person in his Family, Id. p. 42.

Whoever refuses to give it, to be put to death, Id. p. 42, 43.

For the Danes that stay in England, to enjoy in all things perfect Peace, Id. p. 101.

Sutbury in Suffolk, anciently called Southburg, where Bishop Alfwyn deceased, l. 4. p. 242.

Swale, a River; but where, is not mentioned, l. 4. p. 174.

Swanawic, now Swanwick in Hampshire, near the place where the Danes lost 120 of their Ships in a violent Storm, as they were going towards Exmouth, l. 5. p. 278.

Swebryht, King of the East-Saxons, his Death, l. 4. p. 223.

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Swedes and Danes, called Normans by the French Historians; an Account of their Religion, and the Deities they worshipped, l. 5. p. 256.

Sweyn, the Son of Harold the Dane, slays Edwal ap Meyric in Battel, and destroys the Isle of Man: He and Anlaff besieges London, endeavouring to burn it, but are forced to march off; the Ravage and Murders they committed in Essex, Kent, and Suffex, &c. l. 6. p. 25.

Ousted his Father both of his Kingdom and Life; was afterwards expelled himself, and wander'd up and down without relief, but plagues England after this all he could, for refusing to receive him, Id. p. 26.

Sweyn, King of Denmark, receiving news of the Massacre of his Countreymen in England, by the Advice of his Great Council comes with Three hundred Sail of great Ships, and revenges this barbarous piece of Treachery, l. 6. p. 30, 31.

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At Hertford, which appointed when Easter should be kept, Id. p. 193.

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By the Advice of his Council he sent for the Hatten Saxons to repel the Scots and Picts, Id. p. 117.

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soner, and for his Ransom gives up East-Sex, Middlesex, and Suffex, Id. p. 129.

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Book 4. P. 158 l. 13. for sixty r. six hundred and one. p. 159 l. 48. after Sebert d. also baptized Ethelbert. p. 161 l. 13. d. as they relate. id. l. 38. for but r. then. p. 163. l. 28. for Seal r. Hand. p. 167. l. 26. for denied r. much questioned. p. 169. l. 3. for them r. him. p. 180. l. 37. for one r. this. p. 191. l. 7. for Monastery r. Mortality. p. 193. on'd. p. 199. l. 3. for them r. him. p. 180. l. 37. for one r. this. p. 191. l. 7. for Monastery r. Mortality. p. 193. l. 27. for January r. March. p. 199. l. 15. for Seat r. See at. p. 204. l. penult. r. Cadwallo. p. 205. l. 41. for he again r. Benedict. p. 211. l. 50. r. 696. p. 219. l. 17. d. by. p. 220. in marg. after cap. r. 35. f. 148. p. 223. l. 23. for 31. r. 21. id. l. 36. for Leicester r. Chelster. p. 229. l. 6. for Death r. Resignation. p. 231. l. 37. for flight r. fight. p. 240. l. 36. after Northumbers r. had the year before. id. l. 39. r. Cobre. p. 241. l. 4. for Bishop r. D'. p. 242. l. 29. for Rog. Hoveden r. Simeon of Durham. ib. r. Osbal.

Book 5. P. 250 l. 22. for 40 r. 4. p. 255 l. 49. for thousand r. hundred. p. 258 l. 8. for was not Son but Brother to, r. was Son, not Brother to. p. 265. l. 43. for Ethelred r. Ethelbert, in Capital Letters. p. 266. l. 45. d. all. p. 272. l. 21. for Britains r. Danes. p. 277. l. 19. for Bertulph r. Buthud. p. 278. l. 21. for him r. them. p. 279. l. 26. after his r. third. p. 281. l. 47. for Hubblestones r. Hubblestow. p. 286. l. 21. d. and says for. p. 289. l. 29. d. though. p. 298. l. 7. for Menia r. Mercia. p. 300. l. 4. for then r. though. id. l. 5. for filled r. went. ib. d. of their Camp. p. 305. l. 46. d. not only. p. 306. l. 2. after After d. the Parenth. r. himself. id. l. 44. r. Brocmail. p. 312. l. 27. for some r. new. p. 324. l. 25. for that r. Darby. id. l. 26. for Derby r. that Thire. p. 343. l. 11. for them r. him. p. 344. l. 7. d. for this, r. the next.

Book 6. This Book being printed at another Press, the Title was forgot to be alter'd like the rest; therefore in Page 1. in the Title, d. Britain now called r. England; and so also in the Titles of all the rest of the Pages. p. 3. l. 15. for who r. for he. p. 4. l. 7. d. for that Tribute, r. in lieu thereof. p. 24. l. 50. after Normandy r. and King Ethelred. p. 26. l. 22. for whither r. either. p. 29. l. 29. for to manage r. who managed. p. 39. l. 36. for then r. there. p. 56. l. 16. d. after. p. 72. l. 15. for consecrated r. design'd. p. 89. l. 10. for chief Standard-bearer r. Marechal. p. 96. l. penult. for some years r. the year. p. 97. l. 9. for suspicious r. certain. p. 110. l. 30. for Kings r. Dukes. p. 113. l. 26. d. them. ib. for not to shoot r. not to be shot. p. 116. l. 20. for Ages r. Years.

Appendix to the former Addenda.

Some things of moment having been casually omitted, or mistaken, I thought good to insert them here.

The Years of our Lord left out in the Margin by the Oversight of the Printers, and not perceived till the Work was finish'd. P. 132. l. 33. in margin add Anno Dom. CCCCLXXXVIII. p. 174. l. 15. in marg. add Anno Dom. DCXXVIII. p. 132. l. 33. in margin add Anno Dom. CCCCLXXXVIII. (being slain by the Army, as was also his Predecessor.) P. 80. l. 16. after Macrinus, add within a Parenthesis (being slain by the Army, as was also his Predecessor.) p. 110. l. 28. after Notes, r. of the Learned Dr. Gale. p. 138. l. 42. after absence, add but was here also slain: And yet another Ancient Welsh Chronicle makes King Arthur to have died at Glasfenbury of the Wounds he received in that Battel. p. 179. l. 39. after Episcopall See, add, whom Pope Honorius sent into England, to preach the Gospel to that Battel. p. 181. l. 4. after Victory, add, But he was some years after esteemed a Saint and Martyr for the Christian Religion. Osuin his Brother succeeded him, and according to the Saxon Annals reigned 30 years. p. 185. l. 45. after Winved, add, Anna was avenged. p. 193. l. 26. after Easter add [day], and after fourteenth add [day of the]: These words not being Bede's, are to be added to explain his meaning. p. 195. l. 22. The Account of St. Erkenwald being repeated in the next Page, may be here struck out. And p. 196. l. 16. after according to, d. Bede, and read it thus, According to Mr. Westminster (for Bede does not give us the time) Archbishop Theodore, &c. consecrated Eborac (younger Son to Anna King of the East-Angles) Bishop, &c. p. 225. l. 45. over-against these words, the City of Eborac, add in the margin, now called Barnburgh. Cattle in Northumberland. p. 232. l. 12. over-against Socca-byrig, add in the margin, now called Seaburne, in the Bishoprick of Durham. p. 241. l. 9. after buried r. thus, and another Eborac was consecrated in his stead. Also the same year Bishop Ceolwulf died. And then d the same words in next line. p. 262. l. 28. after Dignity, add, Though I conceive the truth of the story was, That this anointing amounted to no more than the Chrism administered by the Pope at this young Prince's Confirmation; which by the Monk's Writers of those times magnified into a Royal Unction. p. 311. l. 2. after Eadred, add, Vice-King or the Monk's Writers of those times magnified into a Royal Unction. p. 311. l. 2. after Eadred, add, Vice-King or Alderman of, &c. p. 315. l. 24. after St. Oswald, add within a Parenthesis, (once King of Northumberland.) p. 317. l. 44. after Northumberland, add, Yet that the Britains of Cumberland were, notwithstanding this Relation, many years after still remaining in that Country; as you may find in the next Book, under Anno Dom 945.

Book VI. p. 12. l. 9. after Charter, add, commonly called Oswald's Law, from St. Oswald the Bishop, who is supposed to have procured it. ib. in the margin, over-against the word Charter, add, Vid. Sir H. Spelman's Councils, Vol. 1. Anno Dom. 964. It is also found to be enrolled (by Insuperimus) in the Tower. Vid. Chart 9. Edw. 3. n. 49. Chart. 4. Edw. 4. n. 4. p. 13. l. 31. after to pass, add, This King is also mentioned by William of Malmesbury to have made a Law for restraining excessive drinking, by which it was ordained, That no man, under a great Penalty, should drink at one draught below certain Pins which were order'd to be fix'd on purpose on the inside of the Cups or Goblets. p. 25. l. 48. after Countrey, add, Norway, of which (as John of Wallingford informs us) he was then King. p. 45. l. 40. after Almer d. joined, r. both which had then privately combined with, and assisted the Danes underhand.

Least the Names of the *English-Saxon* Kings which have been in the former Book set down began to reign, should render their Succession perplexed, and hard to be remembered; I ha and *Mat. Westminster*, placed the several Kingdoms of the *Saxon* Heptarchy, together v the End of this Period, (*viz.*) *Anno Dom.* 597.

Note, *The Years in this Table do not always follow the Printed Text of the Saxon Annals, since the Copies often differ, sometimes I thought to be the best Account.* The Succession of British Kings is according to the Account I received from

<i>Anno Dom.</i>	<i>Kings of Kent.</i>	<i>Anno Dom.</i>	<i>Kings of the South-Saxons.</i>	<i>Anno Dom.</i>	<i>Kings of the West-Saxons.</i>	<i>Anno Dom.</i>	<i>Kings of the East-Saxons.</i>	<i>Kings of Northumberland in the Province called</i>			
								<i>Anno Dom.</i>	<i>Bernicia.</i>	<i>Anno Dom.</i>	<i>Deira.</i>
457	* Hengist reigned 31 years. * He was not chosen King till above seven years after his arrival, which was An. 449.										
488	Æsk, or Oric, his Son, 24 years.	491	Ælla reigned 24 years.								
512	Otha, or Oisc, his Son, 20 years.	515	Cissa reigned, uncertain how many years.	519	Cerdic reigned 15 years.	527	Erkenwin, or Efcwin.	547	Ida, Son of Eoppa, reigned over both Kingdoms 12 years.		
532	Ermenric, his Son, 29 years.			534	Cynric, his Son, reigned 26 years.	535	Sigebert.	559	Adda, or Odda, his Son, reigned 5 years.	559	Ælla, the Yffi, near 30
			After whom reigned divers Kings, whose Names are not to be found in our Annals or Historians.	560	Ceawlin, his Son, 31 years.		Swithelm.	564	Clappa 7 years.		
561	Ethelbert, his Son.							571	Theodwulf 1 year.		
								572	Freothwulf 7 years.		
								579	Theodoric 7 years.		
							587	Sledda, 9 years.	588	Æthelric 2 years.	
									These two last were Sons of Ida, and rul'd here, whilst Ælla reigned in Deira.	589	Edwin, who being expell'd thelfrid Bernicia ed over Kingdom years, t win was restored.
				591	Ceolric, his Kinsman, 5 years.				This Æthelric last mention'd, began also to reign over both these Kingdoms, after the death of Ælla, and reigned in all 5 years.		
				597	Ceolwulf 14 years.	596	Seabert.	593	Æthelfred his Son reigned 24 over both Kingdoms.		

which have been in the former Book set down promiscuously according to the Years in which they
 on perplexed, and hard to be remembered; I have from the *Saxon Annals*, *Florence of Worcester*;
 Kingdoms of the *Saxon Heptarchy*, together with their Kings, in a *Chronological Order*, as far as
 om. 597.

anted Text of the *Saxon Annals*, since the Copies often differ, sometimes one year, and sometimes more; and then I have always followed that which
 sion of British Kings is according to the Account I received from the Most Reverend Father in God, Humphrey Lord Bishop of Bangor.

Anno Dom.	Kings of the East-Saxons.	Kings of Northumberland in the Provinces called				Anno Dom.	Kings of the East-Angles.	Anno Dom.	Kings of Mer- cia.	Anno Dom.	Kings of the Britains.
		Anno Dom.	Bernicia.	Anno Dom.	Deira.						
										445	Vortiger.
										454	Vortimer his Son; his Father being Deposed.
										458	Vortiger again re- stored after the Death of his Son.
										465	Aurelius Ambro- sius made Ge- neral of the Britains, Vor- tiger still li- ving.
527	Erkenwin, or Efcwin.	547	Ida, Son of Eop- pa, reigned over both Kingdoms 12 years.	559	Ælla, the Son of Yffi, reigned near 30 years.					481	Aurelius chosen King, after the Death of Vor- tiger.
	Sigebert.	559	Adda, or Odda, his Son, reigned 5 years.							508	Nazaleod, (or Nathanleod) Chief King of the Britains; who whether he was not the same with Au- relius Ambro- sius, is doubtful.
535	Swithelm.	564	Clappa 7 years.				Uffa reigned un- certain how long.				
		571	Theodwulf 1 year.								
		572	Freothwulf 7 years.			578	Titylus, or Tyti- la, his Son, reigned uncer- tain too how long.				
		579	Theodoric 7 years.					585	Crida, or Creoda, how long he reigned is un- certain.		Here follows an Inter-regnum of about six years.
587	Sledda, 9 years.	588	Æthelric 2 years.							515	K. Arthur reigned twenty seven years.
		These two last were Sons of Ida, and rul'd here, whilst Ælla reigned in Deira. This Æthelric last mention'd, began also to reign o- ver both these Kingdoms, after the death of Æl- la, and reigned in all 5 years.		589	Edwin, his Son, who being soon expell'd by Æ- thelfrid King of Bernicia, reigned over both Kingdoms 14 years, till Ed- win was again restored.					542	After whose Death followed Nine years Interreg- num.
									Wippa, or Pyb- ba, his Son, the like.	551	Mailgwin Gwin- ned was elect- ed King of all the Britains.
596	Seabert.	593	Æthelfred his Son reigned 24 over both Kingdoms.			593	Redwald, his Son.		Ceorl the like.	586	Mailgwin died; after whom was a 17 years In- terregnum.

A Continuation of the Succession of the *English-Saxon* Kings contained in the *for* and *Simeon of Durham*. Note, That the last King of each Column in the *for* the better see how the Series is continued.

This Account differs sometimes from the Annals some few Years, wherein they are certainly mistaken. The Chronology of the Manuscript Welsh Chronicle at the end of Dom.

Anno Dom.	Kings of Kent.	Anno Dom.	Kings of the South-Saxons.	Anno Dom.	Kings of the West-Saxons.	Anno Dom.	Kings of the East-Saxons.	Anno Dom.	Kings of North
560	Ethelbert reigned 56 years.			597	Ceolwulf reigned 14 years.	566	Sebert 47 years.		Ethelfrid reigned 24 years.
616	Eadbald, or Ethelbald, his Son, 24 years.			611	Cynegils, and	617	Sexred, Seward, and Sigebert, being brothers, 6 years.	617	Edwin, Son of Ælla, reigned 17 years; but he came again divided; 3
640	Ercombert, his Son, 24 years.		In the Succession of this Kingdom we find a great Chasm, until	613	Cwichelm, his Son, who lived not long; but Cynegils reigned 31 years.	623	Sigebert the little, his Cousin, 25 years.		Deira,
664	Egbricht, his Son, 9 years.							634	Osric, Son to Alfrid, reigned one year.
673	Lothair, his Brother, 12 years.	680	Ethelwalch, or Athelwald, who being slain in Battle by Ceadwalla, he for some time added that Kingdom to his own, till he was driven out by Bertune and Autune, two Commanders of the late King Ethelwalch's. These divided the Kingdom between them; after whom followed divers Kings, who being obscure, we know not their Names, until one	643	Kenewalch, his Son.	648	Sigebert the Good.		Then these being both slain.
685	Eadric, a Stranger to the Royal Line.			672	Sexburge, his Queen.	661	Swithelme, his Brother, 2 years.	634	Oswald, Brother to Eadric, both Kingdoms 9 years.
686	Witred & Wabberd; these also usurped (not being of the Blood-Royal), and reigned at once.			674	Æskwine, Cousin to the late King, reigned 2 years.	663	Sigher and Sebba, Cousins; the former reigned a small time; the latter, 30 years.	642	Oswie, Brother to Oswald, reigned in Bernicia 9 years.
694	Wightred, who restored the Royal Line, and dying, left three Sons, that all reigned one after another, viz.			676	Centwine, Son to Cynegils reigned 9 years.	693	Sigehard and Swenfred 7 years.	651	Oswie (last mention'd) these Kingdoms into one, afterwards continued: 1
727	Ethelbert, who reign'd 22 years.			685	Ceadwalla three years and an half.	700	Offa reigned 9 years.	670	Egfrid, or Egsert, Son 15 years.
749	Eadbald, 11 years.			688	Ina, his Cousin, reign'd 39 years.	709	Selred, his Cousin, reigned 37 years and an half.	685	Alfred, his Brother, 20
760	Alric; in whom the Royal Line being extinct, several Strangers were advanced to the Throne; viz.			728	Æthelheard, his Kinsman, reigned 14 years and an half.	746	Swithred.	705	Osred, Son to Alfred,
				741	Cuthred, his Cousin.			716	Kenred, Son of Cuthred.
764	Heahbert and Sigared; these reigned at once, and divided the Kingdom between them.	725	Aldwin, who being slain by Ina King of the West-Saxons, he by conquering this Kingdom, added it to his own.	754	Sigebert, his Cousin, 13 years.		After whose death (as Florence tells us) few Kings reigned over the East-Saxons; for the same year in which the South-Saxons and Kentish-men submitted themselves to King Egbert, the East-Saxons did so likewise.	718	Osric, Brother to Kenred.
778	Egbert, another Usurper.			755	Cynewulf reigned 29 years.			729	Ceolwulf, Cousin to Kenred.
786	Eadbald or Ethelbert, surnamed Præn, taken Prisoner by Kenwulf King of the Mercians, who bestowed this Kingdom upon			784	Brihtic, his Cousin, 18 years.			737	Eadbald, 21 years.
				802	Egbert, his Cousin (though far remote.)			758	Osulph, his Son, 1 year.
								759	Ethelwald, surnamed M.
								765	Alfred, Great Grandfather.
								774	Ethelred, or Ethelbert, 9 years.
								778	Alfwold, 11 years.
								789	Osred, his Nephew, Son.
								790	Ethelred, or Ethelbert, 9 years.
								795	Osald 27 days, and 1
794	Cuthred, as his Tributary.							795	Eardulf 10 years.

English-Saxon Kings contained in the former Book; from the *Saxon Annals*, *Florence of Worcester*, the last King of each Column in the former Table, is again repeated in this, that the Reader may
Tab. 2.

rein they are certainly mistaken. *The Chronology of the Kings of Wales is according to the Account of Mr Robert Vaughan, and that Ancient Manuscript Welsh Chronicle at the end of Domesday-Book.*

he s.	Anno Dom.	Kings of the East-Saxons.	Anno Dom.	Kings of Northumberland		Anno Dom.	Kings of the East-Angles.	Anno Dom.	Kings of Mer- cia.	Anno Dom.	Kings of the Britains.	
ed	566	Sebert 47 years.		Ethelfrid reigned 24 years over both King- doms.		599	Eorpwald, or Earpwald.		Ceorl.	658	Cadwan was now elected King; and reigned 12 years.	
	617	Sexred, Seward, and Sigebert, being brothers, 6 years.	617	Edwin, Son of Ælla, reigned likewise over both 17 years; but he being slain, they be- came again divided; for then in		636	Sigebert the Great.					
his ed but gn-				Deira, Bernicia,		638	Egrie, his Cousin.	627	Penda, a Prince of the Royal Blood, reigned 30 years.	660	Cadwallo, his Son.	
his	623	Sigebert the little, their Cousin, 25 years.	634	Ofrie, Son to Al- frid, reigned one year.	634	Eanfred, Son to E- thelfrid, late King, reigned one year.	643	Anna, Nephew to Redwald.		634	Cadwallader, the Son of Cad- wallo, reigned 31 years. He go- ing to Rome, there followed An Interregnum of 3 years, un- til	
his	648	Sigebert the Good.		Then these being both slain in the same year,		656	Ethelwald, his Cousin.	655	Peada, his Son, one year, after whom	665	Ivor, Son of A- lan King of Little-Britain, who reigned 22 years.	
us ing, ars.	661	Swithelme, his Brother, 2 years.	634	Ofwald, Brother to Eanfrid, reigned over both Kingdoms 9 years; who being also slain,		664	Aldwulf, Son to Ethelhere.	656	Ofwie, King of Northumber- land held that Kingdom three years; but he being expelled,	690	Edwal, surnamed Wyrch, reign- ing at the same time in Corn- wal and De- vonshire; is supposed to have reigned 19 years after the death of Ivor.	
on to ign-	663	Sigher and Seb- ba, Cousins; the former reigned a small time; the latter, 30 years.	642	Ofwie, Brother to Ofwald, reigned in Bernicia 9 years.	644	Ofwin, Son to Ofrie, reigned in Deira, until after 7 years reign, being slain by,	683	Ælfwold, his Bre- ther.	659	Wulfher, Son to Penda, was made King.	700	Gerent, King of Cornwal, cho- sen King of the Britains.
bre an	693	Sigehard and Swenfred 7 years.	651	Ofwie (last mention'd) he then united both these Kingdoms into one; and so they af- terwards continued: He reigned 28 years.		749	Ethelred, Son to E- thelwald; who after the death of Beorne reigned alone; tho the time when is uncertain.	675	Ethelred, his Bro- ther, 39 years.	720	Roderick Mol- wynoc, Son of Edwal Wyrch, reign'd 32 years.	
fin, ears.	700	Offa reigned 9 years.	670	Egfrid, or Egfert, Son to Ofwie, reigned 15 years.		793	Ethelbert, Son to Ethelred, mur- der'd by K. Of- fa, who seized his Kingdom; af- ter whom were many Kings of small note for 61 years, until Edmund, surna- med the Martyr.	704	Kenred, his Cou- sin, 5 years.	752	Caradoc, his Son, King of North- Wales, reigned 42 years.	
his sign- and	709	Selred, his Cou- sin, reigned 37 years and an half.	685	Alfred, his Brother, 20 years.				709	Ceolred, Son of Ethelred, 9 years.	755	Conan Tin- daethwy, o- therwise called Howel, reign- ing in South- Wales at the same time, till at last he being ex- pelled the Coun- trei, his Bro- ther possessed the whole Kingdom.	
Cou-	746	Swithred.	705	Ofred, Son to Alfred, 11 years.				719	Ethelbald the Proud, his Cou- sin, tho far re- mote, 36 years.			
Cou- rs.		After whose death (as Florence tells us) few Kings reign- ed over the East-Saxons; for the same year in which the South-Sax- ons and Kent- ish-men sub- mitted them- selves to King Egbert, the East-Saxons did so likewise.	716	Kenred, Son of Cuthelm, 2 years.				755	Beornred, an U- surper, half a year.			
reign- rs.			718	Ofrie, Brother to Kenred, 11 years.				756	Offa, Nephew to Ethelbald, 40 years.			
Cou- ars.			729	Ceolwulf, Cousin to Kenred, 8 years.				796	Egfert, his Son, about half a year.			
Cou- gb far			737	Eadbert, 21 years.				796	Kenwulf, one of the Blood-Royal, tho far remote, 24 years.			
			758	Ofulph, his Son, 1 year.								
			759	Ethelwald, surnamed Moll, 6 years.								
			765	Alfred, Great Grandson to Ida, 16 years.								
			774	Ethelred, or Ethelbert, Son to Moll, 4 years.								
			778	Alfwold, 11 years.								
			789	Ofred, his Nephew, Son to Alfred, 1 year.								
			790	Ethelred, or Ethelbert, again restored, 4 years.								
			795	Osbold 27 days, and then deposed.								
			795	Eardulf 10 years.								

A TABLE of the Succession of the remaining *English-Saxon* Kings in this last Period. The *Northumbrian* Kings are taken from the *Chronicles of Mailrossie*; and the *Welsh* Princes are taken from *Caradoc's Chronicle*, and the old Annals at the end of the

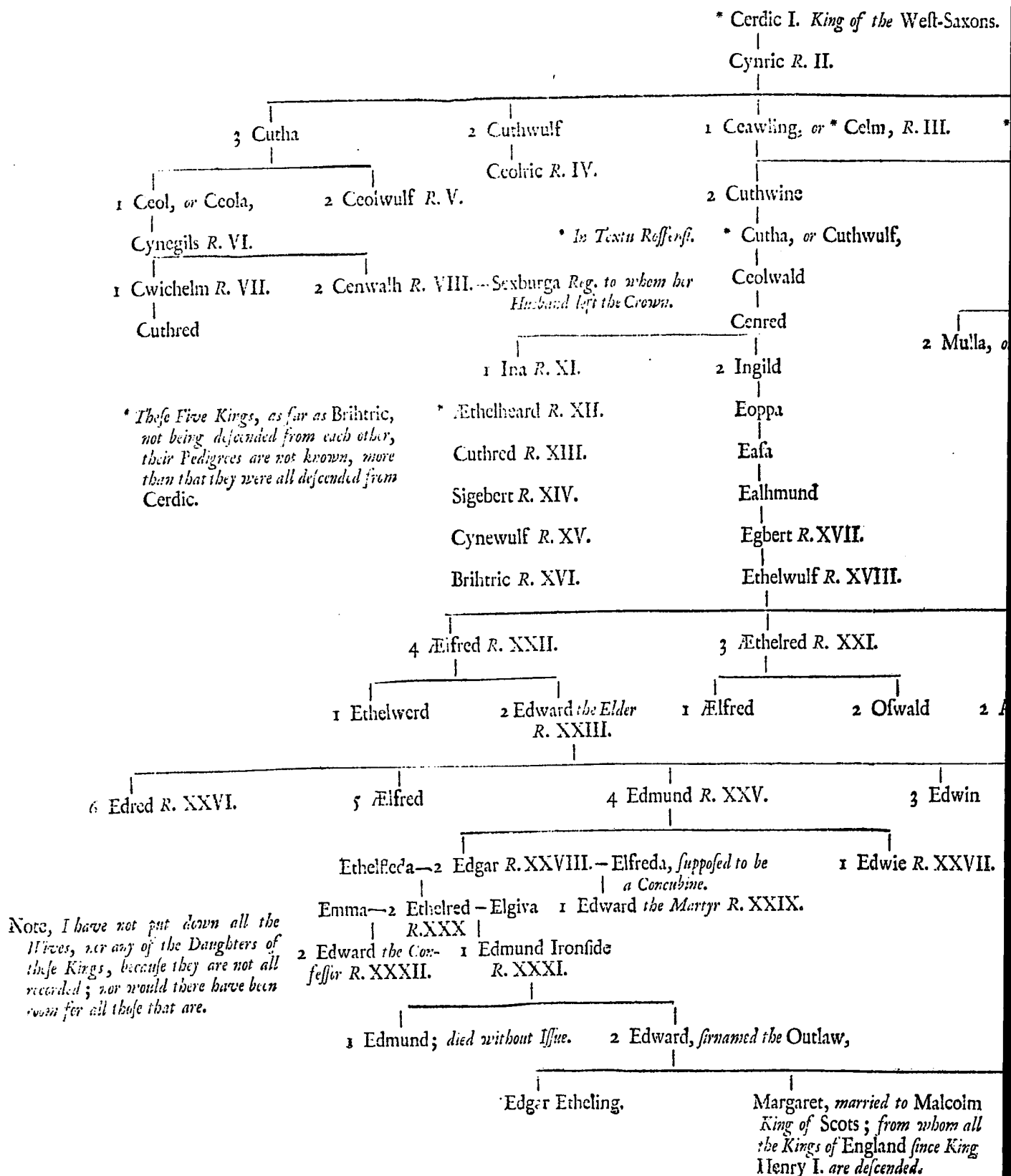
Anno Dom.	Kings of Kent.	Anno Dom.	Kings of England.	Anno Dom.	Kings of Northumberland.	Anno Dom.	Kings of the East-Angles.	Anno Dom.	Kings of the West-Saxons.
805	<i>Cuthred</i> eight Years.	802	<i>Egbert</i> reigned 36 Years.		<i>Eardulf</i> was expelled his Kingdom, <i>Anno Dom.</i> 806. then succeeded	859	<i>St. Edmund</i> reigned 11 Years, who being martyr'd by the <i>Danes</i> , that Kingdom remain'd without a King, until		<i>Ke</i>
	<i>Baldred</i> eighteen Years. He being the last King of <i>Kent</i> , was expelled his Kingdom by King <i>Egbert</i> .	837	<i>Ethelwolf</i> his Son 18 Years and an half.	806	<i>Alfred</i> , who reigned two Years, then			819	<i>Ke</i>
		857	<i>Ethelbald</i> his Son two Years and an half.	808	<i>Eanred</i> , Son of <i>Eardulph</i> , reigned 32 Years.	870		820	<i>Ce</i>
		860	<i>Ethelbert</i> his Brother, reigned five Years and an half.	840	<i>Ethelred</i> his Son reigned 9 Years.			821	<i>Be</i>
		866	<i>Ethered</i> his Brother, five Years.	849	<i>Osbert</i> 13 Years, who was driven out by			824	<i>Lu</i>
838	<i>Athelstan</i> , natural Son to <i>K. Ethelwolf</i> , made K. of <i>Kent</i> , <i>Eastsex</i> and <i>Surry</i> by his Father; he died without Issue, after which it was again united to the rest of King <i>Ethelwolf's</i> Dominions.	871	<i>Alfred</i> his Brother reigned 29 Years and an half.	862	<i>Ella</i> , an Usurper; but both these Kings being slain by the <i>Danes</i> , they seized upon that Kingdom, and made	878	<i>Guthrum</i> the <i>Dane</i> was made King by the Concession of <i>K. Alfred</i> , and reigned 12 Years.	825	<i>Wi</i>
		901	<i>Edward</i> his Son, fir-named the Elder, 24 Years.	866	<i>Egbert</i> King, who was soon expelled by them, and then they made			839	<i>Be</i>
		925	<i>Athelstan</i> his Son 16 Years.	872	<i>Ricfig</i> a <i>Dane</i> their King, who reigned 10 Years; then				<i>Th</i>
		941	<i>Edmund</i> his Brother five Years.	883	Another <i>Egbert</i> was by them made King, who dying, the <i>Danes</i> & <i>Northumbers</i> remained without any King, till				<i>w</i>
		946	<i>Edred</i> his Brother 9 Years.	894	<i>Guthred</i> , a poor Slave, was chosen King; he reigned over <i>Yorkshire</i> about 11 Years, then	890	<i>Eoric</i> the <i>Dane</i> was by <i>Guthrum</i> made his Successor; after whose Decease <i>K. Edward</i> the Elder subduing the <i>Danes</i> , added that Kingdom to his own.	852	<i>Bu</i>
		955	<i>Edwi</i> Son to <i>Edmond</i> , two Years.	902	King <i>Alfred</i> seized his share of that Kingdom, whilst in the more Northern Parts reigned at the same time <i>Osbert</i> a <i>Dane</i> , who was expelled his Kingdom.				<i>2</i>
		957	<i>Edgar</i> his Brother 16 Years.	903	<i>Ricfig</i> another Danish King, who being slain, was succeeded by				<i>e</i>
		973	<i>Edward</i> his Son, fir-named the Martyr, reigned 5 Years.	914	<i>Reginald</i> and <i>Niel</i> both <i>Danes</i> , who reigned at once, they having after King <i>Alfred's</i> Death taken the whole Kingdom: but <i>Niel</i> being slain by				<i>d</i>
		978	<i>Ethelred</i> his Brother 38 Years.	919	<i>Sihtric</i> his Brother, he reigned in his stead.				<i>t</i>
		1016	<i>Edmund</i> , fir-named <i>Iron-side</i> , reigned 9 Months.	926	<i>Inguald</i> another Danish King, reigned about the same time, as did also				<i>S</i>
		1017	<i>Cnute</i> King of <i>Denmark</i> , reigned 19 Years.	944	<i>Guthfert</i> Son to <i>Sihtric</i> ; he was expelled by <i>K. Athelstan</i> , after which <i>Anlaf</i> King of <i>Norway</i> seized this Kingdom for a time, but being expelled by the <i>Northumbers</i> ,				<i>v</i>
		1036	<i>Harold</i> his Son three Years.	945	Another <i>Anlaf</i> Son to <i>Sihtric</i> , was by them made King: He was also expelled by King				<i>l</i>
		1039	<i>Hardecnute</i> his Brother, two Years and an half.	947	<i>Edmund</i> , and restored for two Years, but then was again driven out by <i>K. Edred</i> ;				<i>E</i>
		1042	<i>Edward</i> the Confessor reigned 24 Years.	948	yet after this the <i>Northumbers</i> made <i>Eoric</i> of Danish Race their King, but he being again deserted by them, they returned to <i>K. Edred's</i> Allegiance, who thereupon added that Kingdom to his own.			920	<i>t</i>
		1066	<i>Harold</i> Son to Earl <i>Godwin</i> , reigned 9 Months.	952	From which time the Kings of <i>Northumberland</i> failing, it was ever after governed by Earls,				<i>d</i>
				953	<i>Osulf</i> being by <i>K. Edred</i> made the first Earl; but King <i>Edgar</i> divided it into two Earldoms.			956	<i>E</i>

English-Saxon Kings in this last Period. The Northumbrian Kings being supplied from Simon of Durham, and the taken from Caradoc's Chronicle, and the old Annals at the end of the lesser Volume of Domesday Book. Tab. 3.

<i>Kings of Northumberland.</i>	<i>Anno Dom.</i>	<i>Kings of the East-Angles.</i>	<i>Anno Dom.</i>	<i>Kings of the Mercians.</i>	<i>Anno Dom.</i>	<i>Kings of Wales.</i>
Off was expelled his Kingdom, Anno m. 866. then succeeded Ald, who reigned two Years, then d, Son of Eardulph, reigned 32 Years. red his Son reigned 9 Years.	859	St. Edmund reigned 11 Years, who being martyr'd by the Danes, that Kingdom remain'd without a King, until	819	Kemwulf 22 Years. Kenelm (a Child) his Son, murdered by his Aunt Quendrida: then	806	Caradoc King of North Wales. Conan Tyndaelhwy King of South Wales, and afterwards King of North Wales.
red 13 Years, who was driven out by an Usurper; but both these Kings be- slain by the Danes, they seized upon t Kingdom, and made t King, who was soon expelled by m, and then they made a Dane their King, who reigned Years; then	870	Guthrum the Dane was made King by the Con- cession of K. Alfred, and reigned 12 Years.	820	Ceolwulf his Uncle reigned one Year.	817	Mervyn-wrych, and Efsylht his Wife the Daughter of Conan.
her Egbert was by them made King, no dying, the Danes & Northumbers nained without any King, till red, a poor Slave, was chosen King; he gned over Yorkshire about 11 Years, then Alfred seized his share of that King- m, whilst in the more Northern Parts gned at the same time Osbert a Dane, ho was expelled his Kingdom.	878	Eorice the Dane was by Gu- thrum made his Successor; after whose Decease K. Edward the Elder sub- duing the Danes, added that King- dom to his own.	821	Beornwulf 3 Years.	843	Rodoric the Great, Son, or Grand- son, to Mervyn last mentioned.
g another Danish King, who being in, was succeeded by nald and Niel both Danes, who reigned once, they having after King Alfred's eath taken the whole Kingdom: but el being slain by ic his Brother, he reigned in his stead. d another Danish King, reigned about e same time, as did also	890		824	Ludican one Year and an half.	877	Anarawd, Son of Rodoric Prince of North Wales.
fert Son to Sihtric; he was expelled by Athelstan, after which Anlaf King of orway seized this Kingdom for a time, t being expelled by the Northumbers, her Anlaf Son to Sihtric, was by them de King: He was also expelled by King mund, and restored for two Years, but en was again driven out by K. Edred; after this the Northumbers made Eorice Danish Race their King, but he being ain deserted by them, they returned K. Edred's Allegiance, who thereupon ded that Kingdom to his own.			825	Wiglaf 14 Years.	913	Edwal Voel Son to Anarawd.
in which time the Kings of Northum- land failing, it was ever after governed Earls, f being by K. Edred made the first l; but King Edgar divided it into two rldoms.			839	Bertwulf 13 Years. These four last Kings were all of them tri- butary to the Kings of the West Saxons, as was also	940	Howel-Dha King of South Wales, and after the Death of Edwal he took upon him the Govern- ment of all Wales.
			852	Burhed, who reigned 22 Years, and being expell'd his King- dom by the Danes, they then gave it to one	948	Jevaf and Jago Sons of Edwal Voel, Princes of North Wales whilst the Sons of Howel-Dha ruled South Wales at the same time.
			874	Ceolwulf, who held it but a short time, the Danes taking it a- gain; and being dri- ven out by King Ed- ward the Elder, he committed the Go- vernment of it to Erhcred, under the Title of Earl; who having married E- thelfleda that King's Sister, she also go- vern'd it after his Death, but King Edward seizing it at- ter her Decease, ad- ded it to the rest of his Dominions.	973	Howel ap Jevaf.
			920		984	Cadwalhon ap Jevaf, Brother to Howel.
			956	Edgar Brother to K. Edwi, chosen King of Mercia and Nor- thumberland, reign- ed there one Year before his Brother's Decease.	986	Meridith ap Owen, Grand-son to Howel-Dha.
					992	Edwal ap Meryc.
					1003	Aedan ap Blegored, not of the Blood of the Welsh Princes.
					1015	Llewelyn ap Sits-sylht in right of Angerat his Wife (the Daugh- ter of Prince Merydith).
						Jago ap Edwal.
					1022	Gryffith ap Llewelyn, whilst Howel ap Edwin reigned in South Wales at the same time.
					1064	Blethyn and Rymwalhon, Sons of Convin, and half Brothers to the former Prince, were made by King Edward the Confessor Princes of Wales, after Gryffith their Brother was slain:

That the Succession of the *West-Saxon* Kings may be the better understood, as before and since the Conquest) are descended, I have here added their Pedigree have taken from the *Saxon Annals*, *Florence of Worcester*, and other Authentic

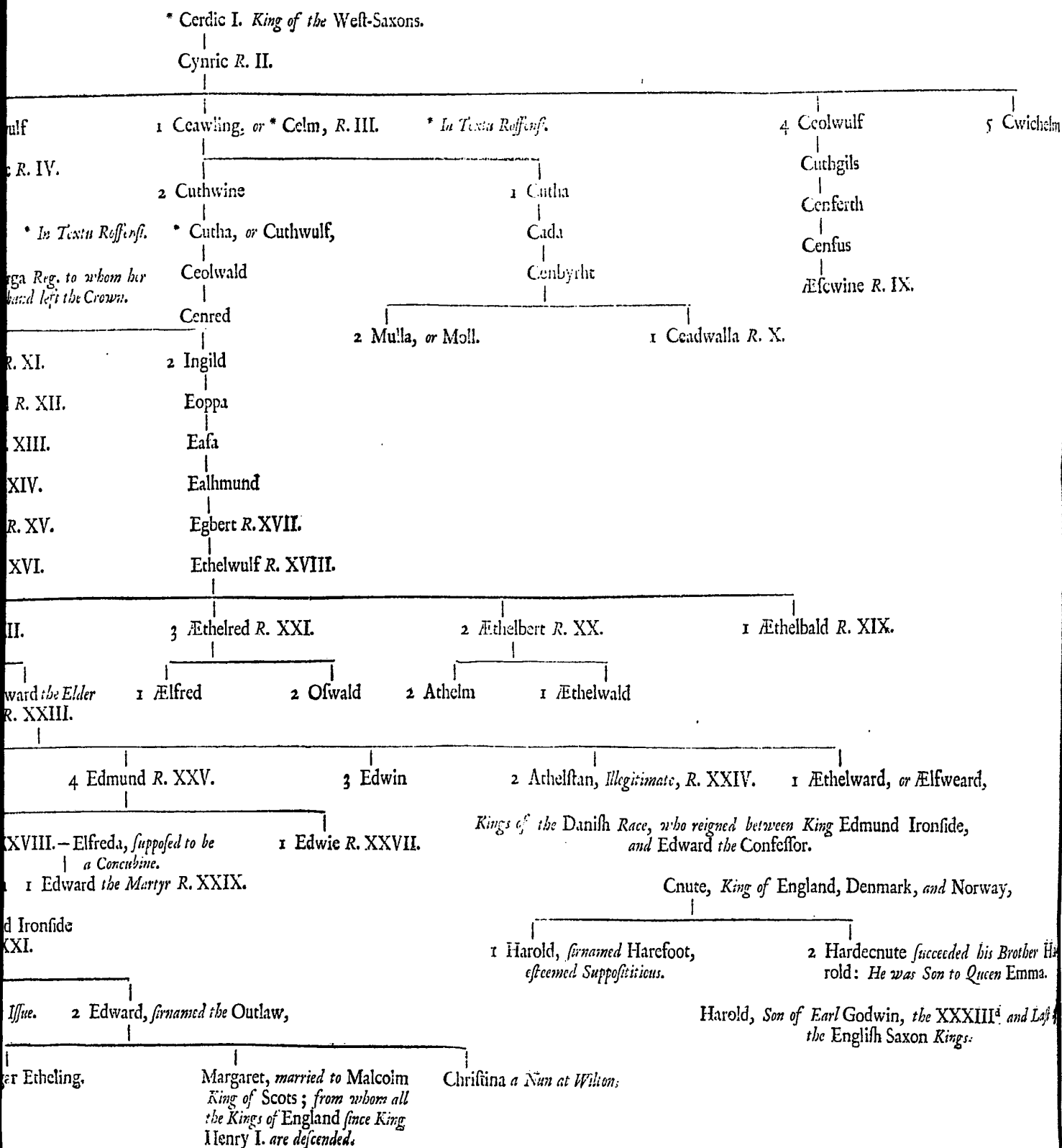
Note, That R. signifies Rex, and the Number following is in what Order that King reigned.



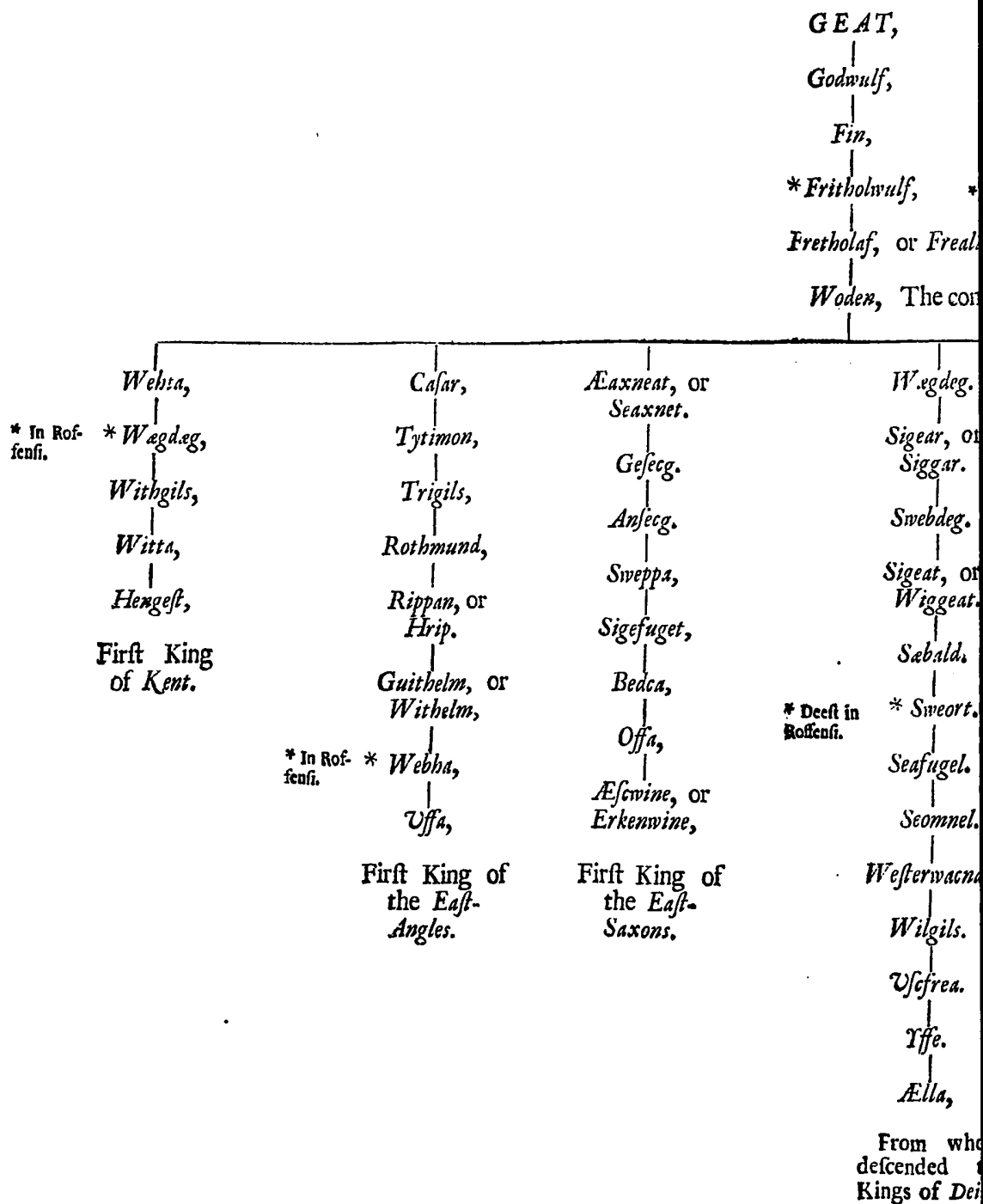
ings may be the better understood, as being those from whom all the Kings of *England* (both descended, I have here added their Pedigree down as low as King *Edward the Confessor*; which I
ence of Worcester, and other Authentick Authors. *Tab. Ult.*

Number following is in what Order that King reigned.

* Note, That C in the Saxon Tongue is pronounced like K.

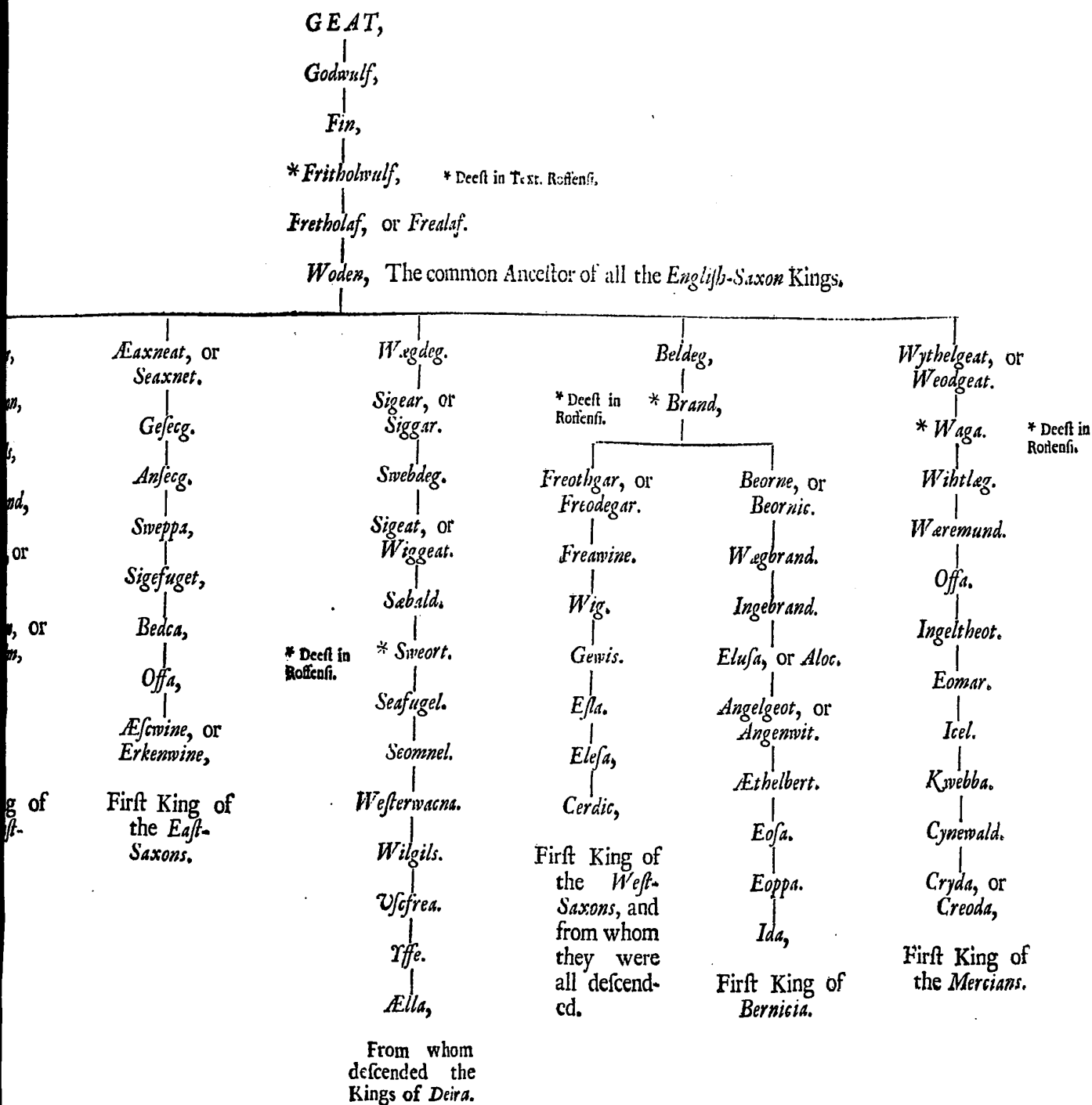


Having hitherto omitted the Genealogies of the *English-Saxon* Kings (as they are to be found in the Annals altogether, as they are derived from *GEAT*, who is supposed to have been the common Ancestor of this *Geat* they are so extremely uncertain. Note, These are extracted not only from the Annals, but that Pedegree in the *Textus Roffensis*, published by the Reverend Dr. Gale, at the end of his last Volume; the *Textus Roffensis* in many Particulars.



The rest that follow you may see in

Saxon Kings (as they are to be found in the Annals) I thought it best to refer them to this Table, where you may view them supposed to have been the common Ancestor of the *Getae*, or *Goths*: and I could have carried it very much higher, but that before these are extracted not only from the Annals, but from three choice Manuscript Copies of *Florence of Worcester*, compar'd with the Reverend Dr. *Gale*, at the end of his last Volume; but it must be acknowledged, that the Genealogies in *Florence* differ from those in



The rest that follow you may see in the former Tables of the Kings.